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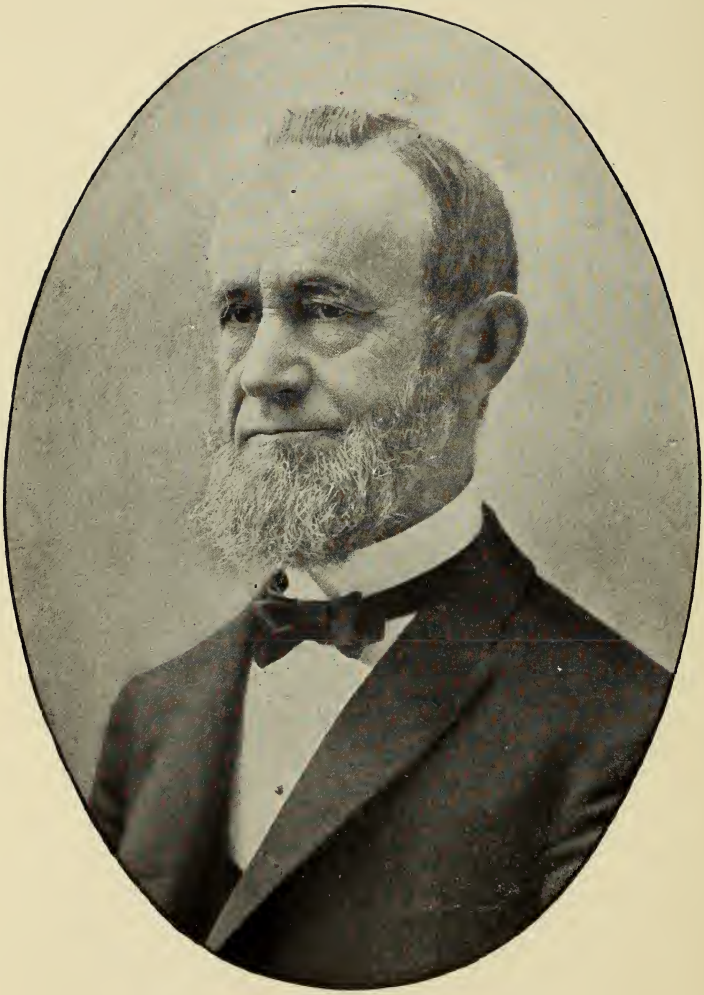

JUDGE COOLEY.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

COLLECTIONS AND RESEARCHES

MADE BY THE

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society

VOL. XXIX.

BY AUTHORITY

1901
WYNKOOP HALLENBECK CRAWFORD CO. OF LANSING, MICH.
STATE PRINTERS

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PREFACE.

Although the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society has had but a meager appropriation of money to carry on its work for the past year, yet the zealous co-operation of its officers and others interested in the preservation of historical data relating to the early history of the state and of different localities have been so unflagging that the committee of historians take pleasure in calling attention to volume twenty-nine, which has been prepared under its direct supervision.

The labor bestowed on this volume, except the cost of proof-reading, printing and binding, has been wholly a labor of love. More care than usual has been taken in editing the memorial sketches, for the purpose of eliminating inconsequential matter, thereby making the essential facts in the lives of the departed pioneers more prominent, and giving greater space to papers of general interest. As the years go by the ranks of the pioneers become thinner, and hence this feature of future volumes will occupy fewer pages.

While other states of the old northwest are more generous than is Michigan in making provision for obtaining and preserving historical data relating to their early settlement and progress, and while aware that with more money better work could be done, especially in the line of research among ancient records and archives, of the appropriations made by our legislature we do not complain, but will continue to do the best we can with the means placed at our disposal.

To those whose attention is fully engrossed with the cares and occupations of the present, and who find little or no time to devote to anything

else, these labors may seem to be of small consequence; but we feel confident that in future years, when students of history shall seek to trace from the humble beginnings of the pioneers the development of civilization in our once forest covered peninsulas, the data preserved in the volumes published by this society will prove to be of incalculable value.

The distribution of the volumes among the public libraries of the state, as provided by an act of the legislature of 1899, has made them easily accessible to many citizens, and we have heard of several instances in which the information thus made available is highly appreciated.

Among the papers in this volume to which attention is specially called are three by Mr. C. M. Burton of Detroit, entitled as follows: (1) "Early Detroit;" (2) "Fort Ponchartrain du Detroit;" (3) "Sketch of the Life of A. B. Woodward." E. W. Barber of Jackson contributes three articles, namely: "The Story of Emancipation," in which some facts connected with the passage of the anti-slavery amendment of the constitution not before printed are presented; also "Beginnings in Eaton County," wherein he resided for thirty-nine years; and "The Great Lakes," which is partly the result of personal researches and partly a compilation. Prof. R. C. Kedzie of the Agricultural college, one of our earliest pioneers, gives "Recollections of Pioneer and Professional Life," and also a paper on "The Sugar Supply of Michigan," he having been the earliest and most earnest advocate of the sugar-beet industry. Hon. Byron M. Cutcheon's paper on "Log Cabin Times" narrates interesting incidents of early experiences. The weather, which we always have and always talk about, led the chairman of this committee to request of Prof. C. Frederick Schneider a paper on the "Weather Bureau of Michigan," which subject is admirably presented. Mrs. Thomas D. Gilbert of Grand Rapids narrates, in the "Tale of Two Cities," in a graceful and graphic style some of her early experiences in Michigan.

Among the memorial sketches in this volume those of Mr. Geo. H. Greene, the former faithful secretary of this society, by Mrs. Ella Burton Judson, of Judge Thomas M. Cooley, the eminent jurist and publicist, by

Prof. Charles A. Kent, A. M., of the University of Michigan, and of Mrs. Harriet A. Tenney, well known as Michigan's efficient state librarian for many years, by Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, state librarian, are of exceptional ability and interest.

To the assistance of Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, secretary of the society, and to Mrs. Cornelia S. Perry, the editor of this volume, the committee are much indebted for faithful and intelligent service in its preparation and publication.

L. D. WATKINS, *Manchester, Chairman.*
E. W. BARBER, *Jackson,*
C. M. BURTON, *Detroit,*
A. H. OWENS, *Vernon,*
H. B. SMITH, *Marengo,*
L. D. KELSEY, *Lansing,*
Committee of Historians.

June 1, 1901.

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MICHIGAN

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 7, AND 8, 1899.

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society convened in the senate chamber of the capitol at Lansing on Wednesday, June 7, 1899, at 2:30 o'clock p. m.

The meeting was called to order by the president, ex-Gov. Cyrus G. Luce. The session was opened with prayer by Dr. Wm. H. Haze, followed by the singing of "America" by the audience.

The following officers were present, viz.:

President—Ex-Gov. Cyrus G. Luce, Coldwater.

Treasurer—Benj. F. Davis, Lansing.

Executive Committee—Hon. Orlando M. Barnes, Lansing; Dr. Robert C. Kedzie, Agricultural College.

Committee of Historians—L. D. Watkins, Manchester; Hon. Edward W. Barber, Jackson.

The recording and corresponding secretary, George H. Greene, was absent, being seriously ill at his home in the capital city.

The president read his address, preceded by a brief statement in regard to the appropriation for the maintenance of the society and printing of records. The thanks of the association was extended to Gov. Luce for his paper and for his efforts in securing the passage of the bill of appropriation at the last session of the legislature.

The reports of the recording secretary, treasurer and corresponding secretary were read and, on motion, each was accepted and adopted.

No special report of committee of historians was presented.

Memorial reports from the several counties were then called for and the vice presidents, either in person or by written reports, responded in the following order, viz.: Barry, Mrs. S. E. Striker; Berrien, Lewis Beeson; Calhoun, John F. Hinman; Clinton, Ralph Watson; Eaton, Esek Pray; Emmet, Isaac D. Toll; Huron, Luke S. Johnson; Ingham, C. B. Stebbins; Ionia, Albert Morehouse; Kalamazoo, Henry Bishop; Kent, Wm. N. Cook; Oakland, John N. Norton; Shiawassee, A. H. Owens; St. Clair, Helen W. Farrand; St. Joseph, Gersham P. Doan; Macomb, Geo. H. Cannon.

Following the report of vice presidents, Gen. Isaac D. Toll read a short paper on "Father Porter" of Petoskey, which was followed by music by Miss Lemon, a song entitled "The Birdies are Going to Sleep."

A memorial of Mrs. Harriet A. Tenney was read by Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, supplemented by brief remarks by President Luce, H. B. Smith of Calhoun and Gen. Isaac D. Toll, Petoskey.

"Personal Reminiscences of Hiram Moon and His First Harvesting Machine" was read by F. Hodgman, after which Miss Lemon sang "I've Something Sweet to Tell You."

Mrs. Jane M. Kinney then read a paper entitled "Some Pioneers of St. Clair County."

Owing to the lateness of the hour the five-minute speeches called for by the program were omitted, and a piano solo by Miss Edith Langenbacher and duet by Miss Langenbacher and Miss Clara Hurd were finely rendered.

The meeting then adjourned to 7:30 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

The society met pursuant to adjournment and was called to order by the president. Prayer was offered by Rev. R. C. Crawford.

The paper by John E. Day was not presented, but a letter from him was read by the president.

Music by Mr. Cowley.

Mr. C. M. Burton of Detroit read a most interesting paper on "Early Detroit," and Mr. C. W. Root gave a vocal solo, "The Old Step-Stone."

Five-minute speeches were called for and responded to by A. H. Owens and others.

Mr. C. W. Root again favored the meeting with the finely rendered song, "Rock Me to Sleep, Mother," after which the meeting adjourned to Thursday morning at 9:30 o'clock.

THURSDAY MORNING.

The meeting was called to order by the president.

The exercises were opened with prayer by Rev. Clarence F. Swift.

Upon motion a committee of three to nominate officers for the ensuing year was appointed by the president, said committee being L. D. Watkins, Manchester; David B. Hale, Eaton Rapids, and C. W. Barber, Howell.

Dr. R. C. Kedzie of the Agricultural College read an instructive paper on the "Domestic Supply of Sugar for Michigan."

"Our Nation's Progress," a paper prepared by John M. Norton, was read by Alonzo H. Owens, and this was followed by music, "The Jonquil Maid," by Miss Sellers.

"The Story of Emancipation and of the Passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, with Sketches of Michigan Members of the Thirty-eighth Congress," a paper filled with historical facts of unusual interest, was read by Edward W. Barber of Jackson.

A vote of thanks was unanimously tendered Mr. Barber for his very valuable paper. This was followed by a song entitled "Tit-for-Tat," by Mr. Stalker.

The committee on nominations then submitted their report, recommending the election of the following list of officers, which was adopted:

President—Hon. Cyrus G. Luce, Coldwater.

Recording and Corresponding Secretary—Geo. H. Greene, Lansing.

Treasurer—Benj. F. Davis, Lansing.

Executive Committee—Hon. O. M. Barnes, Lansing; R. C. Kedzie, Agricultural College; G. S. Wheeler, Salem.

Committee of Historians—L. D. Watkins, Manchester; C. M. Burton, Detroit; A. H. Owens, Lennon; John W. Champlin, Grand Rapids; E. W. Barber, Jackson.

Vice Presidents—One from each county, as follows:

Allegan—Don. C. Henderson, Allegan.

Barry—Mrs. Sarah E. Striker, Hastings.

Bay—Sanford M. Green, Bay City.

Berrien—Lewis W. Beeson, Niles.
Branch—Harvey Haynes, Coldwater.
Calhoun—John F. Hinman, Battle Creek.
Clare—Henry Woodruff, Farwell.
Clinton—Ralph Watson, South Riley.
Crawford—Dr. Oscar Palmer, Grayling.
Eaton—Esek Pray, Dimondale.
Emmet—Isaac D. Toll, Petoskey.
Genesee—
Grand Traverse—Reuben Goodrich, Traverse City.
Gratiot—William S. Turck, Alma.
Hillsdale—
Houghton—Thomas B. Dunstan, Hancock.
Ingham—C. B. Stebbins, Lansing.
Ionia—Albert F. Morehouse, Portland.
Iosco—H. C. King, Oscoda.
Isabella—John E. Day, Mt. Pleasant.
Jackson—Josiah B. Frost, Jackson.
Kalamazoo—Henry Bishop, Kalamazoo.
Kent—Wm. N. Cook, Grand Rapids.
Lapeer—John Wright, Lapeer.
Livingston—Chas. W. Barber, Howell.
Macomb—Geo. H. Cannon, Washington.
Manistee—T. J. Ramsdell, Manistee.
Marquette—Peter White, Marquette.
Menominee—James A. Crozier, Menominee.
Monroe—John Davis, Monroe.
Montcalm—Joseph P. Shoemaker, Amsden.
Muskegon—
Oakland—John M. Norton, Rochester.
Oceana—Enoch T. Mugford, Hart.
Otsego—Chas. F. Davis, Elmira.
Ottawa—
Saginaw—Chas. W. Grant, Saginaw, E. S.
Shiawassee—Alonzo H. Owens, Lennon.
St. Clair—Mrs. Helen W. Farrand, Port Huron.
St. Joseph—Gersham P. Doan, Mendon.
Tuscola—Wm. A. Heartt, Caro.
Van Buren—
Washtenaw—J. Q. A. Sessions, Ann Arbor.

Wayne—Fred Carlisle, Detroit.

After a song, entitled "Baby's Fairyland," by Miss Grace Harroun, the meeting adjourned for the noon hour.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

At 2:30 o'clock the society again met, with the president in the chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. R. C. Crawford.

A paper on the "Life and Character of Hon. Daniel Striker," by Judge Clement Smith, was read. This was followed by music by Mrs. Georgia A. Wise, a song entitled "The Last Mile-stone."

Mr. Harlan I. Smith read a valuable paper on "The Archaeology of the Saginaw Valley," which was followed by a vocal selection, "The Blue-bells of Scotland," by a quartette consisting of Mesdames Robson, Church, Wise and Clark.

Mrs. L. C. Stockton read a poem entitled "A Western Pioneer."

Five-minute speeches were then called for and responded to by Rev. R. C. Crawford, Henry Whiteley, C. B. Stebbins, Gov. Luce and others, followed by music by Mrs. Robson.

Dr. Haze of Lansing recited a poem with fine effect, and Mrs. Wise again favored the audience with a vocal solo, "The Broken Pitcher," and Geo. H. Cannon followed with a short speech.

"Auld Lang Syne" was sung by the audience and the benediction pronounced by Dr. Haze, when the meeting adjourned.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

BY EX-GOV. C. G. LUCE.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Michigan Pioneer Society:

Perhaps we may properly devote a brief time to a consideration of the more special aims, objects and purposes that the members of this society have in view. The American people are not distinguished for veneration of past events.

In the old world they live on the records of ancestors. We devote time, thought and effort to the present and for the future. But the founders of this society realized that the time was coming when a record

of the struggles made by the pioneers would form interesting and instructive reading for those who should come after them. It is true that in this, as well as in other countries, the heroic deeds of the few find their places in the history of the times in which they lived.

The statesmanship and great deeds of Washington, Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson and their associates are recorded on the pages of history and chiseled on marble and granite, and will live on while the language is spoken and point the way for millions to follow. The name of Lafayette and his self-sacrificing devotion to human liberty will live on in the hearts of not only the American people, but with the lovers of liberty everywhere. For myself, I read his biography and of the services rendered to us in the trying hour with a deeper gratitude than ever before when I think that he came here and rendered to our forefathers such valuable assistance in achieving their liberty and then went back to his native land without turning his guns upon the colonies that had struggled so gallantly and with his aid had won such a victory over the British crown.

But the common soldiers of the revolutionary war are as individuals forgotten, and the same is true, to some extent, of the much fiercer struggle which occurred from '61 to '65. The world will never forget Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, Thomas, and others who distinguished themselves during the civil war, and it is due to truth to say that in no other contests between armies have such great efforts been made to secure and record the deeds of the men who fought in the trenches as in that war. At the camp-fires and reunions the story of the individual valor is told and preserved. Peace has its contests and its victories, and often its defeats.

In some respects life is a warfare where the weapons are not swords, rifles or cannon, to be sure, and this was eminently true of pioneer life in Michigan. The contest was one with nature, with wild beasts, with sickness, with poverty, and often with premature death. A generation ago a few who had gone through the early pioneer experience conceived the importance of securing, compiling and preserving the trials and the triumphs of the common soldiers in the early settlement of the territory and state of Michigan. They knew that Gen. Cass, Gov. Mason, and a few others would never be forgotten. They also knew that many others who had acted well their part and discharged duties well worth remembering would or had passed away and their contributions to the welfare of the state would be lost to posterity. They believed that many of these examples of self-sacrificing devotion to the interests of

present and future might stimulate others to emulate them. All or nearly all of those who participated in the organization of this society have gone to their reward. The legislature of 1873 passed an act, which was approved on the 25th day of April of that year, providing for the incorporation of this society. I will not consume your time by reading a long list of names of those who participated in the work during its infancy, but numbered among them are found the names of many who have contributed largely to the growth, prosperity and renown of this commonwealth. They were earnest and sincere in their desire to make and preserve a record that should be interesting to their children and to their children's children, down through the ages.

The whole plan of operation by the pioneers is in harmony with our system of government. We have township, county and state government; we have township, county and state pioneer societies. Of these the latter is the only one that provides for the publication of its proceedings or the histories procured after great research of men, women and localities.

Men and women generously devote time and attention to securing incidents of importance that occurred in some remote part of the state. In some of these, an important lesson is contained, in others, valuable information. No other means are provided for searching out and publishing these. We have devoted much time, attention and money to gathering and publishing information in relation to the Indians who formerly occupied Michigan. They are passing away, and when they have all gone to their last hunting ground more interest will be felt in the red man who has been blotted out of existence by an advancing civilization.

A more complete history of the events can be found in the volumes published by this society than through any other medium. We believe that this society is an educator of no mean proportion. We further believe that when the present pioneers shall have passed away that others will take their places and will continue to gather and publish records, not of the few but of the many. The labors performed by the members of this society have been generously contributed to the general welfare. The state has contributed from $2,000 to $2,500 per annum to defray necessary expenses and for publication of the proceedings and the historical information which appears in the volumes. The first of these that were published are nearly exhausted. They are sought for by students of history and by librarians, not only in this but in other states. I am somewhat familiar, and have been many years, with the

legislative and state affairs of Michigan. Have been where complaints and criticisms were more frequently heard than commendation, but until within the last two or three years have never heard the propriety of continuing the work of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society questioned. It has been regarded as one of the educational forces of the state. Modest and comparatively inexpensive to be sure, but doing its work faithfully, promptly and well. It cannot continue on the lines mapped out by the legislature which passed the act of incorporation, and the noble band of men and women who placed it on its feet, without appropriations by the state, and I feel sure that candid reflection will convince those who are inclined to be skeptical in regard to it that it is worth more than it costs to the people of the state of Michigan.

I am a natural and life-long economist in the expenditure of public money. But with a strong disposition, fortified by the best judgment I have, to earnestly object to some expenditures made of public funds. Yet with no greater interest in this society than any other citizen who has lived in the state for more than half a hundred years, I cannot believe that sound economy demands the suspension of the work being done.

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

Lansing, June 7, 1899.

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

I submit herewith my eighth annual report as your recording secretary, being for the year ending with this date, as follows:

The twenty-fourth annual meeting was held in the senate chamber, June 1 and 2, 1898, and the program (a good one) suffered but few changes. Those proceedings, together with the papers read at that time, and the historical papers which had previously accumulated, have not yet been published for lack of funds. Added to those which will probably be secured at this meeting, and we will doubtless have enough of invaluable material for several volumes of "Collections," and the appropriation granted by the present legislature will go far toward putting this material into permanent form, and thus preserve it for the benefit of those who are to follow us when no one shall be left to recite the story of the birth and development of this mighty peninsula empire, which was hewn from the virgin forests.

MEMBERSHIP.

The total enrollment on the membership book of the society is 926. Of this number 521 have been reported to the secretary as deceased, leaving the present membership 519. Since our last report there have been nine names added to the list, as follows:

Clarence M. Burton, Detroit; Anna E. Burton, Hastings; John C. Buchanan, Grand Rapids; Claudius B. Seymour, Titusville, Pa.; Perry Hannah, Traverse City; Henry Humphrey, Lansing; Amos C. Nichols, Lansing; William M. Clark, Lansing; William W. Cook, Lansing.

DONATIONS.

The donations (consisting largely of books and pamphlets) have aggregated about the same in number as in previous years. None of these are of such a special nature as to call for particular mention. They have been carefully preserved, however, together with the names of the donors.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS.

A brief meeting of members of the executive and historical boards was held on Wednesday morning, June 8, and after an extended discussion of the situation, it was deemed essential to hold a meeting of the joint committees in July of this year, subject to the call of the president.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

GEO. H. GREENE,
Recording Secretary.
By W. M. Clark.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Lansing, June 7, 1899.

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

I beg leave to submit herewith my twentieth annual report as your corresponding secretary.

There has been about the usual amount of correspondence, which I have endeavored to answer promptly, although some of the inquiries have involved much time and labor in searching for material needed for an intelligent reply to each.

Soon after our last meeting I notified the various vice presidents of their election, and about four weeks ago I addressed a communication to each, requesting him to prepare a memorial report for his county to be presented at this meeting. Notices of the present meeting have also been forwarded to each member of the society and to many of the leading newspapers of the state.

In the list of deceased members will be found the names of some of the most distinguished and honored citizens of our state. Indeed, the grim reaper has not stayed his hand nor spared our circle during the past twelve months, and many well-beloved faces will be seen with us no more.

The list, so far as I have been able to ascertain to date, is as follows:

1899.

No.	Names.	Residence.	Born.	Died.	Age.	Came to Michigan.
24	Henry H. Holt	Muskegon	March 27, 1831	Aug. 23, 1898	67	1852
123	Thomas W. Westcott	Lansing	July 27, 1834	Aug. 7, 1898	64	1849
42	Thomas M. Cooley	Ann Arbor	Jan. 6, 1824	Sept. 12, 1898	74	1843
552	Martin V. Montgomery	Lansing	Oct. 20, 1840	Nov. 12, 1898	58	1840
726	Reuben Goodrich	Traverse City	June 28, 1819	Jan. 8, 1899	79	1836
109	Chas. T. Mitchell	Hillsdale	June 29, 1817	Dec. 30, 1898	81	1838
20	Harriet A. Tenney	Lansing	April 1, 1834	Jan. 20, 1899	65	1840
11	E. Laken Brown	Schoolcraft	April 16, 1809	April 12, 1899	90	1831
	Mrs. H. S. King	Lansing		———, 1899		
	Mrs. H. R. Pratt	Lansing				
	A. S. Kedzie	Grand Haven	Aug. 23, 1814			1826
919	Anne E. Burton	Hastings	Feb. 13, 1830	May 23, 1899	69	1850
	Henry Levison					
	Wm. Watkins	Leonidas				
	Dr. H. C. Fairbanks	Flint	Dec. 20, 1824	July 3, 1898		1846

GEO. H. GREENE,
Corresponding Secretary.
By W. M. Clark.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Lansing, June 7, 1899.

To the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

I herewith submit my annual report, as follows:

Benj. F. Davis, treasurer, in account with the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, from June 1, 1898, to June 1, 1899:

RECEIPTS.

To balance on hand June 1, 1898		$162 72
Received on account membership fees		10 00
Sales of Vols. 1 and 2		6 00
		$178 72

DISBURSEMENTS.

Expenses annual meeting	$14 00	
Postage and express	24 35	
Voted to Secretary	100 00	
		138 35
Balance on hand June 7, 1899		$40 37

All of which is respectfully submitted.

B. F. DAVIS,
Treasurer.

REPORT OF MEMORIAL COMMITTEE.

BARRY COUNTY.

BY MRS. S. E. STRIKER.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Armstrong, John	Hickory Corners		81	
Andrew, Seymour	Hastings	Aug. 17, 1898	78	He came to Michigan in 1844.
Bailey, Betsy (Mrs. David)	Cedar Creek	Nov. 28, 1898	80	
Belson, Mrs. Mary A	Rutland	Feb. 19, 1899	60	One of the early settlers of the township.
Carman, Mrs. H. E	Hastings	Aug. 4, 1898	67	
Chamberlain, Lyman	Coat's Grove	May 6, 1898	74	He settled in Barry county in 1844.
Clarke, Elizabeth (Mrs. T.)	Hastings	Sept. 24, 1898	58	
Cook, Charles	Middleville	Nov. 9, 1898	74	He was a resident of the county many years.
Curtis, Mrs. Marguerite	Hastings	Sept. 27, 1898	72	
Dunham, Mrs. Jennie M	Hastings	Dec. 5, 1898	45	Was a native of Michigan.
Elliott, Adam	Hickory Corners	Sept. 30, 1898		One of the oldest pioneers of the township.
Fisher, William	Hastings tp	Jan. 15, 1899	60	
Haight, David	Woodland			
Harris, Homer	Maple Grove	Nov. 26, 1898	86	
Johnson, Elmer	Rutland	May 23, 1899	84	He was an old settler and pioneer of the county.
Johnson, Mrs. E. O	Shultz	Jan. 2, 1899	81	A pioneer of the county.
Kahler, Mrs. Margaret	Hope	June 23, 1898	70	She settled in the county in 1855.
Lewis, Mrs. Agnes A	Morgan	April 8, 1899	80	A resident of the county 43 years.
Lichty, Mrs. Susan	Hastings	April 26, 1899	86	
Mains, Albert	Hastings	April 6, 1899	83	
Mead, Mrs. Horatio	Rutland	April 5, 1899	66	
Moshier, Mrs. Susan	Prairieville	Jan. 13, 1899	82	The greater portion of her life had been spent in the township.
Murphy, James	Hendershott Corners		70	A soldier of the war of '61.
Musson, William	Hastings	Sept. 14, 1898	72	A pioneer of the county.
Pennock, Mrs. Mary A	Barry	Feb. 17, 1899	82	She came to Michigan early in the forties.
Reed, Mrs. John	Hastings	June 1, 1898	52	
Robinson, Mrs. Caroline	Rutland	Mar. 26, 1899	65	A pioneer of the county and first school teacher.
Schailby, John	Woodland	Mar. 15, 1899	72	One of the old settlers of the county.
Sheffield, Charles	Hastings	Jan. 6, 1899	79	One of the early settlers in the county.
Smith, David L	Hope	Aug. 16, 1898	88	
Stauffer, Mrs. L. E	Hastings	Aug. 17, 1898	58	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Taylor, Mrs. Chas. W.	Maple Grove	Aug. 10, 1899.	75	
Tilly, Mrs. Wm.	Hastings	Jan. 7, 1899.	69	
Waters, Mrs. Mary	Rutland	Nov. 1, 1898.	76	
West, Mrs. B. F.	Hastings	July 8, 1898.	73	
West, Henry D.	Hastings	Jan. 10, 1899.	73	
Whitcomb, Mrs. Mary E.	Hastings	Dec. 10, 1898.	57	A resident of Hope township 49 years.
Woodard	Milo			

ANDRUS.—W. P. Andrus, for many years a resident of Hastings, died at his home in Cedar Springs in 1898. Deceased was a member of the state senate in 1877 and was an influential member of that body, and was highly regarded where he lived. He was also a prominent G. A. R. man and during the war of the rebellion he rose from the ranks to lieutenant, and later to captain. A wound in the head, received while in battle, caused him considerable trouble during his life.

BARBER.—Lewis B. Barber, one of the prosperous farmers of Carlton, died February 25, 1899, aged 72 years, 10 months and 4 days.

Mr. Barber was born in Sand Lake, New York, where he passed his boyhood. He was married to Eliza J. Moore of Carlton, Orleans county, New York., in August, 1851, and moved to Michigan in April, 1858. He enlisted in the new Third Michigan in December, 1864, and there contracted the disease from which he suffered greatly, being eight years almost helpless, and drew $72 per month pension. The wife and two sons, Clark A. and Delos J., survive him.

BARLOW.—Nathan Barlow died at his home in Hastings, January 25, 1899, aged 81 years.

Mr. Barlow was born in Canandaigua, N. Y., January 1, 1818, and with his father's family came to Michigan in 1841, settling near Bowen's Mills, Barry county. He removed to Hastings, then scarcely a settlement, in 1842. He was first married in 1843, and to this union were born four children, all of whom are living. His second marriage, to Miss Hannah McNair, occurred May 31, 1870, to whom was born one son, Royce E. Barlow. The wife and five children survive him. He was stricken with paralysis in 1876, and has been a patient sufferer, much of the time entirely helpless.

Mr. Barlow, from 1842, had been closely identified with the business interests of Hastings. He had been at the head of nearly all new en-

terprises, hotel keeper, merchant, manufacturer, and an assistant in the enterprise of the town. A liberal promoter of school interests, and village and city improvements, there are many evidences of his energy and public spirit. Although stricken for many years, he lost no interest in public affairs and continued in business enterprises as long as possible. To him much of what Hastings is is due. Although isolated by his affliction, he will be mourned by many who knew him in earlier life. He held many offices of trust, and was a member of the legislature in the 50's.

Beamer.—George Kibler Beamer, after more than 82 years of active life, rested from his labors and passed to his reward March 18, 1899.

Mr. Beamer was born October 26, 1816, in the town of Pekin, Niagara county, N. Y., and was the last member of a family of nine children. At the age of 26 years he married Miss Ann Jennette Averell of Cambria. They moved to Michigan in 1846, settling in Irving township, Barry county, and Mr. Beamer was one of the first supervisors there. This was their home up to the spring of 1886, when they moved to Hastings. He took an active part in politics and in the years 1861-62 represented the people in the state legislature. He was one of the organizers of the Barry & Eaton Mutual Fire Insurance Company, and had been quite prominently identified with the growth of that prosperous association. He also represented the First ward in the common council. In his younger days he was identified with the Independent Order of Odd Fellows.

In 1837 the people of Lower Canada took up arms with the avowed purpose of throwing off the rule of Great Britain, and they were defeated on several occasions, but for some weeks the insurgents had possession of Navy island, situated in the Niagara river, just above the falls. Considerable sympathy was manifested for them in New York, and substantial aid was rendered them in spite of the efforts of the president of the United States and the governor of New York. Mr. Beamer was the captain of the New York Light Artillery, which was engaged in the battle of Navy island.

In his every-day life Mr. Beamer was a thoroughly honorable man, and in his services for the people he exercised that care and prudence which he would for himself.

To Mr. and Mrs. Beamer six children were born, five of whom are living, viz.: Charles, John, Frank and Edward and Mrs. Sarah Ryno. His wife, who is 84 years old, also survives him. All were present at the time of his demise.

BLACK.—Asbury Black died at his home in Hastings, December 5, 1898, aged 75 years.

He was a native of Perry county, Ohio, but moved to Michigan in 1856, settling in Coldwater, Branch county. August 22, 1841, he was married to Miss Rebecca Dayhuff and to them 12 children were born, eight of whom survive him—Mrs. M. J. Allison of Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. F. A. Eldred of Traverse City; Mrs. W. F. Stimson and Mrs. George Landis of Ann Arbor; Aaron and John W. Black of Eldorado, Kansas; George E. of Seattle, Washington, and Frank D. Black of Hastings.

When a young man he became interested in the marble business, and 42 years of his life were devoted to it. In 1881 he moved to Hastings and started in the marble business. In 1888 his son, Frank D., entered into partnership with his father under the firm name of A. Black & Son, and since that time the business has grown to extensive proportions, their work being sold all over Michigan, and even in adjoining states.

BOOROM.—Joshua Boorom, aged 73 years and 6 months, died suddenly Tuesday, May 2, 1899, at his home in Hastings township. He was in the act of building the fire, early Tuesday morning, when he fell over and expired. His aged wife was with him, but no assistance she could give could help bring back the flickering spark of life.

He was born in the state of New York and was a resident of Barry county over 50 years. He was married at the age of 20, and nine children were born of the union, of whom three, Mrs. B. A. Cotant of Hastings, Mrs. Lorenzo Burgess of Farwell and George Boorom of Middleville, are living.

He enlisted in the Eighth Michigan Infantry, serving over a year before being discharged. He again enlisted in the Eleventh Michigan Cavalry, where he received injuries he never recovered from.

BROWN.—Henry Brown died at the home of his son Edgar in Orangeville township, April 7, 1899, aged 86 years.

Orangeville mourns the loss of a prominent and good citizen. His remains were followed to the grave by a large concourse of friends, his six sons, Fred, Edgar, Walter, Herbert, Frank and Charles, acting as pallbearers, on the 10th, which was the anniversary of the burial in the Brown cemetery of the body of his older brother, the Hon. George Brown.

Together they were among the first settlers of that part of the county in 1837, and kept their interests together for many years, clearing up the

forest and cultivating the soil which became a first-class farm. After about 12 years of successful labor together, some changes occurred and the brothers divided their real estate in a satisfactory manner to each; both were prosperous and honored by all who knew them, and when George was taken away his brother missed him sadly.

Henry Brown was born in Connecticut, April 20, 1813. He had been identified with the official business of the township from the first, when Barry, Prairieville, Hope and Orangeville were known as the township of Barry, and afterward while Prairieville and Orangeville were as only one township. On the first organization of this town he was made one of the first officers, and the records of the township make his name conspicuous from year to year, always honored, and to his sterling integrity the inhabitants are indebted for many precedents which his successors do well to follow.

Brown.—Lucy A. Brown died at the home of her daughter in Yankee Springs, April 9, 1899, aged 79 years.

Deceased was born at Half Moon, Saratoga county, New York, December 14, 1819. Her father, Stephen Lee, came to Michigan while it was yet a territory and erected the first house in Livingston county, in Green Oak township. Her mother was an aunt of the late Judge Emmons of Detroit.

She was married to Rev. Alonzo Fleming, August 2, 1838. Three children were born to this union, one of whom, John A. Fleming, survives her. Rev. Fleming died February 22, 1870, at Royalton, Ohio.

She was again married, to George Brown, March 4, 1874, and shortly after they came to Michigan, settling on a farm a mile south of Irving.

Burton.—Mrs. Chas. S. Burton died May 22, 1899, aged 69 years.

Annie Eliza Burton was the daughter of Ward Barnabus and Emiline Janes Monroe, and was born at Auburn, N. Y., February 13, 1830. She married Dr. Charles S. Burton at Romulus, N. Y., on February 13, 1848, and for a time lived at that place, but came to Battle Creek, Mich., in 1850. Here Dr. Burton established the Battle Creek Journal and attended to the editing of that paper in addition to his practice of medicine. In 1853 she accompanied her husband to California, where she remained two years and then returned to Michigan and took up her permanent abode in Hastings. For nearly 45 years she lived there, and saw it grow from a hamlet to a city. The natural bent of her inclinations was to lead a studious life and she was much devoted to reading and writing. Her writings, mostly poetical, are better known among

the older people of the city. A few days before her demise she undertook to detail some of the events of her early life, but her health would not permit the carrying out of her design. At that time, referring to her childhood, she said: "My free and happy childhood was passed upon the shores of Cayuga lake, one of the most beautiful pieces of water in New York. It was probably the foundation of all the romance of my life. My greatest pleasure was floating on the water. I became quite an expert in the use of a row-boat. I knew no fear on the water, whatever."

Her surviving relatives, besides her husband, are her brother, Sidney L. Monroe of Seneca Falls, N. Y.; three sons, Charles and Clarence of Detroit, and Edward of Hastings, and one daughter, Mrs. Ella B. Judson of Lansing.

CHASE.—John A. Chase of Delton died at Santiago, July 30, 1898. He is the first and only Barry county soldier, so far, that has died in the war with Spain.

CUNNINGHAM.—Mrs. Isaac Cunningham died at her home in Irving, November 24, 1898, aged 62 years.

Hannah Updegraff was born October 25, 1836, near Carey, Ohio, where she spent her girlhood. She was married to Isaac Cunningham in 1859, and came to Michigan in 1860, but returned to Ohio for two years, again coming to Irving, where they lived until the date of her death. She was the mother of five children, four girls and one boy, viz.: Mrs. Frank Brooks and Mrs. Floyd Brown of Hastings; Mrs. Ed Sentz of Findlay, Ohio; Mrs. Will Grigsby of Cheboygan, and Fred Cunningham of Irving, all living.

DAY—John H. Day, a resident of the county for more than 40 years, died at his home in Baltimore township, February 13, 1899, aged 71 years.

Mr. Day was born in St. Lawrence county, New York, and after learning the millwright trade he spent some time in Pennsylvania and Ohio, coming to Michigan and Barry county in 1850.

He was active in the organization of the town and did much toward the improvement and laying out of roads and assisting new comers in getting started. He was a member of new Third Michigan and served until the close of the war of the rebellion.

He leaves a wife, one son, David B., and two daughters, Mrs. L. E. Mudge and Mary A. Day.

DECKER.—Lewis Decker died at his home in Carlton, April 23, 1899, aged 59 years.

Deceased was a native of Michigan. In 1861 he entered the army, serving a little over one year. Again in 1863 he enlisted in the Tenth Michigan Cavalry and served until the close of the war, making a total of three and one-half years.

In 1868 he married Miss Clara Clay, and in 1870 they moved to Carlton, where they cleared up a farm and made a pleasant home. To them were born four children, three of whom, two sons and a daughter, are left.

During his residence in Carlton, Mr. Decker was several times honored with township offices, serving among others as treasurer for two years and as supervisor three years.

DUNNING.—Mrs. Mary Dunning, a pioneer of Hastings, died August 9, 1898, near Saline, Washtenaw county, aged 87 years.

Mrs. Dunning was born at Greenfield, Saratoga county, New York, in 1811, and was married in 1832. Nine children blessed this union, all of whom are dead. With her husband, James Dunning, she came to Hastings in 1844, and was a continuous resident there since. Her husband died in 1884, leaving her with but one son, Philo R., whose death occurred in December, 1896, leaving her the sole representative of her family.

Her remains were taken to her old home for burial.

HERRINGTON.—John Herrington, one of the best-known farmers of Dowling, died January 16, 1899, aged 83 years.

Deceased was born in Onondaga county, New York, and came to Michigan many years ago. He married Mrs. Lucina A. Kellicot in 1841, with whom he passed 54 years of wedded life, she dying in 1895. He was a generous, helpful man, whose memory will be esteemed.

HOONAN.—Mrs. Mary Hoonan was born in the castle of Racholdern, in the city of Navan, county of Meath, Ireland, December 25, 1800. She and her husband, with eleven children, crossed the ocean in a sailing vessel and landed in the state of New York in the month of November, 1854, where they remained until coming to Michigan in March, 1860, locating at North Irving, Michigan, where her husband died 23 years ago at the age of 75. She still remained at the old homestead until last April; at that time her health began to fail and it was thought advisable to have her removed to Hastings, where she passed away Tuesday night, September 13, 1898, at the advanced age of 98 years.

Mrs. Hoonan was the mother of 12 children, 11 of whom survive her. Those who reside in the city are Mrs. George Denslow, Mrs. Simon Matthews, Mrs. W. H. Stebbins and Mrs. M. H. Bailey; Mrs. Waters of Rutland, mother of Mayor Waters; Mrs. Smith of Detroit, Mrs. Killian of Wisconsin, Mrs. Persons of New York, Mr. P. H. Hoonan of Reed City, F. J. Hoonan of Kalamazoo and Owen Hoonan of North Irving. She leaves 35 grandchildren, 29 great grandchildren and two great great grandchildren, making five generations in the section of her home.

Hoyt.—Zebulon B. Hoyt died, May 1, 1898, at his home in Hastings, aged 71 years.

Mr. Hoyt was born in Wyoming Valley, Luzerne county, Pennsylvania, and his boyhood days were passed in the historic valley. In 1859 he was married to Miss Euphemia Miller of the same place and moved to Michigan, settling in Yankee Springs, near Irving station, in March, 1866. He later bought the large farm known as Bull's Prairie, in Rutland, which contained about 500 acres. This he continued to carry on until 13 years ago, when he removed to Hastings. He was an active business man, a splendid farmer and a successful one. To him and his estimable wife were born two children, who with the wife survive him, Chas. Hoyt of Cleveland and Mrs. J. A. Kaley of Vermillion, Ohio. He was elected to various township offices and discharged the obligations with credit. He was of a quiet and retiring disposition, yet he was discriminating and true to his convictions.

Hull.—Mrs. Louisa M. Hull died June 18, 1898, aged 69 years.

Mrs. Hull was born in Bethlehem, Hunterdon county, New Jersey, and came to Michigan in October, 1876. She resided in Baltimore township until 1882, then moved to the township of Rutland and lived there up to the time of her death. Two sons and two daughters survive her.

Ickes.—Adam H. Ickes answered the last roll call February 13, 1899, aged 68 years, 10 months and 4 days.

Mr. Ickes was born in Bedford county, Pennsylvania, April 9, 1830. He was married in October, 1853, to Elizabeth Imler and moved to Ohio, where he lived 22 years. He served in the 169th Ohio Volunteers in the 100-day service in 1864, receiving an honorable discharge. In 1877 he moved to Michigan, and subsequently to Hastings, where he resided until his death. He leaves a wife and four children, Mrs. M. Erb, Miss Anna and F. N. Ickes of this city, and Rev. J. L. Ickes of Lake Odessa.

KELLEY.—Mrs. Mary Kelley of Irving died October 2, 1898, aged 86 years.

Mary Shea was born in county Clare, Ireland, coming to this country in 1840. She married James Kelley in 1851, being one of three sisters who married three brothers; of the sisters all are dead, and two of the brothers, leaving the mourning husband the only survivor.

In 1852 they moved to Michigan with barely enough to get here with. They started in to make a home on the farm on which she died. They prospered and added to their 20-acre farm until they had a competence. They raised a family of seven children, six of whom are now living, Michael of Walkerton, Ind.; Frank of Chicago; George of Denver, Colo.; Mrs. D. C. Quigley, Jud and James of Irving.

LEACH.—James Monroe Leach died at his home in Carlton, April 5, 1899, aged 69 years.

Deceased was one of the old pioneers of Carlton township, and probably lived to see as many changes and improvements there as any man living. Born in the town of Windham, Rockingham county, New Hampshire, he came to Michigan with his parents five years later, settling on the home farm in the year 1840. At that time the town was but one vast wilderness and settlements were few and far between. He was married in March, 1855, and a widow and four children survive him. He was also a veteran of the civil war, enlisting in Co. E, Twelfth Michigan Infantry. Through a life of toil and industry he secured a competency, and his later years were spent in peace and quiet. A wife and four children survive him, the latter being Mrs. Foster Sisson, Mrs. Will Pennock, Mrs. Buell Fuller and Rollin Leach.

MATTHEWS.—Mrs. Hannah Matthews died at her home in Irving, December 11, 1898, aged 80 years.

Hannah Bronson was born in Ohio, August 9, 1818, and while a child moved to Dearborn county, Indiana. She was married to Allen Matthews in 1834, and moved to Barry county in 1864.

She was the mother of 10 children, nine of whom are living and were present at the funeral services. She had 37 grandchildren and 20 great grandchildren, nearly all of whom gathered to pay their last tribute of love to grandma.

Her children are Mrs. D. R. Trego, Mrs. J. J. Kronewitter and Oscar Matthews of Hastings, Mrs. H. Oliver of Ionia, Mrs. E. E. Lamoreaux of Grand Rapids, Mrs. B. B. Johnson, Mrs. W. Z. Moore, James and Edward of Irving.

Miller.—Mrs. Susan Miller, aged 88 years, widow of George Miller, died Tuesday evening, December 27, 1898, at the home of her son, Wm. H. Miller, in Hastings.

Deceased was born in Junus, Ottawa county, N. Y.; moved to Michigan in 1859 and to Castleton in 1868. Her husband died about 19 years ago. Five children survive her, viz.: John Miller of Yankee Springs, James Miller of Pittsfield, Mrs. Eva Cornell of Allegan, Jennie Miller of Kalamazoo, and Wm. H. Miller of Hastings. With the latter son she lived about three months previous to her death.

Odell.—Asa Odell, one of Carlton's earliest settlers, died January 12, 1899, aged 67 years.

Deceased was a native of Hartland, Niagara county, New York. In 1841 his father, Jacob Odell, with two sons, Joseph and Wilson, came to Michigan with the intention of buying a home. They located in Carlton on the farm now owned by John Fleming, which was bought of Harrison Wickham.

The following year the family moved to Michigan, coming by the way of the great lakes from Buffalo to Detroit, and overland to Hastings, which at that time was a small village of about 30 white inhabitants. The road from there to their future home was little more than a trail around the hills and swamps, passing but one white settler's home, that of Monroe Leach, who was then living with his mother, where his home is now.

Mr. Odell cast his first presidential vote in 1852 for Pierce and King.

His father died March 28, 1847. In 1862 he, with his mother, moved on the farm of Willis Martin, then owned by his brother Joseph. About 1865 he moved to the farm which has since been his home. His mother died May 18, 1869. May 4, 1864, he married Mrs. Martha Wickham, who died June 3, 1893. In March, 1894, he married again, to Mrs. Jane Thornton, with whom he lived about two years; she still lives in the southern part of the county.

Mr. Odell was the youngest of 15 children, of whom two brothers still survive him, Jacob Odell of Carlton and Joseph Odell of Castleton.

Powers.—Wm. H. Powers, an influential citizen and resident of Hastings, died Friday, August 12, 1898, at his residence in the Fourth ward.

Mr. Powers was born March 29, 1843, at Brushville, Livingston county, New York, where he passed his childhood and early youth, coming to Barry county with his parents in 1856. Shortly after his ar-

rival he commenced to learn the printer's trade, which business he followed until the civil war broke out, when he enlisted in the Thirteenth Michigan Infantry. He afterward enlisted in the Eighth Michigan Cavalry, serving until 1863, when he was discharged on account of sickness. After the war mercantile pursuits engaged his attention until he was elected county clerk in 1870, which position he held for four terms. After his service as clerk, Mr. Powers was admitted to the practice of law, but never followed that profession. Later he held the position of under sheriff for two years, was postmaster under Harrison four years, and deputy county clerk, performing nearly all the duties of that office for two years.

In business he was active and aggressive, doing much toward establishing Hastings' manufacturing interests. He was identified with the Hastings Roller Mill, serving as its secretary for some time, until he accepted a position as bookkeeper in the Hastings City Bank, which position he held until his death.

In October, 1867, Mr. Powers was married to Miss Sarah Brown, who survives him. Wm. B., the present city treasurer, and Roy H., who died a few years ago, were their only children.

Robertson.—John A. Robertson died April 6, 1899, at his residence in Irving, aged 77 years.

John Alexander Robertson was born at Loamingdale, Scotland, on the banks of the river Tweed. He came to America, landing in this country July 8, 1842. He resided in the state of New York until May, 1846, when, in company with Charles McQueen, he came to Barry county, both locating adjoining farms just north of Irving village. Here the life of Mr. Robertson was spent until declining years made it necessary for him to retire from active management of the farm. He was married May 22, 1852, to Sarah A. Hendershott. Since retiring from his farm he has lived principally in the village, but he found it impossible to break the habit of a lifetime of toil and care, and much of his time was spent upon the farm.

He leaves a wife and one brother, who resides at Melbourne, Australia, and one son, Walter J. Robertson, who now lives at the old home.

Through labor, close economy and good management he accumulated a comfortable fortune.

Rogers.—Hon. Jeremiah Rogers died at his home in Carlton, February 15, 1899, in his 67th year.

Deceased was born in the town of Hector, Tompkins county, New York, March 17, 1832, being the eldest of a family of five children. When only four years old he came to Michigan with his parents, who joined the great movement at that time towards Michigan, which was then almost un unbroken wilderness, foreseeing the advantages that the territory then offered for one of moderate means to locate. Accordingly, in 1836, the family came to this county and located in Carlton, where the Rogers family have been known for upwards of half a century. He located on the farm, which is but a short distance from the residence so long occupied by the deceased.

May 17, 1855, Mr. Rogers was joined in marriage to Miss Betsey Firster of Carlton. They began housekeeping on the farm which for over forty years has been their home, save three years which were spent in the state of Nebraska.

Five children, four sons and one daughter, have graced the family circle. Two sons preceded the father to the spirit land.

As a citizen Mr. Rogers was upright and honest, esteemed very highly by his fellowmen, since he had the honor of representing them in the Michigan state legislature for two terms, viz.: 1887-8 and 1889-90.

Sentz.—Henry Sentz died in Hastings, August 25, 1898, aged 71 years.

Mr. Sentz was born in York county, Pennsylvania, in 1827, and went to Ohio at the age of two years, residing there until October, 1864, when he removed to Michigan and to Barry county, residing in Baltimore until 1890, when he took up his residence in Hastings. In 1852 he married Mary E. Layman. He served in the civil war, the last 100 days as sergeant of Co. G, One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Ohio Infantry.

Mr. Sentz held several offices of trust in his township and was twice overseer of the poor house and farm. He leaves a wife and three children, Mrs. Alice Garn and E. L. Sentz of Ohio, and Mrs. Hattie Evans of Hastings.

Throop.—Hannah Belle Throop died at Albion, September 14, 1898, aged 43 years.

She was born in the township of Hastings and had spent most of her life in the city up to a few years ago. Her connection with the public schools of the city and her employment as stenographer and bookkeeper in the law office of Knappen & Van Arman for so many years had given her a wide acquaintance. She graduated from the Hastings high school in 1876 under the superintendency of Prof. Samuel Dickie. She taught in the city schools for eight years, then one term in the Middle-

ville school, then one and a half years in the State Public School at Coldwater. The later years of her life were spent at Albion.

BERRIEN COUNTY.

BY LEWIS BEESON.

Babcock.—George S. Babcock died May 9, 1899, at the extreme old age of 91 years.

Settling in Niles more than three score years ago, his life's history is entwined with the history of the city. He was a man who took an active interest in the welfare of the place, which was little more than a wilderness at the time of his advent on the scene.

Mr. Babcock was born in Albany county, New York, August 12, 1808. At the age of 29 he came to Niles, accompanied by his wife, whom he had married three years before. Shortly after his arrival he commenced the manufacture of grain cradles, primitive instruments utilized in cutting wheat, etc., by hand. Twenty-two years later, or in 1859, Mr. Babcock removed to a farm which he purchased, and on which he had since resided.

Mr. Babcock served one term as alderman from the First ward, and during his term of office the Main street iron bridge was built.

To Mr. and Mrs. Babcock six children were born, two of whom, together with a fond mother, have long since passed away. Those still living are as follows: Phebe W., who resides at the homestead; Mary E. of Jackson, Jas. M. of Niles, and Stephen H. of Salt Lake City, Utah.

Chapin.—H. A. Chapin, the wealthiest citizen of Niles, to whom this world offered much, surrendered all his earthly possessions and his soul took its flight to another world at midnight, December 16, 1898, leaving behind the mortal remains to be consigned to the impartial grave.

Henry Chapin, owner of the famous Chapin iron mine, was born in Leyeden, Franklin county, Massachusetts, October 5, 1813, son of Lorenzo and Maria Kent Chapin, farmers. The lineage of this gentleman goes back to Deacon Samuel Chapin, a settler in Springfield, Mass., in 1642. Owing to migration westward, Mr. Chapin learned to read, write and do other things of that sort in a country school in Portage county, Ohio, and he set foot on the first round of the ladder of business life as clerk in a general store in Akron, Ohio, climbing high enough to open a store of his own in Michigan. How high he subsequently as-

cended is denoted by the fact that to Mr. Chapin belonged the fee of the land in the upper peninsula of Michigan upon which the Chapin iron mine is now being operated. A royalty is paid for every ton of ore taken out, and, it is said, Mr. Chapin's revenue from that source has sometimes amounted to between $100,000 and $300,000 a year. The principal ownership of the paper mills on the east side of the river in Niles and the electric lighting plant in South Bend are included among his holdings now, as well as real estate in Chicago and shares in various corporations not named.

Mr. Chapin first settled in Edwardsburg in 1836, and came to Niles in the spring of '46. He engaged in the business of buying produce and wool in a frame building situated where Rudolf Wohlrab's business is now located, taking in S. S. Griffin as a business partner. Later he bought out his partner's interests and moved his business into the building now occupied by Snyder. Later, in 1860, Mr. Chapin again transferred his quarters, and was the first to occupy the Mirror building, where Lowry is now situated. About the commencement of the civil war Mr. Chapin met with the tide of adversity which bore him under and he failed, as did many others in war times. Later on he bought wool and produce on the streets, and in 1870 he and his son, Charles A., engaged in the insurance business, which they followed until 1880. Mr. Chapin's business career was checkered and he experienced not a little of the seamy side of life. At the time that the rich deposit of ore was discovered on Mr. Chapin's property he had succeeded in satisfying the demands of his creditors. In 1865 he bought the fee to what is now known as the Chapin mine at Iron Mountain, Mich. In 1880 the mine was developed and it proved to contain the largest deposit of iron ore then discovered in the United States, was worked successfully, and through its operation he had amassed a very large fortune. A small city has sprung up about the mine, which gives employment to the majority of its people.

In 1836 he was married in Portage county, Ohio, and he and Mrs. Chapin had lived together 62 years last April. To them were born four children, as follows: Sarah M., Carrie E., Charles A. and Henry E. Sarah, who married a Mr. Banfield, died at her home in Dowagiac at the age of 24 years. Carrie E. married a Mr. Bracken of Port Huron, and died at her home in the latter city at the age of 31 years. Henry E., the youngest child, died at the tender age of two years and 11 months, and Charles A., the youngest of the children but one, alone survives his

parent. Mrs. Chapin also lives to mourn her companion of over three score years.

Collins.—B. Y. Collins died November 22, 1898, aged 84 years.

Deceased was born in Milford, Delaware. At the age of 20 he came to Michigan and located at Niles, where he had resided for three score and four years. In 1845 he married Miss Helen M. Robinson at her home in New York city, who still survives him. To them were born three children, one of whom survives him, Wm. B. of Grand Rapids, who is widely and favorably known. Mr. Collins, Sr., erected the first three-story frame building known in Niles. The building stood on the site of what is now occupied by the Arcade building. He conducted a shoe business and later a general store. He introduced the first carriage ever brought to Niles and did much to promote the interests of the place, which was a wilderness, so to speak, upon his arrival there. He saw the giants of the forest bend beneath the tread of progress, which he did much to accelerate. He saw the log huts removed to be substituted by more comfortable quarters, and he saw the little settlement branch out and grow into a lively city whose natural beauty is nowhere excelled. The shoe business he disposed of to S. P. L. Hunstable, deceased, and later engaged in manufacturing brick. His brickyard was on Mill street, West Niles, where a fine deposit of blue clay still exists. He disposed of much of his product to Chicago parties subsequent to the great fire in '71. Mr. Collins was at one time an extensive property holder and had, during his residence there, erected 30 dwelling houses. He retired from active business pursuits 20 years ago, and had since resided at his late dwelling on the corner of Broadway and Third street. The history of his life is essentially interwoven with the history of the city. Aside from a wife and son, he is survived by two brothers and two sisters, as follows: J. A. Collins of St. Joseph, Mich.; J. S. Collins, who resides three and one-half miles east; Mrs. Sophia Dennis of Chicago, and Mrs. Mary Bond of Kansas City.

Moore.—Dr. Otis Moore, the son of one of the early merchants at Niles, and himself identified for some years with the best interests of Berrien and Cass counties, died at the home of his mother in the city of Niles on August 31, 1898. Most of his life was passed in Niles and vicinity. For a time he practiced medicine in Williamsville in Cass county and was in business for some time in Cassopolis in Cass county, but afterwards accepted a position with F. W. Richter & Co. in Niles, remaining with this firm some three years, when his health began to fail

and he removed to St. Joseph, Mich. His health continued bad and he returned to his mother's home in Niles, where death overtook him.

PRICE.—Thomas Price, one of the pioneers of Berrien county and the son of one who was a useful and early citizen of the county, died June 15, 1898, at the age of 72 years, at his farm in the "Bend of the River," north of Niles. He located there with his father when six years of age. He was respected as an honest, thrifty and useful man.

ROSEWARNE.—Charles F. Rosewarne died, November 28, 1898, at his home southeast of Niles. He was one of the earliest settlers of that part of Berrien county, and a man whose integrity was only equaled by his genial manners and thoughtful disposition. The deceased was born in Cornwall, England, about 80 years ago, and came to Michigan in 1835. He was one who made many warm friends, who always valued him for his good qualities.

SHAW.—James Shaw, one of the pioneers of Cass county, who came there in 1840, and represented that county in the state legislature in 1845 and 1847, passed peacefully away at 9 o'clock Saturday morning, December 12, 1898, at the home of his son in Howard township. The cause of his death was old age. The deceased leaves a wife and one son.

Mr. Shaw was numbered among the substantial residents of Berrien county. He moved to Niles eight years ago, after erecting a beautiful residence on South Third street, where he had since lived.

The deceased himself was one of a class of people for whom he expressed sympathy on the occasion of his introduction to the state legislature in '45, when he said: "We have come here today to express our veneration for those brave men and women who stood shoulder to shoulder in opening up the forests, carving homes out of the wilderness and bearing the hardships and trials consequent upon the settlement of a new country. They have borné their share of the burdens of life, with cares and anxieties for the interests of their families which none but themselves and their God could know."

In the course of the same instructive and interesting speech the late Mr. Shaw said, in speaking of the day set aside by the nation for the decoration of the resting place of soldiers:

"I visited the cemetery on that day, and I saw the trembling hand of the mother drop the bright flower upon the resting place of loved ones, and the salt tears drop fresh and free upon the mounds that marked

the resting places of our nation's heroes. The greatest honor that man can confer upon his fellowmen is to die for his country; and when stricken upon the field, his laurels half won and the earthquake voice of victory sounds in his ears, he turns his dying gaze proudly upon the stars and stripes under which he had marched to the field of carnage. Honor! eternal honor! to the brave who baptized their patriotism in their blood."

Mr. Shaw was every inch a man and his friends were many. He was the last survivor of the state legislature that sat in Detroit for the last time, preceding the removal of the capital to Lansing.

Wells.—Francis Wells, after 10 months' suffering, passed away July 30, 1898.

He was born in Ohio, October 15, 1823, and would have been 75 years old next October. His parents emigrated from Ohio to Michigan in October, 1831, and located at Edwardsburg, Cass county. Mr. Wells lived with his parents at Edwardsburg about four years, when they moved to Berrien county and settled in Bertrand township. Though a mere youth, he did not accompany his parents but remained at Edwardsburg and was employed to carry the mail between Cassopolis and Niles. He held this position about two years and with the earnings secured thereby made his first investment. He purchased a yoke of oxen, and from that time added to his possessions and acquired a large and productive farm. He lived to enjoy the comforts and luxuries of a beautiful home and attractive surroundings. In 1837 he again joined the old family in Bertrand township and was a resident of that township 60 years, less about two years of temporary absence.

In 1838 his father died, leaving Mr. Wells with other brothers and sisters and mother to keep the family together and obtain a living. The struggle was hard, but by perseverance and toil the necessities of life were secured.

In 1850 he went to California in search of gold and returned in two years well paid for his adventure.

On February 9, 1853, he was married to Rachel Herkimer, with whom he lived 45 years. Charitable and honest, he was kind to the unfortunate and just in business transactions.

At the time of his death he held the office of director of the Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company.

He is survived by his wife and five children, Chas. H., Frank and Isaac M. Wells, Mrs. Joel H. Gillette and Mrs. Fred A. Tichenor.

CALHOUN COUNTY.

BY JOHN F. HINMAN.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Abkins, Mrs. Elizabeth	Bedford	Sept. 2, 1898	48	
Adams, Chas. Sr.	Marengo	Jan. 18, 1899	91	
Aldrich, Charles	Tekonsha	March 17, 1899	72	
Anderson, Mrs. Josephine	Battle Creek	Oct. 1, 1898	92	
Andrew, Mrs. Geo.	Battle Creek	Jan. 25, 1899	42	
Andrus, Mrs. Lucy A.	Battle Creek	Dec. 28, 1898	75	
Angel, Mrs. G. W.	Battle Creek	Nov. 15, 1898	79	
Angevine, Byron	Albion	Aug. 5, 1898	49	Always resided in Michigan
Ansterburg, Mrs. M.	Homer	Sept. 1, 1898	68	
Arey, Charles	Clarendon	Jan. 18, 1899	58	Came to Michigan in 1865; lived in C. 25 years.
Atwood, Mrs. Maria	Leroy	March 22, 1899	63	
Bacon, Mrs. Pierce	Burlington	Oct. 7, 1898	40	
Bacon, Mrs. Rose A.	Battle Creek	Jan. 30, 1899	68	
Baker, George	Albion	Jan. 30, 1899	82	
Bailey, Mrs. Sarah A.	Homer	Dec. 19, 1898	95	She had resided in Litchfield since 1844.
Barkley, Robert	Albion	Dec. 19, 1898	61	
Barnes, Philander	Battle Creek	Sept. 15, 1898	60	
Bartlett, Wm.	Albion	July 31, 1898	82	
Beach, Artemus H.	Battle Creek	Aug. 19, 1898	93	A few days prior to his death he celebrated the 71st anniversary of his marriage.
Bilson, Henry	Clarendon	Dec. 7, 1898	74	
Bilson, Mrs. Sarah	Homer	April 9, 1899	57	
Bird, John	Pennfield	Oct. 1, 1898	78	
Boyce, Mrs. Martha	Battle Creek	June 26, 1898	64	
Boyd, William	Albion	Feb. 17, 1899	73	
Bradley, Andrew	Battle Creek	Oct. 24, 1898	42	
Breedlove, John	Battle Creek	Jan. 3, 1899	69	
Briggs, Dr. Thos. H.	Battle Creek	April 7, 1899	59	
Buckingham, Mrs. Abbie	Marshall	June 30, 1898.	71	
Burdge, John F.	Battle Creek	Sept. 26, 1898	81	
Burdick, Mrs. M. S.	LeRoy	March 22, 1899	63	
Busk, Laura H.	Battle Creek	June 4, 1898	69	
Butcher, Mrs. Jane S.	Battle Creek	Jan. 25, 1899	58	
Camburn, John A.	Homer	Jan. 28, 1899	75	

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Camburn, Mary (Mrs. J. A.)	Homer	April 1, 1899	69	
Carey, Mrs. Jessie	Marshall	Feb. 23, 1899	65	
Carney, Wm. H.	Battle Creek	Dec. 29, 1898	60	
Case, Homer	Bedford	Jan. 11, 1899	80	
Case, Ira	LeRoy	Oct. 19, 1898	84	
Chase, Mrs. Luretta	Battle Creek	June 4, 1898	54	
Cole, O. H.	Battle Creek	Feb. 10, 1899	87	
Coleman, Alexander	Bedford	Jan. 24, 1899	81	A pioneer of Bedford.
Collar, Mrs. Lettie	Burlington	July 11, 1898	65	
Collmenter, John	Albion	Oct. 24, 1898	41	
Coon, Nathan W.	Battle Creek	Aug. 30, 1898	73	
Cortright, Mrs. S. A.	Battle Creek	April 22, 1899	80	
Corwin, Silas H.	Battle Creek	July 12, 1898	64	
Craig, James A.	Battle Creek	Nov. 3, 1898	77	
Crandall, John	Tekonsha	Oct. 20, 1897	69	A resident of Michigan 44 years.
Crandall, Wm.	Albion	April 14, 1899	72	Was a resident of Michigan from his early youth.
Crawford, Edward	Marshall	Jan. 28, 1899	56	
Crossman, Mrs. Amanda M.	Marshall	April 12, 1899	81	She came to Michigan in 1839 and settled in Marshall.
Curtis, D. P.	Battle Creek	Aug. 15, 1898	70	
Daskam, Mrs. L. H.	Albion	Feb. 20, 1899	67	A resident of Albion since 1866.
Dawer, Miss Amelia	Battle Creek	April 5, 1899	53	
Dean, William	Marengo	Dec. 19, 1898	57	
Dennison, Mrs. Samuel	North Eckford	Nov. 27, 1898		An aged pioneer.
Dickey, Marsh	Marshall	June 1, 1899	90	
Dickinson, Mrs. Morinda	Clarendon	Feb. 20, 1899	85	She had lived in Michigan 58 years.
Dilno, Mrs. Sarah Perry	Convis	Jan. 16, 1899	69	
Donelly, Mrs. Anna	Battle Creek	Dec. 22, 1898	64	
Dorrance, Mrs. Eliza C.	Albion	Aug. 6, 1898	65	A resident of the city 21 years.
Doubleday, H. M.	Athens	June 16, 1898	67	
Downs, Mrs. R. C.	Battle Creek	Feb. 11, 1899	71	
Drake, Maria (Mrs. Benj.)	Marshall	March 1, 1899	81	She had lived in Marshall 63 years.
Earl, Benjamin	Battle Creek	Feb. 10, 1899	78	
Eddy, Joseph	Burlington	Dec. 26, 1898	71	He had been a resident of Burlington since 1861.
Edick, Mrs. H. C.	Albion	Jan. 31, 1899		
Eldredge, Riley	Burlington	Nov. 8, 1898	75	
Evans, Ezra	Battle Creek	May 8, 1899	83	
Fanning, Mrs. Palmer	Marshall	Feb. 18, 1899	76	
Ferris, Geo. M.	Athens	May 13, 1899	74	
Finch, Mrs. Robt. G.	Albion	May 9, 1899	65	
Fisher, Mrs. A. M.	Homer	Dec. 16, 1898	77	She was born in Pennsylvania and settled in Homer township in 1834.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Foster, Ira	Albion	Oct. 9, 1898	87	Born in New York; came to Michigan in 1839, and resided in Albion since 1864.
Frederick, John	Albion	July 22, 1898	46	
Fulkerson, Philip	Marengo	Aug. 1898	77	He came to Michigan in 1857 and resided in Marengo 41 years.
Garman, John	Bedford	Jan. 4, 1899	66	
Gibson, Mrs. Alex	Battle Creek	Feb. 10, 1899	78	
Godsmark, Mrs. Richard	Bedford	March 15, 1899	82	
Goff, Enoch J	Marshall	March 9, 1899	66	He came to Michigan in 1854.
Golden, Mrs. Sarah	Battle Creek	Nov. 25, 1898	81	
Goodins, Mrs. Sarah	Homer	Jan. 18, 1899	76	She was better known as Mrs Edward Stanton, whose three children survive.
Goucher, Mrs.	Convis	Feb. 8, 1899	81	
Gould, Albert	LeRoy	Feb. 3, 1899	43	
Gould, Mrs. Betsey	LeRoy	April 26, 1899	83	
Granger, Mrs. Emeline	Rice Creek	Feb. 14, 1899	73	Settled in Michigan in 1841 and gave two sons to the war of '61.
Groff, Mary E. (Mrs. J. W.)	Albion	Sept. 1898	51	
Gruguera, Mrs. Sarah	Battle Creek	Feb. 9, 1899	85	
Guyant, Mrs. Annitta	Albion	Oct. 18, 1898	56	
Hall, Mrs. Lyman	LeRoy	Dec. 23, 1898	79	
Hall, Mrs. Willis	Burlington	Sept. 26, 1898	73	
Hamilton, Mrs. Jas	Battle Creek	July 2, 1898	54	
Harnden, Mrs. Marietta	Battle Creek	June 7, 1898	75	
Harper, Mrs. Sophia	Emmet	March 4, 1899	77	
Harrison, John	Athens	July 10, 1898	71	
Hartman, John	Marshall	Oct. 25, 1898	78	
Haskinson, Mrs. Louisa	Battle Creek	July 19, 1898	80	
Havens, Mrs. Amelia S	Battle Creek	June 5, 1898	74	
Henshaw, Mary (Mrs. J. B.)	Homer	March 5, 1899	56	Her whole life was spent in Michigan.
Herrick, Mrs. Gardner	Albion	April 12, 1899	61	A long time resident of the city.
Herrick, Mrs. Wm	Albion	Oct. 25, 1898	52	
Hess, Frank	Battle Creek	June 26, 1898	42	
Hewitt, Mrs. O. M	Marshall	Nov. , 1898	74	She came to Michigan in 1836.
Hoag, John	Albion	Jan. 13, 1899	81	Had lived in the vicinity 56 years.
House, Mrs. Statira	Battle Creek	Nov. 8, 1898	86	
Howard, Mrs. A. B	Tekonsha	Feb. 21, 1899	66	She had lived in the vicinity many years.
Hughes, Mrs. D. Darwin	Convis	Dec. 29, 1898	70	Widow of the celebrated Grand Rapids attorney of that name.
Hughes, Mrs. Mary	Marshall	Jan. 8, 1899	65	
Hussey, Mrs. Sarah	Battle Creek	March 22, 1899	91	
Iddings, Mrs. Martha A	Albion	Feb. 19, 1899	70	
Ivens, Mrs. Richard	Emmet	Jan. 22, 1899	78	
Johnson, Mrs. Caroline	Albion	April 9, 1899	75	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Johnson, Mrs. Gilbert	Newton	Feb. 9, 1899	91	
Johnson, Mrs. Jonathan	Emmet	Dec. 14, 1898	74	
Johnson, Mrs. L. Cass	Marengo	Sept. 1, 1898	46	
Jordon, Mrs. Frances	Battle Creek	June 4, 1898	80	
Kellogg, Hiram	Bedford	Nov. 11, 1898	77	
Kellogg, Mrs. Kate A	Pennfield	March 21, 1899	68	
Kennedy, Oscar F	Battle Creek	Feb. 3, 1899	65	
Kent, Mrs. Electa A	Albion	April 7, 1899	87	
Kesslar, Hiley	Albion	Jan. 19, 1899	57	He had lived from his boyhood in this vicinity.
Kikendall, Mrs. Mary	Marshall	Dec. 19, 1898	90	
Kipp, Joseph	Marshall	Jan. 8, 1899	74	
Knickerbocker, W. M	Albion	Sept. 4, 1898	87	
Lacey, Mrs. Hannah	Homer	April 9, 1899	78	Came to Michigan in 1842, and first settled in Union City.
Lee, Mrs. Cyrus	Newton	June 18, 1898	77	
Lee, H. O	Athens	July 2, 1898	74	Had lived in Athens 65 yrs.
Lee, John	Eckford	Feb. 7, 1899	81	
Lehr, F. P	Marengo	Dec. 28, 1898	.....	
Livingston, Mrs. Emily	Marshall	Jan. 5, 1899	70	
Lloyd, Mrs. Ransom M	Battle Creek	July 5, 1898	43	
Lohr, Chas. P	Albion	July 23, 1898	50	
Luce, Zephiriah	Albion	June 1, 1898	63	
Lusk, Fred	Marshall	June 3, 1898	46	
Lusk, Orrin	Eckford	Dec. 11, 1898	72	
Lynch, Mrs. Mary	Battle Creek	April 18, 1899	72	
Macombs, Mrs. John	Clarendon	Aug. 29, 1898	58	
Main, Joseph A	Emmet	Jan. 30, 1899	90	
Mains, Sidney	Tekonsha	July 8, 1898	50	
McCartney, Mrs. G. A	Homer	June 11, 1898	44	
McCollum, Jacob	Bedford	Nov. 25, 1898	80	
McGee, Edward	Marshall	Jan. 12, 1899	.....	
McHugh, John	Marshall	Oct. 26, 1898	54	
McManus, Mrs. Hannah	Burlington	Nov. 8, 1898	90	
McMillen, Newton	Battle Creek	Oct. 22, 1898	83	
McNames, Rodman S	Marshall	June 14, 1898	65	He was a resident of Marshall 40 years.
Mead, Charles	Albion	Dec. 22, 1898	.....	
Mench, Anna M	Homer	Dec. 16, 1898	77	
Merrill, Mrs. Samuel C	Battle Creek	Sept. 15, 1898	71	
Miller, John	Marshall	March 13, 1899	88	
Miller, Peter	East Leroy	Jan. 21, 1899	90	Settled in Michigan in 1868.
Miller, Mrs. Wm	Eckford	Feb. 8, 1899	77	
Mitchell, Mrs. Mary L	Battle Creek	June 18, 1898	69	She came with her parents to B. C. when a child.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Morton, George	Battle Creek	Oct. 24, 1898	68	An old time resident of the city.
Nelson, Dr. W. H.	Marshall	Feb. 18, 1899	76	He was a resident of Paw Paw several years.
Newton, Tyler	Marengo	Jan. 22, 1899	85	One of the oldest pioneers.
Nichols, Stephen D	Tekonsha	Aug. 18, 1898	68	A resident of Tekonsha over half a century.
Nichols, Mrs. Suzama Clark	Homer	Jan. 27, 1899	72	Came to Michigan in early childhood and settled in Plymouth.
Noble, Wm. A	Battle Creek	Dec. 30, 1898	73	
O'Brien, John	Albion	March 15, 1899	81	
Olney, Elias B	Tekonsha	May 19, 1899	75	
Perkins, Luther	Tekonsha	Dec. 1, 1898	44	
Phillips, Levi H	Burlington	Jan. 19, 1899	66	He was a resident of the township since 1835.
Pierce, Wilbur F	Battle Creek	March 18, 1899	48	
Pittee, Hiram	Battle Creek	Oct. 8, 1898	83	
Preast, Mrs. Elizabeth	Tekonsha	March 18, 1899	86	
Preston, Ephraim	Marshall	Dec. 14, 1898	82	
Putnam, Mrs. Carrie M	Battle Creek	Jan. 23, 1899	57	
Reasoner, Mrs. Harriet	Battle Creek	Oct. 29, 1898	84	
Reed, Mrs. Eliza	Battle Creek	Dec. 28, 1898	73	
Rice, Lydia A. (Mrs. Ed.)	Albion	June 11, 1898	78	Came to Michigan in 1853; lived in Albion 31 years.
Roach, Mrs. Jas	Ceresco	May 1, 1899	64	A resident of the village over 40 years.
Roberts, Mrs. E. F	Marshall	Sept. 2, 1898	88	
Roberts, Mrs. E. L	Marshall	Jan. 30, 1899	66	
Robertson, Orrin W	Albion	Jan. 27, 1899	70	A resident of the section for 35 years.
Robinson, Solon E	Eckford	Feb. 22, 1899	79	
Rose, Chyler	Homer	Nov. 18, 1898	83	He came to Michigan with his parents in the spring of 1823, settling in Jonesville township.
Sabins, Mrs. Caroline	Tekonsha	April, 1899	76	
Samson, Sarah (Mrs. B. L.)	Marengo	Nov. 9, 1898	69	Came to Michigan in 1845.
Sanders, H. S	Newton	May 5, 1899	74	
Sayers, Mrs. Emma	Eckford	July 11, 1898	75	
Schultz, Frederick	Albion	Nov. 18, 1898	74	Came to this country from Germany in 1858, and to Albion.
Scott, Sidney	Battle Creek	Aug. 18, 1898	50	
Sellers, Francis	Marshall	April 30, 1899	85	He had been a resident of the township many years.
Semper, Mrs. Jane	Albion	Jan. 31, 1899	87	
Sharpsteen, Mrs. Anson	Pennfield	May 31, 1899	80	
Sharpsteen, Mrs. Mary	Battle Creek	Feb. 10, 1899	71	
Shay, Benj. F	Battle Creek	March 13, 1899	66	
Sherman, Edward	Battle Creek	Oct. 11, 1898	40	
Sinclair, Mrs. Elizabeth	Marshall	Aug. 16, 1898	78	A resident of the city over 40 years.
Sisson, R. J	Battle Creek	April 14, 1899	69	
Smiley, Mrs. J. F	Marshall	Dec. 25, 1898	58	A long time resident of the city, wife of Dr. S.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Smith, John S.	Eckford	June 20, 1898..	66	Settled in Eckford in 1866.
Snyder, Mrs. Otis	Albion	May 8, 1898...	61	
Spencer, Mrs. Betsy	Athens	Jan. 11, 1899..	.....	
Spencer, Mark	Athens	July 6, 1898...	80	He had lived in his present residence 47 years.
Spencer, Mrs. Martha	Newton	June 18, 1898..	77	
Spooner, Mrs. Catherine	Newton	Oct. 1, 1898....	58	
Stone, Daniel	Battle Creek.	Nov. 9, 1898...	71	
Sturgis, Hiram Nelson	Marshall	Nov. 3, 1898...	44	
Sutliff, Mary E. (Mrs. Levi)	Marshall	Jan. 19, 1899..	76	Settled in Marshall in 1856.
Swift, Alfred S.	Tekonsha	Feb. 2, 1899...	75	
Tadman, Jane W. (Mrs. Jas.)	Eckford	March 26, 1899	68	She came to Michigan in 1836.
Talmadge, Alvah P.	Newton	Jan. 19, 1899..	75	
Terry, Mrs. Jennie U.	Battle Creek	Jan 23, 1899..	55	
Throop, Mrs. H. B.	Albion	Sept. 14, 1898.	43	
Tobin, Richard	Battle Creek	April 13, 1899.	79	
Townsend, Mrs. Nancy	Marshall	Jan. 29, 1899...	80	She came to Michigan in the early thirties.
Townsend, Mrs. Owen	Marshall	Dec. 19, 1898..	.....	
Travis, George	Marshall	Feb. 3, 1899...	41	
Underwood, Chester R.	Newton	Jan. 24, 1899..	79	He came to Calhoun county Mich., when 16 years old.
VanBuren, Mrs. J. W.	Albion	Oct. 9, 1898....	78	Lived in that vicinity nearly thirty years.
VanFleet, Mrs. James	Convis	April 25, 1899.	77	
VanVleet, Ralph S.	Battle Creek	March 19, 1899	76	
Wagner, Susannah (Mrs. D.)	Homer	Sept. 27, 1898..	96	Came to Michigan in 1838.
Walford, Mrs. Thos. J.	Homer	June 25, 1898..	61	Came to Michigan in 1872.
Walkinhut, Benj.	Pennfield	June 2, 1899...	43	
Walz, Mrs. Barbara	Marshall	Dec. 21, 1898..	73	
Ward, Mrs. Thos.	Marshall	Feb. 6, 1899...	68	
Washburn, Mrs. Phoebe	Bedford	Jan. 23, 1899..	81	
Wells, Thos. W.	Marshall	Jan. 25, 1899..	55	
Welton, Geo. A	Battle Creek.	March 31, 1899	54	
Wetmore, Birdseye	Fredonia	Dec. 24, 1898..	87	
Wheeler, Wm. D.	LeRoy	Dec. 13, 1898..	57	
Whitcomb, Jas. L.	Battle Creek	May 29, 1899..	79	
Willard, Mrs. D. N.	LeRoy	Nov 15, 1898..	83	
Williams, Mrs. Mary	Battle Creek	Jan. 21, 1899..	63	
Willibrant, John	Battle Creek	Jan. 29, 1899..	89	
Windiate, Almira (Mrs. Wm.)	LeRoy	Oct. 8, 1898...	74	
Withington, Mrs. Caroline	Tekonsha	Sept. 2, 1898..	48	
Wocholz, Mrs. Henrietta C	Albion	Oct. 25, 1898..	69	
Wood, Mrs. Lucy C	Homer	Oct. 28, 1898..	90	She was a lineal descendant of Jno. C. Calhoun.
Wright, Frank	Albion	April 11, 1899.	74	

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Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Wright, Josiah	Homer	Nov. 5, 1898	85	He came to Michigan in 1837.
Wright, Marion S. (Mrs. Robt.)	Burlington	April 15, 1899	50	She was a native of the State.
Yoss, Mrs. Elizabeth	Battle Creek	July 25, 1898	85	
Zang, Peter	Battle Creek	May 24, 1899	77	

ALBAUGH.—James B. Albaugh died at his home in Marshall, April 18, 1899, aged 71 years.

Deceased was born in Lyons, N. Y., in 1828, and in the spring of 1863 he came to Michigan, and since that time until his sudden departure he was a respected resident of Marshall. November 28, 1850, he was married to Miss Mary A. Crippen, and to them four children were born. The oldest, Mrs. Sweet, died three years ago at Carson City. Mrs. Clark White of Grand Rapids, Mrs. Hattie B. Traver of Owosso, and Lewis B. Albaugh of Marshall, with their mother, survive him.

AUSTIN.—Charles F. Austin, one of the oldest and most respected citizens of Albion, passed from earth March 29, 1899, aged 63 years.

No one in Albion had been more closely identified with its interests and growth than Mr. Austin. He was at one time a member of the firm of Austin & Smith, hardware merchants of Albion, and was one of the foremost citizens and business men of that municipality. He is distinguished in the history of the city as having been its first mayor, and had been otherwise identified with its civic life. He was a native of Yates, Orleans county, N. Y., where his birth occurred February 10, 1836. He was married in 1858 to Miss Mary A. Wallace, who was born in Pennsylvania in April, 1840. Soon after their marriage he purchased land in Sheridan township, and there he and his young wife began life together. At the death of his father he sold out and removed to the old homestead, where he remained until 1865.

In that year Mr. Austin entered upon his mercantile career as a clerk in the hardware store of A. P. Gardner, with whom he remained three years. Afterwards he was with O. Chas. Gale & Co., with whom he continued until 1874, when Mr. E. W. Hollingsworth purchased the stock of the company and took Mr. Austin and Henry D. Smith as partners, under the firm name of E. W. Hollingsworth & Co. In 1879 they sold out to A. J. Gale & Co., and Mr. Austin was then employed by the Gale Manufacturing Company for a short time, but Mr. Hollingsworth again purchasing the store, he went with him as clerk and acted in that capac-

ity until May, 1880, when O. Chas. Gale purchased the stock, and he was with him until 1881. In that year Messrs. Austin and Smith bought a new stock and founded the firm of Austin & Smith, which continues until this day.

Though so engrossed in business, Mr. Austin yet found time to help his fellow citizens in the administration of public affairs, and has been an invaluable official in the various local offices of which he has been an incumbent. In 1881 he was elected president of Albion village, was re-elected in 1882, and in the election of March, 1885, was again honored by being called to that office. In the following April, Albion received its city charter, which necessitated a new election of officers. Thus Mr. Austin was placed at the head of municipal affairs by being elected the first mayor of the city. Under his direction the affairs of the city prospered, and in recognition of his services a petition was sent to the city government to change the name of the Marshall road within the city limits to Austin avenue in honor of the first mayor of Albion. Mr. Austin witnessed much of the growth of Calhoun county, and it may well have been his pride that he had a hand in its development. He has lived to see the wilderness become a well-settled, prosperous country, with numberless busy towns, many fine farms, with school houses, churches and all indications that an intelligent, industrious people have their home here.

Mr. and Mrs. Austin have been blessed in their wedded life by the following children: William W.; Jessie, wife of Calvin S. Tucker; Fred W.; Bert W., who resides in Chicago; Sanford W., who died in 1881 at the age of 18 years, and Charles H., who died in 1871 at the age of 10 years. Mr. Austin was elected one of the board of education of Albion in 1879, which office he still held at the time of his death, and in 1891 was appointed by the city council one of the commissioners of the Albion water works. He had been for the past 15 years a trustee in the First Baptist church of Albion.

Avann.—Robert S. Avann found in death, December 3, 1898, the only relief which he had looked forward to for nearly a year, and for which he had waited with wonderful patience and fortitude through months of the most excrutiating pain.

The example of such a life and death cannot fail to exert an abiding influence for all that is best in life. The whole community is richer for his having lived in it, and no man ever left to his widow and children an example more inexhaustibly potential with all those qualities of heart and soul which contribute to the truest nobility and the sweetest happiness of life.

Robert S. Avann was born in Tenterden, Kent, England, July 16, 1848. When he was six years old he came with his parents to this country, and found their first home in Cuyahoga county, Ohio. His mother, past 80 years of age, still lives in Cleveland, Ohio.

He finished the classical course in Baldwin university in 1873, and afterwards taught for three years in the Upper Iowa university. In 1877 he graduated at Harvard, taking the highest scholarship for proficiency in Greek. In October of the same year he was appointed proctor, which position he held until 1880, pursuing post-graduate courses and receiving the degree of A. M. He then spent a year in the school of All Sciences, Boston university, and received the degree of Ph. D. He remained in the east studying and teaching until 1883, when he was elected professor of Latin in Albion college. He continued to fill this chair until the end of the last college year, when, suffering from great weakness and forewarned that the end was near, he resigned.

He was modest and reserved, but his accurate scholarship was universally recognized. As his father had a large family and was in moderate circumstances, he received no help, but worked his own way through college, never spending a dollar until he had earned it. August 18, 1880, he was married to Ella Torbet, who had been a classmate with him in college. They have had five children. The two eldest, George and Robert, who were born in the east, are students in Albion college; the other three, born in Michigan, all died in infancy.

Barker.—Hasey E. Barker, who had resided in Homer for 15 years, died at his home there, April 1, 1899, aged 71 years.

Mr. Barker was born in Greenwich, Huron county, Ohio, January 28, 1828. In 1855 he married Miss Jane E. Barre of Ripley, Ohio, and two years later removed to Reading, Mich., and there made their home until they moved to Homer in 1884. Four children were born to them—Mrs. G. E. Cooper of St. Paul, Minn.; Miss Aimee M., Mrs. J. D. Hunter and Mr. A. J. Barker of Parkersburg, W. Va.

In the early part of his life Mr. Barker was engaged in teaching. Later he followed the occupation of a contractor or builder in southern Michigan and northern Ohio. He was honest and skillful at his business and erected a large number of buildings.

While a resident of Reading the esteem of his fellow citizens was shown by his election to the office of village president.

When the civil war broke out he was among the first to respond to the call for troops. He enlisted in the First Michigan Light Artillery,

Battery I, and served three years and 11 months. He made an honorable record and came out of the army with the rank of captain.

BENNETT.—George T. Bennett was born near Albion, Calhoun county, Mich., February 23, 1839, and died in Marengo, February 21, 1899.

Deceased was first married November 13, 1858, to Miss Elizabeth Cushman, who died October 27, 1877, leaving five children to his care, all of whom survive him. In 1865 he enlisted in the Ninth Regiment Michigan Infantry. After serving one year he returned to Marshall and settled in Marengo township. In December, 1883, he was wedded to Mrs. Frances Albaugh, who still survives him.

BENTLEY.—John R. Bentley died January 16, 1899, aged 57 years.

John Ryant, eldest son of Joseph and Louisa Bentley, was born in Convis, September 23, 1842. He had three sisters, who died in childhood, and a brother, Charles, who departed this life about seven years ago. His father was born in England in 1811, his mother in Connecticut in 1814. She died in 1884, and four years later he passed on to meet her.

Mr. Bentley spent his youth in the common schools and later two years at Albion college and about a year at Olivet, after which he taught school a short time. April 3, 1889, he was married to Miss Leora Bigelow of Oneida county, New York, daughter of Stephen and Rocelia Bigelow, who recently celebrated the golden anniversary of their married life. The wife and one daughter survive him.

BLAKELY.—Alphonzo Blakely, one of the oldest residents of Albion, died at his home on Clinton street, Wednesday morning, January 11, 1899. He was born in Sodus, N. Y., in 1808, thus being in his 91st year. In 1837 he was married, and the same fall moved to Michigan, settling in Albion, where he has since resided.

They moved into a frame house (the first one built in Albion), which stood on the site of their present home, 48 years ago. Mr. Blakely was engaged in various pursuits until advanced age forced him to retire from active participation in affairs. He left, besides his widow, two sons, M. A. Blakely of Chicago and C. C. Blakely of Newark, N. J. If the personal experiences and observations of this veteran, worthy citizen who is gone, and of his noble wife, who is still with us, could be recorded, no better or more complete history of the development of the city and adjacent country could be desired. Some idea of the conditions which prevailed when Mr. and Mrs. Blakely came to Albion may

be gained from the fact that they traced their way by marked trees, no roads having been built, and that they crossed the Kalamazoo river on fallen trees, no bridges having at that time been laid.

BLANCHARD.—Eliza Ann Blanchard was born in the state of New York in 1816 and died at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. Theodore Bull, in Marshall township, April 20, 1899. She was married to Hiram Blanchard in 1834 and with him came to Michigan two years later. In 1887 he peacefully passed to his reward, and she in feebleness of body waited patiently for the coming of her Lord. She was one of the very early settlers in Michigan, when it took as much courage to face privations and death in the forests as on the battlefield. Sixty-three years she lived in the state.

Mrs. Blanchard was the mother of seven children, three sons and four daughters, four of whom survive.

CALKINS.—Turner B. Calkins was born in Danby, Vt., August 22, 1830, and departed this life December 26, 1898, aged 68 years, 4 months and 4 days.

He wedded at Fowler's Mills, Ohio, December 13, 1854, Miss Eliza Fowler, who survives him.

To their home were born five children, and but two of these, Mrs. R. J. McDowell of Denver, Colo., and L. C. Calkins of Marshall, survive their father.

The family came to Marshall in April, 1878, and the farm home has been their residence for over twenty years.

CAMBURN.—Mrs. Mary Camburn died at her late residence in South Homer, April 1, 1899.

She was born in Orleans county, New York, April 10, 1831, and was therefore at the time of her death nearly 68 years of age.

She moved with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. N. P. Vandybogurt, deceased, to this state in 1838, where the remainder of her life was passed, 33 years at her late residence.

She was united in marriage to John A. Camburn, deceased, January 5, 1846, and nine children were born to this happy union, three of whom, Mrs. Lorane Thompson, Frank and N. P. Camburn, together with one brother, Chas. H. Vandybogurt, four sisters, Mrs. Adeline Bailey, Mrs. Amelia Lum, Mrs. Malisa Brewer and Mrs. Ellen Shaw, survive her.

She was a charter member of the L. A. S. of the St. Joe River Free Baptist church, being the second member of the organization to pass away.

COLLINS.—Albert S. Collins was born in Fredonia township, Calhoun county, Mich., July, 1841, and died March 27, 1899, being nearly 58 years of age.

He wedded Miss Henrietta Phelps of Fredonia in April, 1865. To their home two sons were born, both of whom, with the wife and mother, were present at the funeral, held in Fredonia Congregational church Wednesday afternoon, March 29, Marshall Commandery No. 17, K. T., in charge, and Rev. J. M. Getchell officiating. He enlisted in 1861, then reenlisted in the regular army of the United States and served 30 years. He was a member of C. Colgrove Post 166, G. A. R., and of Marshall Commandery No. 17, Knights Templar.

COMSTOCK.—Mrs. Elizabeth Comstock died, July 24, 1898, at her home in Albion, aged 64 years.

Mrs. Comstock was born in Hesse, Darmstadt, Prussia. Her father's family was one of the oldest and wealthiest in Darmstadt.

At the age of three years Mrs. Comstock came to this country with her parents, who settled at Lyons, N. Y. When but a girl she came to Michigan, and after pursuing studies in Albion college, in which she passed excellent examinations, she began teaching. It was while she was a teacher in the east ward school in Albion that she was married to J. D. Comstock, who was a widower with five children, one son and four daughters. The son, William Comstock, died several years ago. The daughters, Mrs. L. J. Wolcott and Mrs. Emmett Robinson are residents of Albion, and Mrs. Mary Horner lives near Huron, Dakota. To all of these Mrs. Comstock was a true, loving mother. Mrs. Geo. B. Simons, formerly a teacher in the public schools of Albion, is the only child of the deceased.

She was a strong character in every way. She was loving, patient, true. She loved the beautiful and the pure, and the city, where she lived so many years, is richer in moral excellence and christian devotion because of her noble life.

Besides the children named, the deceased leaves three brothers and two sisters, namely, John Young of Albion, Henry and Jacob Young and Mrs. Margaret Jacoby of Lyons, N. Y., and Mrs. Kate Miller of Huron, Dakota.

COOLEY.—Rev. Elias Cooley, a pioneer student, educator and minister of Michigan, died at Albion, January 7, 1899, aged 78 years.

Mr. Cooley was born in Niagara county, New York, April 13, 1821. He came to Kalamazoo with his parents in 1832, where he received his

early education, afterwards entering the University of Michigan, from which he graduated in 1847. He immediately engaged in teaching, which avocation he followed for 16 years, being very successful.

Mr. Cooley was converted when about 12 years of age. Joining the church of his choice, the Methodist Episcopal, he commenced exhorting at the age of 16. Soon afterward he was licensed to preach, and at the conference held in Marshall in 1859 he was ordained local deacon by Bishop Janes. In 1866 Mr. Cooley entered the ministry, joining the Michigan conference at Hillsdale and being ordained elder by Bishop Simpson. He immediately took rank as one of the ablest ministers in the conference, filling appointments at St. Johns, Coldwater, Parma, Battle Creek, Lansing, Niles, Ionia, Sturgis, Marshall and Marengo. In most of these places he remained three years, which at that time was a full term. He was logical, forceful, clear and scholarly in his pulpit. Ever enjoying the most positive evidence of divine acceptance, he was anxious that those to whom he ministered should receive the same blessing.

He was married in 1850 to Miss Fannie F. Briggs of Schoolcraft. After a happy union of about eight years the wife and mother died, leaving the husband and three children to mourn her loss. A few years after he married Miss Rosella P. Briggs, a sister of his former wife, who with four children, Mrs. Alice Earl of Battle Creek, Mrs. J. I. Goff of Anderson, Ind., Edward T. of Wacousta, Mich., and Miss Fannie F. of Marshall, survive him.

Mr. Cooley moved to Marshall in 1884, where he has resided ever since. His health was generally good and the day that he was stricken down with apoplexy he appeared unusually cheerful, leaving his home on Thursday morning, going to Albion. While at the home of his life-long friend, Rev. Wilcox, Thursday afternoon, the summons came. He lingered until Saturday at 10:30. "And he was not, for God took him."

The funeral services were held the following Wednesday in the M. E. church of Marshall, conducted by the following pastors: Revs. Masters, Floyd, Knappen, Jorden, Perry Cronk, Tench, Frye, Strickland, Wilson, P. J. Maveety, Wm. Riley, and Dr. Hunting of the Presbyterian church.

Cummins.—James R. Cummins died at his home in Marshall, December 30, 1898. He was born in Onondaga, N. Y. In February, 1856, he married Miss Jane Willetts of Syracuse, and came to Michigan later in that year. Six years later his wife died, and in 1867 he again mar-

ried, his second bride being Miss Harriet E. Christie of Batavia, N. Y., who, with one child, Mrs. Mabel C. De Shane, survives him.

He was in the employ of the Michigan Central railroad for six years, residing at Dowagiac. For a while he owned a farm near Augusta, moving to Convis in 1867 and to Marshall in November, 1886.

In Kalamazoo county he was township clerk for four years and was supervisor for 10 years while living in Convis. He was elected secretary of the Calhoun County Agricultural Society in 1888 and held that office until 1896. He would have taken the office of superintendent of the poor January 1, 1899, but a sudden death prevented.

Enos.—Newman Enos, one of the oldest pioneers of Calhoun county, died at his old home in Clarendon Wednesday morning, November 2, 1898, after a brief illness. He was not considered seriously ill until a few minutes before his death. He was the fourth child in a family of five children, and at the time of his death the only survivor. He was born at Skaneateles, N. Y., September 22, 1812, and thus had passed his eighty-sixth birthday. Mr. Enos was married to Margaret Blashfield in 1837. To them were born six children, four of whom are now living. He was married the second time to Eliza Draper in November, 1872, who died in 1888. Mr. Enos came to Michigan in 1834, walking a large share of the distance from Detroit to Clarendon, where he sought to establish a home and rear his family.

Fall.—Mrs. Benjamin Fall died at the residence of her son, Prof. Delos Fall, in Albion, December 27, 1898, aged 85 years.

Ann M. Bassett was born in Mendon, Monroe county, N. Y., January 12, 1813. At the age of 18 she was married to Benjamin F. Fall, and very soon moved to Canada, there to enter upon the active and stirring scenes of frontier life. In the exciting and rebellious times through which Canada passed in the years about 1837, Mr. Fall's intense patriotism to the land of his birth and his antipathy to the English oligarchy became so pronounced that they were obliged to abandon all their possessions, allow their property to be confiscated and fly for safety to the United States. Their flight was by a log canoe down the river Thames and across Lake St. Clair.

Arriving at Detroit, they took the Michigan Central railroad, the western terminus of which was then at Ypsilanti. Subsequently they made their way to northern Indiana, where they cleared themselves a farm out of the black walnut forests. They were not satisfied with school and other privileges to be had there, and removed to the vicinity of Ann Arbor.

During these years four girls were born to them, who were taken from them in early life by death from scarlet fever. Three sons were afterwards born to them, Charles S. Fall, the eldest, now a resident of California, and DeWitt and Delos Fall, twins, the former a resident of Jackson, Mich., and the latter is well known throughout the state.

Mrs. Fall early became a member of the Methodist church, and with her husband loyally supported all the work of the church. Her home was at all times open to the coming of the itinerant preacher. Her husband was taken from her nearly 30 years ago. During the time in which her son Delos was finishing his university course she made a home for him, and since his graduation she has found a home with him, so that mother and son have never been separated from each other. For many years she has felt the infirmities of age, but through it all her mind has been unclouded and her faith in the Savior unfailing. Her patient endurance of all the long years has been remarkable, and in her last hours she was as quiet and undisturbed as a child.

French.—Hon. George H. French, one of the most influential and beloved citizens of Homer, died September 14, 1898, at the advanced age of 78 years. His many friends had noticed his failing health for the past year or so, and his pleasant greeting has been missed more and more as he appeared less frequently among his friends and acquaintances about the town.

Mr. French was always held in the highest esteem by the people of Homer, and now that he is gone his worth is the more apparent.

In the early history of the town he became associated with its business and social interests, and throughout his well rounded life he has ever worked zealously for the good of Homer. His labor has not been in vain. He accomplished, perhaps, more for Homer than any other one individual. It was through his influence and hard work that the necessary money was raised for securing the three railroads that now enter the village. He worked for the town as only one can whose whole soul was bent on seeing it a progressive, successful town. Socially he labored for the advancement of education and religion.

The character of the man was such that, though he did not always agree with his associates as to the best way to conduct this business enterprise or promote that social or educational feature, yet whenever or whatever opposition presented itself, Mr. French was found a most honorable antagonist, and his gentlemanly and polite ways won for him the admiration of even those who opposed him.

In politics he was a staunch republican, one of the founders of the party in Michigan, and true to the party to his dying day. During his life he was called upon to fill many offices of public trust, and in 1861 he was elected to represent this district in the state senate. Through two sessions he filled this important post with credit to himself and the district that sent him. The measures he championed and the bills he introduced while a state senator will send his name down into history as a wise and thoughtful legislator.

Early in life Mr. French became associated with the church, and in 1850 he became a member of the Presbyterian church of Homer. He was elected a deacon in 1851 and an elder in 1853, and served in that office until his death. For 40 years he was superintendent of the Presbyterian Sunday school, and wielded an immense influence in that capacity He has been much to the Presbyterian church of Homer, and will be sorely missed.

Mr. French was born in Junius, Seneca county, N. Y., January 18, 1820, he being a son of Nathaniel and Louisa French, who came to western New York from Berkshire county, Massachusetts. His early boyhood days were spent on the farm in his native state. He had limited school opportunities, but he made the most of what he had, and at 18 he began teaching school. He continued in this profession for some years, working on the farm in summer, and made an excellent teacher. He was married at his native home to Julia A. Fancher. Shortly after his marriage he came with his young wife to Michigan and located upon 90 acres of land some two miles north of Tekonsha. They had been here but a very short time when his wife sickened and died. He returned to New York and remained two years, when he was again married, September 14, 1844, this time to Miss Sarah D. Redfield of Clyde, N. Y. Soon after they came to Michigan. He lived upon his Tekonsha farm for three years and then removed to Homer, where he engaged in the mercantile business. His keen business judgment served him well, and he retired from active business several years ago with a competency. His business interests in Homer extended along many lines.

Three sons and one daughter, with his aged wife, remain to mourn the loss of this good man. The sons are Henry N. of Kalamazoo, George J., who resides in Homer, and Wm. C. of Lansing. The daughter is Mrs. H. A. Bunnell, who now resides in Clarendon.

Garlick.—Rev. L. M. Garlick died at his home in Albion late Monday afternoon, December 19, 1898, aged 61 years.

L. M. Garlick was born at Plattsburg, N. Y., in 1837. At the age of 20 he came to Michigan and attended Hillsdale college two years, after which he joined the Michigan conference of the M. E. church and began preaching. In 1860 he entered the army, and after a year's service returned in broken health and re-entered the ministry. He filled four appointments very acceptably, and then attended the State Normal school one year and graduated. He then taught school four years, after which he returned to the ministry, and had filled a half-dozen appointments before his failing health caused his retirement five years ago, since which time he had been a resident of Albion.

Besides a widow, the deceased leaves one son, George C. Garlick of Woodland, and two daughters, Mrs. E. V. Sessions, and Mrs. R. A. Kirtland of Grayling.

GILBERT.—Mrs. Laura F. Gilbert died December 13, 1898, aged 91 years.

Laura Mix, daughter of Ira and Lurenda Mix, was born in the township of Welles, Vermont, October 8, 1807. She was the oldest of eight children, only one of whom survives, Mrs. L. Beverly of Burlingame, Kan. Her parents were natives of Connecticut, moving to Vermont at an early day. Her father, Ira Mix, was a member of the Vermont legislature in 1808 and 1809. During the second war with England he raised a company of troops and served until peace was declared. When Mrs. Gilbert was 12 years old her parents removed to western New York. It was there that she passed her school days, and later was joined in marriage to John Failing of Monroe county, New York, July 1, 1827. To them were born the following children: R. Louise Aldrich Failing; Horace, of California; Joseph M.; Nancy, who died when 18 months old; Samantha, died when four years of age; Peter N.; J. C., of Grayling. Mr. Failing and his family removed to Michigan in 1833, and located at Marshall, where they remained four years, Mrs. Failing conducting a private school during a portion of the time. In 1837 they removed to Tekonsha and located a tract of land, now owned by J. M. Failing. Two years later they moved to Homer, where Mr. Failing assisted in starting the Calhoun mills in 1839 and 1840. Later the family moved to Albion, where Mr. Failing died March 26, 1843, leaving Mrs. Failing with five small children, the youngest of whom was born the evening after Mr. Failing was buried. Mrs. Failing returned with her family to Tekonsha in the spring of 1843, and was joined in marriage to Berton Gilbert in 1844. To this union was born one child, Henry F. Gilbert of Albion.

Mr. Gilbert died in 1873 in the village of Tekonsha. Since her second husband's death Mrs. Gilbert has made her home with her son, Joseph M. Failing of Tekonsha. She leaves to mourn her death the above named children, 24 grandchildren and 19 great grandchildren.

Green.—Ogden Green, an odd old man and a sexton in Battle Creek, died March 1, 1899. He had a record of having interred more than 2,000 bodies. He never knew fear, and often slept in the cemetery among the tombstones. Mr. Green was never on a railroad train. He drove to Battle Creek in 1836 from New York, and went on horseback to Lansing and return after a deed of his property, which was part of the seminary lands. The deed was signed by Gov. Robert McClelland. This property never passed out of his hands. The old man was 88 years old and leaves a son and two daughters.

Gridley.—Abram Gridley died at his home in Homer, January 16, 1899, in the 81st year of his age.

Mr. Gridley was born in Virgil, Cortland county, N. Y. His parents came to Michigan, driving through with a team, and arrived in Albion the day Abram was 15 years old, the 6th of November, 1834. There were 11 children, and he was the third one. Five of that number have died since last May; two are still living; one, Alexander, lives in California, and Reuben in Kalamo, this state. There are also two half sisters.

The first home of the Gridley family in Michigan was a little house that stood a few rods east of where the King school house now stands by the river, and the children were in the first school in that district. There are few that remain to tell the story of those early days. Abram was married to Jane Babcock, December 30, 1846, and soon after bought the farm where he has lived so many years. A little house that stood on the southwest corner he moved with an ox team up to the site of the present home, and lived there till he burned the brick and built a better one. He also fashioned and burned the brick for the Presbyterian church and the Goodrich block in Homer.

He was converted and joined the Methodist church under the ministry of Thos. Lyon, nearly 40 years ago, and much of the time has been one of the board of trustees.

He was one of the charter members and the first master of the Grange in Homer, and has been one of its most efficient workers.

Of the children, the first child died at seven years of age. Three are left, Mrs. Willard Cotton, Mrs. C. O. Ball and Byron.

GRIDLEY.—Eliza Jane Gridley died at the Gridley homestead in Homer, Wednesday, April 12, 1899, in her 76th year.

Her maiden name was Babcock. She was born in Dryden, Tompkins county, N. Y., January 23, 1823. In her early girlhood she came with her parents to Michigan and located in Calhoun county. She was carefully and thoroughly educated, and for some years was engaged in teaching school in Albion township. Her marriage to Abram Gridley occurred December 30, 1846. Immediately thereafter Mr. and Mrs. Gridley located on the farm which has since been known as the Gridley home. She was the last of five children, belonging to an old and highly esteemed central New York family. She was the mother of four children, all of whom, except the eldest, survive their parents and are residents of Homer.

GRISWOLD.—Mrs. F. E. Griswold who, with her first husband, the late Geo. S. Browning, settled in Vermontville in 1837, died at the home of a daughter in Battle Creek on Wednesday, December 26, 1898, at the age of 80 years. Of the original colonists who located in Eaton county to establish schools and churches in 1836, only two survive Mrs. Griswold. The pioneers of the county are rapidly passing away, but their memories will linger long.

HAGER.—Mrs. John Hager died at her home with her children, April 30, 1899, aged 82 years, 11 months and 22 days.

Her maiden name was Tabitha Mercy Fairbank, and she came to Michigan with her parents, who settled in Litchfield, Hillsdale county, in the year 1839, and with them and their family braved the hardships of a pioneer life. She spent a part of her time teaching in the schools of the then new country. It was while thus engaged she became acquainted with John Hager, and was married November 31, 1848, and went to his home in Butler, Branch county. Two children were born to them, Eugene and Mattie, who, together with two of the three stepdaughters, a son's wife and a foster daughter, remain to mourn the loss of a loving, faithful mother. In 1865 they sold their beautiful home in Butler, which she had helped her husband to improve and beautify, and bought and moved upon this farm, which in turn she assisted in making beautiful and comfortable and where she spent the remainder of her days in the company and family of her children. Disease and death invaded their home April, 1876, and took from them the husband and father, and during the lonely walk of widowhood of more than 20 years she has been faithful to his memory and a blessing to her children.

Howe.—George W. Howe, late a member of Co. D, Seventh Michigan Cavalry, died on Sunday, September 11, 1898, at the residence of O. Clark Johnson in Marengo. He was 85 years of age and served full three years in the war of the rebellion.

Kerr.—Mrs. William Kerr died January 16, 1899, aged 81 years.

Mary Barker was born in Windsor, Vt., May 26, 1818. In the fall of 1837 she came to Tekonsha with her uncle and his family. Here she met Wm. H. Kerr, to whom she was united in marriage February 19, 1840. About two years later they moved upon the place where they have since resided. Mr. and Mrs. Kerr were among the oldest settlers of this vicinity and were well and widely known. For more than 55 years they lived together in wedded life. Three years ago last August Mr. Kerr died. She learned the printer's trade in a small town in Massachusetts when a girl of 16. On her eightieth birthday she visited the Tekonsha News office and set a stick of type. Mrs. Kerr was remarkably well preserved in mind and enjoyed talking about the more modern improvements in the line of printing.

Levanway.—Dr. Charlotte Levanway, octogenarian physician, who was the first woman member of her profession to enter the field of work at Chicago, died Tuesday, October 24, 1898, in Battle Creek, of general debility, aged 85 years. When Mrs. Levanway went to Chicago in 1853 the entire field was occupied by men. She inaugurated the movement for women physicians after being there about 10 years. She then entered woman's rights and christian temperance work, being a personal friend of Frances Willard. For several years, weighed down with age, she has been an almost pitiful feature of conventions of this order. Although weak in body, she retained her mental strength, and at the age of 85 read without glasses, had perfect teeth and was a delightful conversationalist. Her friends were numbered among the most famous people in the country. She came to Battle Creek in 1846, from her birthplace in Ontario county, New York, as a young bride. After studying under several famous doctors, she entered the field in Chicago, where she remained for 14 years.

Morley.—S. H. Morley, prominent in business and social circles of Battle Creek, died at his home in that city January 26, 1899, aged 78 years.

Mr. Morley was a native of Athens, Bradford county, Pa., and after a successful business career in the east came to Battle Creek in 1871,

where he was for a while engaged in the foundry and afterward in the lumber business, investing considerable property in real estate. Subsequently he became one of the large stockholders in the City Bank, and was for many years a director in that institution, a position which he held at the time of his death. He has been regarded as one of the soundest and safest financiers of the city, and on all business and financial questions his counsel has been considered of especial value. His strict business integrity, uniform, courteous and dignified bearing and honorable conduct in all the walks of life will give his name a pleasant and permanent recognition in local history.

Robinson.—Solon E. Robinson of Eckford, another of the early pioneers of Calhoun county, who for nearly threescore years had stood in the vanguard of all that makes for the highest good of the whole community, dropped out of the ranks, and the soul crossed the border line that separates this life from the life immortal, life's shadows thus meeting eternity's day. Few men had lived longer in the county, not many were better known, and none were more highly respected.

Mr. Robinson was born in Clarendon, Orleans county, N. Y., August 17, 1820, removing to Michigan in 1841 and purchasing a farm near Tekonsha. In 1845 he was married to Miss Mary Jane Granger, a daughter of Ithamer Granger of Tekonsha, and for more than half a century the fond husband and faithful wife, whose hearts God, the only true maker of marriages, had combined in one, conscientiously met and discharged the arduous responsibilities of life, multiplying their joys and dividing their sorrows. Five sons were the result of the marriage, all of whom, and also their mother, are still living. In 1854 the family removed to Battle Creek, and thence to LeRoy in 1866, where they remained but a single year, removing in 1867 to the beautiful home in Eckford, where they have since resided.

In politics Mr. Robinson was a republican, being one of the trusted leaders of the party, and by its votes filling many positions of usefulness and honor, among others that of superintendent of the poor from 1855 to 1867, and ably serving his district in the legislature of 1873.

Sanderson.—Rudolph Sanderson, one of the old and best-known citizens of Battle Creek, died September 6, 1898, aged 80 years.

Deceased was born in Milton, Chittendon county, Vt., and was brought up on his father's farm and received a common school education. At the age of 18 he became a salesman in a mercantile store. A few years afterwards he bought a store in Milton, where he carried on business

until his removal to Michigan in 1853. In 1849 he was elected to the state legislature of Vermont and served two terms. Upon coming to Michigan he purchased a farm in Newton, Calhoun county, where he lived for 21 years. He then removed to Battle Creek, but still owns the farm in Newton. In 1861 Mr. Sanderson was elected supervisor of Newton township and held the position nine years. In 1865 he was elected to the Michigan legislature, and in 1873 was again elected. He has also held the office of alderman of the first ward. Mr. Sanderson ably filled these positions. He always evinced public enterprise and an interest in the growth and prosperity of Battle Creek. Deceased was a director of the City Bank for many years.

Thompson.—Hon. Clement R. Thompson died July 7, 1898, aged 66 years.

Mr. Thompson was a thorough Wolverine, his father, John Thompson, having come to Michigan from Batavia, N. Y., in the fall of 1831, and located at Ann Arbor, when the subject of this sketch was but six months old.

In 1852, when 20 years of age, Mr. Thompson left Ann Arbor with a company of neighboring boys for California, making the journey overland, the trip taking over five months' time. He remained in California five years, being engaged nearly all the time in gold mining, and returned to Michigan in the spring of 1857, and in the autumn of that year was married to Emily E. Parker in Battle Creek. Most of the years since, that city was his home. Mr. Thompson was for many years actively engaged in the grocery business on the corner of Main and Canal streets, where his son, Charles H. Thompson succeeded him, the latter afterward removing to his present location on W. Main street.

Mr. Thompson was a man to make friends, and was probably as popular a man as ever sold goods across a counter, enjoying a large trade. In 1874 he was elected alderman and served four years continuously, and in 1879 was elected mayor by one of the largest majorities ever rolled up for a mayoralty candidate.

Because of impaired health of both his wife and himself he removed with his family to California in 1883, remaining three years. He returned to his Michigan home in 1886, and the following year was elected recorder of the city and served 10 years, retiring in the spring of 1897.

His re-election for 10 successive years to one of the most remunerative offices in the gift of the city is not only an evidence of work well done, but of a personal popularity, both within the ranks of his own party and with all the citizens generally.

His first wife having died in 1890, the following year he was united in marriage to Mrs. Lottie Smith, an acquaintance of his earlier years.

By his first wife eight children were born to him, four of whom survive, Mrs. Annie T. Moulton, Chas. H., Mrs. Alice L. Lewis and Miss Bertha Thompson.

WAKELIE.—Mrs. Jane Wakelie of Battle Creek died Saturday, February 18, 1899, and left the following bequests: $500 to the charitable union of Battle Creek, $500 to the fund for the support of infirm ministers of the Episcopal church of the western diocese of Michigan, $1,000 to St. Thomas' Episcopal church of Battle Creek for a parish house, and $5,000 to the same church for general purposes.

WALBURN.—John R. Walburn died Monday evening, August 29, 1898. The deceased was the oldest of six children of Henry and Christina Walburn; was born in Center county, Pennsylvania, September 20, 1827. In 1832 he moved with his parents to Ashland county, Ohio, where he grew up to manhood and at the age of 21 he left his father's farm to learn the carpenter's trade with Mr. H. Berry, who is still living. After learning he worked in Ashland two years. In the spring of 1852 he came to Michigan and chose Marshall for his final home. Here he lived, respected by all for 44 years or until he was called from labor to reward.

On the 23d of February, 1860, he married Elizabeth Fisher, fourth daughter of the late Robert Fisher, of Paris, Ont., by which union four children were born, Lena J., now Mrs. J. Engleman, Dollina is at home, Frank A. resides in St. Louis, Mo., and Harry is in the employ of M. C. R. R.

WORMLEY.—Jacob Wormley was born at Hopeville, New York, March 25, 1826, and died January 6, 1899. He became a practical farmer in early life. In 1848 he entered the employ of the American Express Company in the delivery department, working up to a position as express messenger in 1850. His route was from Detroit to Chicago and he kept it until October 18, 1854, when he became master of transportation in Detroit, having charge of everything outside of the office. February 1, 1855, he was transferred to Chicago, where he held a similar position for three years, and then established his home on the farm where his family now resides.

Mr. Wormley was united in marriage to Miss Philena A. Kinne at the home of the bride's parents in St. Joseph county, in March, 1858. Four

children were born to them, Maryetta M., now Mrs. R. Smith, of Marengo; Ella S., now Mrs. Maisner, of Marshall; John, who died at the age of three weeks, and Ely, who passed away December 14, 1892, at the age of 23 years.

Mr. Wormley's life has been a very active one. In his earlier manhood he worked out by the month, gaining an experience in farm work which was of value to him in later life. In his business associations he acquired the habit of thoroughness in detail. He was in the habit during later years of keeping a journal, noting down the transactions of each day and keeping a strict account of all expenditures. This will be highly prized by his family and friends.

Young.—Rev. Erasmus D. Young died at his home in Battle Creek November 1, 1898. He was born in Manlius, N. Y., August 25, 1814, and came with his parents to Michigan in 1833. He entered the ministry in 1843, joining the Michigan conference of the Methodist Episcopal church. He spent forty years in the ministry. Eleven years of this period were spent in Indian missions, he preaching to them in their native tongue.

Following are some of the places in which he preached: Charlotte, two years; Litchfield, two years; Pennfield, two years; Marengo, two years; LeRoy, one year; Moscow, two years; Mosherville, two years; Tekonsha, two years; Kinderhook, two years.

In 1844 he wrote an interesting biography of himself with an account of his work with the Indians, which was published in the Michigan Christian Advocate.

Young.—Mrs. Jane B. Young passed to her rest from the home of her daughter, Mrs. Helen M. Crane, in East Cass street, Homer, November 9th, 1898. She suffered a stroke of paralysis some time ago and a second stroke, more recently, shortened her days. She was born at River John, Nova Scotia, May 2nd, 1882. Her maiden name was Perrin. She removed to Ohio in 1838 and in 1842 came to Michigan, where she resided until her death. In 1849 she was married to William Young, who died nine years ago. They resided on the farm known as the "Young Homestead," two miles south of the city, until 1878, when they took up their residence in the city. Two sons and three daughters besides several grandchildren survive her, as do two brothers, one of whom was present at the funeral.

CLINTON COUNTY.

BY RALPH WATSON.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Allen, Geo. O	St. Johns	May 16, 1899	59	He was a native and resident of Oakland county.
Babcock, Marvin	Bingham	June 26, 1898	81	
Bangs, Sophia	St. Johns	Feb. 19, 1899	73	
Barnhart, Mary		Jan. 29, 1899	61	
Batchelder, Mrs. S	St. Johns	Feb. 1, 1899		
Batchelder, Sylvanus	Bath	Nov. 5, 1898	78	
Benedict, John Q		Oct. 19, 1898	57	He came from N. Y. to Clinton co. when young.
Bikert, Susana	Bingham	July 31, 1898	67	
Burt, L		April 4, 1899	58	
Butler, Rachel S. (Mrs. A. L.)		Aug. 28, 1898	49	She was born in the county.
Carus, Caroline C	Greenbush	Nov. 18, 1898	65	
Chapman, Angelina	St. Johns	May 27, 1899	95	
Covert, Margaret	Victor	Jan. 12, 1899	86	A pioneer of Victor township.
Cronkite, Amanda	Bath	Feb. 10, 1899	77	She settled upon the farm in 1864.
DaFoe, Mrs. Jas. C	St. Johns	May 13, 1899	76	She came to Michigan in 1865.
Daharsh, Daniel	St. Johns	Aug. 22, 1898	70	He had been a resident of the city since 1872.
Day, Elizabeth		Feb. 14, 1899	64	
Diller, Uriah	West Bingham	Mar. 16, 1899	64	He came to Michigan in 1865.
Doty, Hannah		Feb. 9, 1899	53	
Faxon, Mrs. John	Owosso	——, 1899		Came to Michigan when 8 years of age.
Frank, Mrs	Middleton	Oct. 22, 1898		
Harper, Mrs. Salem	Victor	Sept. 19, 1898	47	
Harris, Mathias	Dallas	Dec. 15, 1898	65	
Hicks, Hattie	Bingham	July 19, 1898	48	
Hinman, Mrs. Mary	St. Johns	Jan. 6, 1899	57	
Holden, Mrs. G. A	Victor	Oct. 7, 1898	59	She came to Michigan in 1847.
Holly, Mrs. Ralph	Olive	Mar. 23, 1899	65	
Hugus, William	St. Johns	Dec. 18, 1898	58	He was a soldier of the rebellion.
Hunt, Amelia (Mrs. S.)	Bingham	Mar. 15, 1899	71	Had been a resident of township 40 years.
Huntly, Nancy	St. Johns	Feb. 2, 1899	78	
Huntoon, Lovisa	Olive	Oct. 5, 1898	40	
Ingersoll, Chas. B	Owosso	July 9, 1898	50	
Jockway, Susan	Bingham	Jan. 28, 1899	61	
Marvin, Brazil	Ovid	Mar. 15, 1899	70	He was at one time one of the foremost business men of Ovid.
Morrison, Isaac		Nov. 14, 1898	78	
Nesbitt, Jas. Kerr	Ovid	Jan. 15, 1899	73	
Norris, Dennis C	Bingham	Mar. 11, 1899	58	A native of the county.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Paine, Ophelia	St. Johns	Sept. 15, 1898..	64	
Randolph, Mrs. Kate	Greenbush	April 7, 1899..	59	She settled in Greenbush 38 years ago.
Scott, Huron I.	Bingham	July 5, 1898...	64	
Simonds, Philander	Greenbush	May 20, 1899...	79	
Southard, W. E.	St. Johns	Aug. 25, 1898..	47	Mr. Southard had been engaged in the hotel business for many years.
Tranchell, Magdalena	Bingham	June 17, 1898..	86	
Ulrich, Peter	Fowler	Oct. 20, 1898...	72	He had lived in Fowler 47 years.
Wade, Merrit	St. Johns	May 22, 1899..	72	He was engaged in the furniture business in St. Johns over 20 years.
Wagar, Mrs. Lydia	Fowler	April 9, 1899..	68	They were among the earliest settlers in Clinton county. They had five children.
Walton, Lucinda		June 13, 1898..	72	
Warren, Hannah		Feb. 15, 1899..	88	
Wilkins, Joseph		Nov. 21, 1898..	49	
Wright, Elan	Bingham	Sept. 20, 1898..	86	

Bagley.—Russell N. Bagley died at his home in Ovid April 6, 1899, aged 56 years.

Mr. Bagley was born in Vermont in 1843, and had been a resident of Ovid and vicinity about 35 years. He was a member of Company H, Fifth Michigan Infantry, and served his country with faithfulness. A wife, one daughter, Mrs. Letitia Nesbitt, an aged mother, and one sister, Mrs. J. M. Carter, formerly of St. Johns, and now of California, of their family, survive him.

Conn.—Mrs. B. P. Conn died at her home in St. Johns November 2, 1898, aged 68 years. Harriet E. Newell was born on the shores of Lake Champlain January 20, 1830. When 19 years of age she was united in marriage to Bensly P. Conn, November 14, 1849, and the young couple came into the wilds of Michigan and entered lands in Bingham township, where they lived up to a few years ago, when they moved to St. Johns. Mrs. Conn was a woman of strong character. She loved her family with that resolute will and determination born from strong instincts towards the duties involved by maternity. She was essentially a woman of the home, and her children were taught and governed with rare intelligence and tact. She was a member of the Congregational church.

Daniells.—Nathaniel I. Daniells, the subject of this sketch, died in Wacousta March 13, 1899. Deceased was born in 1808, in the town of

Scipio, Cayuga county, New York. He received a common school education, and afterwards attended the academy at Rochester, N. Y. He then followed school teaching for some time, but feeling the inspiration and desire to become a part of the then new western world, he packed his satchel and sought a home in the west, soon thereafter landing in Detroit, which at that time was a city containing about 2,200 inhabitants. He was married at the age of twenty-five years to Lucinda Reed, who died about fifteen years ago. On leaving his native place with his wife, he traveled by canal to Buffalo, thence to Detroit by a small steamer; soon thereafter locating at Bloomfield, Oakland county, where they resided until after the birth of all their seven children, two of whom were sons—William and Carey R. William Daniells, now and for a long time professor in the state university at Madison, Wis., Carey R. Daniells, proprietor of the flouring mills at Wacousta, two sons and three daughters survive, and were present at his funeral.

Mr. Daniells, two years before moving to Wacousta, resided in the city of Detroit, moving to his last place of residence in 1848. During the past fifty years his business has been that of a farmer. After the death of his first wife, he was married to Mrs. Susan Stancell, who survives him.

In 1850 Mr. Daniells was appointed United States marshal, and was sent on an important mission by the government to Muskegon, Mich., to look after trespassers, who were pilfering the pine from government lands. He made the journey on horseback, through the wilds of Northern Michigan, using only a pocket compass for his guide. His extraordinary judgment and marked ability, in this undertaking, were highly commented upon by the attorney general, and others having charge of the interests of the government. Afterwards, in 1859, he was appointed by the government as one of the commissioners to lay out a road from Sault Ste. Marie to St. Ignace. This duty involved an entire summer's endurance in the dense forest, where, he remarked, he was nearly devoured by mosquitos, which, together with fever and ague, were the two leading products of the state. Mr. Daniells' broad and comprehensive views on public questions and things material to the interests of the state, led the people of his county to select him as a member of the constitutional convention in 1867, to which he was elected and served with marked distinction, entering into debate on all important questions with the foremost advocates of the convention.

In his own township he held the office of justice of the peace for nearly twenty-four years, and before him, during this time, a greater part of

the legal business of the western part of the county was done. It was remarked by the county officials that he paid into the county treasury more fine money, during his time, than all the other justices in Clinton county.

His broad and comprehensive views of legislation and jurisprudence made him without peer in the forum. He was called to act, without fear or favor; he always stood for the right, as he saw it, and those who shunned him were those who knew his administration of the law was a terror to evil doers. Radical in his views on public questions, he never faltered to speak his sentiments; his patriotism knew no bounds, this was shown in the days from '61 to '65, during which time he was untiring in his devotion to the cause of the union, and enthusiastic for the soldiers' welfare, and for the care of their families, during their absence at the front, and his zeal for the soldiers was manifest to the close of his career.

Mr. Daniells' large heart and his strong contention for right made him always in sympathy with the poor and common classes, which he claimed to be a member of, and in times of need his granary, as well as his door, were always open for the relief of the distressed, and at one time, as an evidence of the peculiar characteristics of the deceased, not many years ago, five unruly chaps committed a trespass one dark night, by carrying away his gate; he soon ascertained who they were, and as a penalty for their act, instead of prosecuting them, the matter was compromised by each of them delivering a cord of dry wood to a poor woman living in the neighborhood, which they promptly did. His motto was, "I would rather be right than to be President."

Gay.—Thomas Gay, Sr., was born in Coleackle, county of Cork, Ireland, January 17, 1811, and died at his home in Riley township, Clinton county, Mich., January 15, 1899. Had he lived two days longer he would have been 88 years old.

At the age of 26 years he married Miss Mary A. Allen, through which union seven children were born, of which number three sons and one daughter survive him. They are Charles Gay, of Labett county, Kansas; John Gay, of Fowler; Henry Gay, of the township of Bengal, Clinton county, and one daughter residing in Rochester, N. Y.

In 1840 Mr. Gay came to America with his family and settled in Rochester, N. Y., where he remained eleven years, during which time he assisted in digging and putting through the Welland canal in Canada.

In the year 1851 he came with his family to Clinton county and settled in Bengal township, upon the west half of the southwest quarter of sec-

tion 33, and through diligent and earnest labor and perseverance made the dense wilderness give place to a beautiful and productive farm.

In the year 1858 his wife sickened and died on the 20th day of September of that year, and was buried in the Boughton cemetery. He was then left a widower with four children. Later he was united in marriage to Mrs. Jane Lanning, and to them were born five children, two sons and three daughters. Two of the daughters, after they had been married, died and were buried in the Boughton cemetery.

About twenty years ago Mr. Gay sold his farm in Bengal to Henry Mankey, and removed to Riley township, where he had since resided.

HETTLER.—Bartholomew Hettler, of St. Johns township, died February 6, 1899.

The accompanying sketch from a St. Johns paper is of so much interest it is published verbatim:

"There appears to be some doubt among certain individuals as to the truthfulness of the statement that Bartholomew Hettler, for many years a resident of the eastern portion of this township, died in the Klondyke country in February last, whither he had gone to seek his fortune in mining for gold. The inquiries and expressions of doubt have been so frequent that Mrs. Hettler and family desire us to publish some extracts from a letter written to her by W. H. Egerton, who was engaged with him in mining operations, and dated at 'Saw Mill Camp, Klutina Valley, via Port Valdes, Alaska, February 8, 1899.' He says:

"'I am compelled to inform you that Mr. Hettler passed away at 4:30 a. m. on February 6, 1899. He had been ill all winter, and was very anxious to get to his home, and pleaded with us to take him to Valdes. But this was impossible. To attempt this journey, with the mercury at 30 to 50 degrees below zero, meant certain death. There was but one chance in a thousand for him to reach home alive even if he could have reached Valdes. However, a party of friends of Mr. Hettler made the attempt on the 5th to reach the coast. They started with him on a sled, and he appeared to be very happy over the thoughts of being on his return trip to his home and friends. Mr. Hettler continued bright and hopeful until about 8 o'clock that evening, when he complained of cramps, which continued to grow severer until about 11 p. m., when he seemed easier, and at midnight slept, which continued until 4 a. m., when he began to talk. He said: 'Boys, take me to Valdes; boys, take me home.' Then he remained silent, and it was thought he was going to sleep again, but it was that eternal sleep. The best of care was given him that could be given a human being in this country. The remains

were conveyed toward Twelve Mile Camp and laid to rest with those of others who had laid down their lives in attempting to better the condition of the loved ones at home.'

"We trust this will prove sufficient to satisfy the minds of a doubting and speculative people."

HIDDEN.—Oliver M. Hidden died at San Jose, Cal., May 14, 1899, aged 56 years.

Mr. Hidden, well known to the earlier residents of St. Johns, went to Vancouver, B. C., a number of years ago and built a large hotel, similar to The Steel, in St. Johns, for a resort, which he had been keeping in person. Last winter he was severely attacked by the grippe, from which he did not recover, and as his health still continued to fail, his attending physician advised him to take a trip to California, believing that the ocean voyage would be of benefit to him. He died after an absence of only two weeks from home. A wife and one young lady daughter survive him.

Mr. Hidden was an architect, and planned many of the public and private buildings in St. Johns, Saginaw and Detroit.

MILLER.—Daniel Miller died at his home in DeWitt, January 5. 1899. The deceased was born in Medina county, O., December 3, 1834. When quite young he accompanied his parents to Clinton county. In 1861 he enlisted in the 3d Mich. Cavalry, Company B, where he served quite a while and was honorably discharged. He was married to Miss Hannah Webb soon after he returned from the army. Two children were born to them. One died when less than two years old. His wife died about 30 years ago. He went to Nebraska, and in 1880 he married Miss Alvina Heaton. He then returned to Clinton county, Mich., where he has since resided. He leaves a wife, one daughter, Mrs. Celia Blizzard; a granddaughter, two brothers and one sister.

He was a member of the G. W. Anderson Post, G. A. R.

PATCH.—Frederick H. Patch, who will be remembered by the earlier residents of St. Johns, died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. W. H. Rennels, in St. Louis, Mich., Saturday evening, November 19, 1898, of old age. The deceased was born in Danbury, Conn., May 2, 1811. In 1856 he moved his family to Michigan and located in St. Johns, where he engaged in the mercantile business with his brother-in-law, John B. Lucas, and John Gartey, of which the latter named was at the head. They occupied a small, one-story frame building situated on the lot now

occupied by Fowler & Ball's south store, and was known as "Headquarters." It was no uncommon thing for them to trade as high as $300 a day cash, and they have gone up to $500 a day from a stock of not over $2,500. Those were the days when people made money very rapidly and easily.

In 1860 death entered the home of Mr. Patch and took therefrom his helpmate. In 1878 Mr. Patch moved to St. Louis, Gratiot county, and after spending two years in the management of a drug store at Riverdale for his son-in-law, W. H. Rennels, he returned to St. Louis, retired from active business, and continued to live with his two children, Mrs. Rennels and son George, until he was called hence. The remains were brought here and deposited by the side of those of his wife, in St. Johns cemetery.

Risley.—Wm. Howard Risley was born January 6, 1831, in Dutchess county, New York, and died February 10, 1899, in Duplain, Clinton county, Mich. He was married December 25, 1855, to Eliza Bedford, of New Jersey. To them were born six children, all of whom are still living. He moved to Michigan in 1865, resided in Lansing and Bath for several years and came to Elba, Gratiot county, in the autumn of 1875, where his first wife departed this life January 1, 1876. He was married to Francelis A. Dodge, January 7, 1878, who, with one son, Christie, still survives him. He also leaves five sisters and one brother, who live in New York, except Mrs. Mary Sypher, of Olive.

Sowle.—Mrs. Horace A. Sowle died October 7, 1898.

Maria Hawkins was born in Warwick, Orange county, New York, October 9, 1831. When she was five years old her parents moved to Lenawee county, Michigan, where her childhood was spent. They moved to Clinton county in 1848, where she has since resided, except while teaching school in Gratiot county. She was the eldest of eight children. Her mother was called to her last home in 1870 and her father seven years later. Two brothers and one sister are left to mourn her departure, all of whom reside in Gratiot county. She was married to Horace A. Sowle in Essex, March 2, 1856. The following September they moved onto a wild eighty acres of land, where they commenced housekeeping in true pioneer style, occupying a board shanty 12x15 feet, without doors or windows, she helping to build it with her own hands, and like other pioneer wives, she faithfully did her share in clearing up and improving their home, where they have since resided, enjoying in later years a comfortable home, surrounded with many

comforts, which she was deprived of in earlier years. She was the mother of two daughters who are married and survive her,—Lucy Ann Kemp, the eldest, whose home is in Battle Creek, and Mary Elizabeth Forbis, of Essex. She was also a kind mother to an adopted son, taken when seven years old, who lived with them until of age, well known as John Sowle, whose present home is in Ithaca, this state. She leaves an aged husband to mourn her loss after over forty years' companionship. For years she was a member of the Maple Rapids Woman's Relief Corps.

Tooker.—Hiram L. Tooker was born in the township of Bath April 10, 1840, and died February 9, 1899. He enlisted in the civil war and remained in the service of his country until August 9, 1862, when he was honorably discharged because of disability. On November 13, 1864, he married Miss Mary B. Barker, of Jackson county, Mich. After their marriage they took up their residence on the farm just west of St. Johns village, which they still own. He was a charter member of the Baptist church. He leaves a wife, two sons and three daughters.

Tranchell.—Chas. Tranchell, an old resident, died at his home in northeast Bengal February 19, 1899, aged 82 years. He was born in Gottenburg, Sweden, and came to the United States in 1836, and was married to Magdelena Stagner, December 5, 1838, at East Rochester, N. Y. Soon after they removed to Porter, Niagara county, N. Y. In 1865 they moved to Clinton county and settled on the farm where they both died. Mr. Tranchell had held various township offices and positions of trust, and was most highly esteemed by all. He leaves three sons, George C. and John L., of St. Johns, and J. R., of LeRoy, Osceola county.

Turner.—William H. Turner was born in Geneva, N. Y., August 29, 1835, and died March 13, 1899. He came to Michigan with his parents in 1855, and lived in St. Johns until his death. For many years he was engaged as furniture dealer and undertaker in the village. He was a staunch republican, always working for what seemed to him to be the best interests of his party. On the 13th of February, 1868, he was united in marriage to Miss Elizabeth Woods, of St. Johns, who with two children, survives him. The children are C. Howard Turner and Mrs. W. J. Murray, both of Detroit.

Waldron.—Mrs. Louisa Waldron, wife of Wm. N. Waldron, the well known shoe merchant, died November 29, 1898.

Miss Louisa Allen was born in Bristol, England, August 19, 1824, was united in marriage with her surviving husband December 26, 1846. In 1872 she came to this country with five children, her husband having preceded them to locate for them a home, arriving in St. Johns October 21 of that year, where she had enjoyed a continuous residence up to the date of her death.

Fourteen children had been born to them, seven of whom survive her—four daughters and one son living in this community, and one daughter in Philadelphia.

WALTON.—Henry W. Walton died at his late home in Coggon, Iowa, August 24, 1898, aged 85 years, 4 months and 12 days. Four children survive him—Daniel, of Clinton county; Mrs. George R. Richardson, Mrs. Samuel Lewis and Mrs. Rose LaDue, daughters, of Coggon. The three daughters were living with him at the time of his death.

The remains were brought to St. Johns and were interred by the side of those of his wife. He leaves three brothers.

Mr. Walton was born in Connecticut, and reared in New York state. He spent two years in Canada before coming to St. Johns, in the fall of 1855. He was a blacksmith by trade, and for several years after settling there, carried on the business in a little slab shop on the lot now occupied by Byron Danley, on the north side of Higham street, between Spring street and Clinton avenue. Later he was engaged in buying and shipping live stock, and for a time conducted a meat market. Latterly he kept the hotel known as the Austin house, corner of Clinton avenue and Railroad street, since converted into a feed barn by M. L. Kenyon.

Mr. Walton finally sold out his effects here and moved to Dakota, accompanied by his son Daniel, and engaged in farming and stock growing. This was 17 years ago. Later—about four or five years ago—he became too aged for an active business life, and went to Iowa to live with his children. About that time his son Daniel removed to Michigan.

WARD.—Dr. E. B. Ward, the well known physician, poet and newspaper writer, died at his home in Laingsburg Saturday night of consumption. He was a member of the Michigan legislature in 1868 and was well known in Lansing. Dr. Ward was born in New York state in 1835, and came to Michigan in 1836. He was a graduate of the Ann Arbor school of medicine and was a prominent member of the State Medical society and Owosso academy of medicine.

WHIPPLE.—E. E. Whipple, a resident of St. Johns, died December 30, 1898, in the parlor of the Wayne hotel, Detroit. While there conversing

with two friends he suddenly placed his hand over the region of his heart and remarked: "I have trouble from my heart." The words had barely passed his lips when he leaned forward, fell to the floor and there expired.

Mr. Whipple was in his fifty-third year, and was an inventor of considerable reputation. A number of years ago he was at the head of a harrow company in Detroit. Later he was principal of the Whipple Harrow Company, of St. Johns, and after his works here had been destroyed by fire he went to Utica, N. Y., where he had an interest in and superintended a like business. A few months ago he disposed of his interests there and took up a residence in Detroit. While at St. Johns of late he was working at his new inventions.

While Mr. Whipple was a shrewd and active business man, he was very honorable in all his transactions, and enjoyed the respect and confidence of a large circle of friends and acquaintances. A wife and two children survive him.

Wickes.—Following the death of C. P. Wickes at Denver, which occurred October 21, 1898, came the news over the wire that Mrs. Wickes, too, had passed to the great beyond. Mr. and Mrs. Wickes were old residents of St. Johns, and had a large acquaintanceship throughout the county. They left the city, where Mr. Wickes had been engaged in the grocery business, in 1885. Of the double death the Denver Times said:

"After terrestrial married happiness for over thirty years, Chas. P. Wickes and Palmyra Wickes will find repose together today in the soil from whence they came. Their married life was not blessed by children. Through weary years of adversity and success they watched the days come and go. Last Wednesday Mr. Wickes died of pneumonia at his home, 113 West Alameda avenue. Last evening, his wife, who had been his sole, constant companion for many years, died of heart disease superinduced by grief. Today at 2:30 p. m. members of Masonic Lodge No. 5 will bury the couple in Fairmount cemetery.

"Charles P. Wickes will be remembered as president of the Miners' Bureau of Information, which was established here some months ago. He had been in Colorado for 18 years and, with his wife, was well known in Denver and elsewhere. Mr. Wickes was 66 years old. His wife was seven years younger. The life of the couple was one long, happy history of beautiful married life. Mr. Wickes was born in New York in 1832, but in 1866 migrated to Michigan. He began the packing of apples, butter and poultry, and established quite a profitable business.

Shortly after reaching there he met the woman who accompanied him on his journey through life and was ready to end her earthly struggle when the grim messenger called her husband away. For some years the wife suffered from heart failure. The husband enjoyed excellent health until four days prior to his death, caused by an aggravated attack of pneumonia."

Williams.—Galver B. Williams, one of the pioneers of South Bingham, and one of Clinton county's most honored citizens, died at his farm residence in the south part of the township Wednesday, December 14, 1898, aged 72 years.

The deceased was born in Fairfield, Herkimer county, N. Y., July 27, 1827, where he spent the earlier part of his life, both father and mother dying while he was still a child. When older he followed the great lakes with his older brother, who was captain of the vessel on which he had embarked. Later he engaged his services in the ship yard of John P. Clark, Detroit, where he continued several years. From there he went to Clinton county, where he resided to the date of his death. He was united in marriage with Miss Adelia D. Severance, of Oakland county, Mich., in 1865. A widow and four children—two sons and two daughters—survive him.

Wilsey.—On Saturday morning, April 8, 1899, occurred the death of Mrs. Armina Wilsey, one of the oldest pioneers of Olive township. She went to bed the night before seemingly as well as usual, but was found dead in her bed in the morning. Armina Stowell was born in Steuben county, N. Y., June 1, 1809, and was united in marriage to David G. Wilsey July 31, 1837. They lived in the state of New York one year, then moved to Michigan and located upon section 26, township of Olive. Five years later they moved to section 35, where she resided at the time of her death. The first two winters she was in Michigan she taught school in a log cabin now owned by E. D. Lawrence. In 1850 her husband went to California and was gone four years. During this time she remained here looking after the interests of the farm and caring for the little ones, enduring the privations and hardships of a pioneer life without a murmur.

As an illustration of how she bore her share of pioneer burdens, Mrs. Wilsey has related that, shortly after coming to this township Mr. Wilsey was taken sick and she went a distance of a mile for drinking water, did her cooking at a stump out of doors, had nothing better than a blanket for a door and sheet for a window, and lay many a night

trembling at the doleful howls of wolves, which made the darkness hideous with their music.

A short time after they settled in Hope Mr. Wilsey went to DeWitt to work and Mrs. Wilsey would be alone from Monday morning till Saturday night, and would not see a white person during that time. Saturday nights she would start to meet her husband with a fire brand to keep the wolves away.

She died at the advanced age of 89 years, 10 months and seven days. Her husband died 29 years ago and was buried in the cemetery which bears his name.

To them there were born three daughters, and only one, Mrs. E. S. Fitz. who resides in this township, survives them.

EATON COUNTY.

BY ESEK PRAY.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Bryan, Thomas D.	Charlotte	Oct. 8, 1898	77	A resident of Eaton county 40 years.
Corbin, Mrs. Laura A.	Charlotte	Feb. 3, 1899	92	She came to Michigan in 1834.
French, Benjamin		Nov. 12, 1898	82	An early pioneer.
Gardner, Lewis	Charlotte	Oct. 30, 1898	76	He came to Charlotte in 1835.
Gillman, Jacob	Eaton Rapids	March 18, 1899	79	He was born in Michigan.
Green, Wm.	Eaton Rapids	Jan. 27, 1899	75	A resident of Michigan 50 years.
Harrington, Mrs. Weltha S.		Oct. 31, 1898	84	A resident of the county 33 years.
Kelley, Wm. H.	Eaton Rapids	April 9, 1899	65	He settled in the county in 1853.
Loveland, David A.	Chester	March 10, 1899	77	
Munson, Mrs. Amelia G.	Charlotte	Aug. 28, 1898	91	A resident of Charlotte since 1845.
Norton, J. B.	Benton	Jan. 31, 1899	80	A resident of the county 30 years.
Paine, Mrs. Rowland	Potterville	Sept. 9, 1898	87	A resident of the county many years.
Pennington, Mrs. Lovina	Charlotte	Jan. 25, 1899	65	She located in the county when 18 years old.
Perkey, Mrs. Hannah	Eaton	Aug. 14, 1898	68	A resident of the county since 1850.
Perkey, Mrs. Mary	Charlotte	Jan. 19, 1899	98	A resident of the county since 1850.
Roberts, Mrs. Elizabeth	Carmel	March 9, 1899.	83	A long-time resident of the county.
Rogers, Mrs. Prudence	Eaton Rapids	Feb. 3, 1899	76	
Stodard, Miss Marion	Charlotte	Jan. 30, 1899	79	She was among the first settlers of the city.
Stone, E. H.	Potterville	Jan. 26, 1899	83	A resident of the county 42 years.
Vorce, John	Eaton Rapids	April 16, 1899.	89	He settled in Hamlin 45 years ago.
Wall, Mrs. Ruth	Eaton Rapids	April 21, 1899.	60	She was born in Eaton township in 1839.
Waterman, Mrs.	Windsor	June 1, 1899	94	
Whitford, James L.	Charlotte	Oct. 29, 1898	60	A resident of the county 34 years.
Wright, Mrs. Rachel	Windsor	Feb. 4, 1899	82	A resident of the county 47 years.

STEPHENSON.—John R. Stephenson died August 23, 1898, at Eaton Rapids, aged 79 years.

Deceased was born in the district of Niagara, Canada, in 1819, and when fifteen years of age he moved to Washtenaw county, Michigan. In 1859 he was called to the pastorate of the Congregational church at Eaton Rapids, over which he presided for many years. Since that date that village and city has been his home.

EMMET COUNTY.

BY ISAAC D. TOLL.

KIRKLAND.—Thomas Kirkland, one of the early pioneers of Petoskey, and a man who in his quiet and unostentatious way has been a powerful factor for good in the lives of many people of Emmet county, died February 15, 1899. Mr. Kirkland did not come to Emmet county as a poor homesteader in 1875, nor, although a man of means, did he come to feed and fatten on the necessities of his needy fellow immigrants. He came because the climate promised relief from his asthmatic affliction, but being here, he lent freely of his money to his poorer neighbors, and undoubtedly helped to establish on a sound foundation not a few of the families which are now financially and otherwise among our best. The Independent Democrat pays him an earnest tribute for his leniency as a creditor, and all it says is true, but not all the truth. Mr. Kirkland not only refused to take advantage of his legal rights in foreclosing mortgages, as the Independent Democrat states, but he often scaled down the rates of interest on mortgage notes, without solicitation. Not only that, but he has wholly forgiven many a debtor. The best test of a man's charity and goodness, however, is when he is wronged and cheated and outraged, and that test Mr. Kirkland stood nobly. Probably as many deadbeats and cheats took advantage of his generosity as ever fattened on other men of his means, but it never soured him. He never seemed to think that because one man had beaten him he should close his heart against everybody else, and therein shone brightest the solid gold of his nature.

Mr. Kirtland was born in Scotland in April, 1820, but came to the United States when a boy. He acquired a competence as a farmer on Gull prairie and sold out in 1875, on account of his health, removing to Petoskey. In 1880 he married Mrs. Anna Little and since that time their house on Lake street has been not only a home, but a center of beneficent influence, for Mrs. Kirkland's heart has always been as open as her husband's hand and purse.

PORTER.—Andrew Porter quietly and peacefully entered into his well earned rest May 10, 1899, aged 82 years. When one looks back over the accomplished facts of a life like his, it furnishes an argument for christianity more powerful than all the utterances of creed and council, or the fulmination of the pulpit. In 1847 all of northern Michigan was an unbroken wilderness, save for the scattered Catholic missions in the neighborhood of the Straits, and the trading post at Mackinac. Six years before, a Mr. Dougherty, representing the Presbyterian board, had opened a school at Old Mission on Grand Traverse bay, and there came Andrew Porter, a stalwart and powerful young man of thirty-one years, as a teacher. In 1851 it was proposed to establish a mission on the south side of Little Traverse bay, and on the recommendation of Mr. Dougherty, Andrew Porter was appointed to the work. He went back to Pennsylvania, married the faithful wife who still survives him, and in May, 1852, they landed at the mouth of Bear creek from a little schooner owned by Capt. Kirkland, then a young sailor. The story of the early trials, privations, and labors is too long to repeat here. There is still standing a few feet to the east of Mr. Jarman's house the old school house built by the hands of Mr. Porter of lumber packed up from the shore on the backs of Indians nearly half a century ago. For the next quarter of a century Andrew Porter was the central figure in the slowly growing civilization of the Little Traverse country. He was a Protestant missionary and teacher, but such was his simplicity of character, his transparent honesty, and unselfish humility, that he won the entire confidence and the affectionate regard of all the Indian people, whether Catholic or Protestant in faith. As a civil officer, (for besides being government agent he was justice of the peace and judge of probate,) no Indian was ever wronged by a white man if he knew it, and it was this sense of absolute justice, and this belief that it was the province of law to protect the ignorant, which made every Indian his friend. After Petoskey began to be settled by whites in the seventies, Mr. Porter returned to his old home in Pennsylvania for some years, but as old age crept upon him he came back to be near his son, and has for several years lived in a cozy little home on Woodland avenue. All the fall he has evidently been failing in strength, and since the holidays the failure has been more rapid. There was no disease, no pain, just the gradual ebbing of the vital forces, and at the last the sinking into a gentle sleep. The funeral was held in answer to a general demand from the First Presbyterian church, on Saturday, and although the day was bitterly cold the church was well filled. Rev. John Red-

path, who organized the first church here, made some remarks having reference to his early acquaintance with Mr. Porter, and then the pastor, Rev. James Gale Inglis, delivered an appropriate and eloquent address. Mr. Porter had none of the acidity of age about him. Up to the very last, and when his strength was failing and the end in sight, he was just as full of kindness and charity, as quick in his sympathies, as ready to give of himself to his neighbors as ever he was. Nobody ever questioned his religion. His life spoke for itself, and the entire confidence of all men, both white and red, rested securely upon that simple, kindly, upright, Christ-like life, and not on any profession he may have made. Father Porter's name will always be identified with the Little Traverse region, and be spoken with reverence by children yet to be born on the shores of the blue bay he loved so well.

GRATIOT COUNTY.

Barstow.—Rev. Charles Barstow died May 23, 1899, of heart failure at his home in Maple Rapids. The Book of Life was closed very suddenly, never to be opened by the man who had absorbed from its pages the truths which he had used to guide many a life through the darkness of adversity, and which had become the beacon light to many a storm-tossed sailor, through his interpretation and instruction.

Shortly after returning from a funeral, Rev. Barstow was taken with a fainting spell and it was thought would expire, but he rallied and was believed to be much better, but the tide turned, and he passed away just at twilight.

His death was soon known throughout the village of Maple Rapids, and it created a most profound sorrow. The news was telephoned to St. Johns, where he had a large number of warm friends. He was pastor of the Congregational church in St. Johns some twenty-three years ago.

Rev. Barstow was 70 years old. He was born in Massachusetts, and had been a resident of Maple Rapids for the past eight years. After leaving St. Johns, he was pastor of the Congregational church at Maple Rapids for one year, when business interests called him to Iowa, and he remained a few years and returned later. He was a veteran of the civil war, and held the position of chaplain of the 107th New York volunteers. He was chaplain of Billy Begole Post G. A. R. at Maple Rapids, and was very much attached to the order. Rev. Barstow was loved and venerated by the entire community. A true christian, his life was an inspiration to all with whom he came in contact. A kind, cheerful word

was always heard from him for every one. No child was too small to escape his loving notice. Venerated in the church, beloved by his family, honored in business, eminent in social circles, his death causes a vacancy which will be difficult to fill. He leaves a widow and four children. Mrs. Alice Mannes, of L'Anse, Mich., Mrs. Judson, of New York city, wife of the noted New York minister, who is a son of the celebrated Judson, a former missionary to Africa, Mrs. A. J. Moss, of Maple Rapids, and one son, Edward, of New Jersey.

FULTON.—Nicholas Fulton, prominent among the very first settlers of what is now known as Fulton township, Gratiot county, died at his home in Maple Rapids, where he had resided during the last fifteen years, last Saturday night, May 21, 1899, in the neighborhood of 80 years of age.

The deceased was, we believe, the first settler of that portion of Gratiot county, afterwards organized and named Fulton township, in honor of Mr. Fulton. He continued to reside there until the township was transformed from a dense wilderness to one of the handsomest townships of land in that excellent county, where he raised a family of children, all of whom, together with a wife, survive him. He was a soldier in the war of the rebellion, and was a good soldier and citizen. He has answered every roll call, and has now gone to receive his reward for a faithful and well spent life.

HILLSDALE COUNTY.

MITCHELL.—Hon. Charles T. Mitchell was born June 29, 1817, in the state of New York, and died at Hillsdale, Michigan, Thursday evening, December 29, 1898, at the age of 81 years and six months. He came to Hillsdale in 1843, and built a large grain warehouse, 50x100 feet, on the corner of Railroad and Hillsdale streets. Hillsdale was at that time the western terminus of the Michigan Southern railway and remained so for six years; and the old depot stood in the street opposite the Mosher house. Hillsdale was then the shipping point for grain and produce drawn there by wagon loads from White Pigeon, La Grange, Angola, Bryan, Ohio, on the west, southwest and south and Homer on the north.

Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell were married September 3, 1847, in the city of Monroe, and he had for groomsmen Rev. Dr. C. E. Babb, now of California, and Mr. Walter Dean (now deceased) of Monroe. Mrs. Mitchell had for bridesmaids Mrs. Gen. Williams, then Miss Martha Conant, and

Mrs. Hannibal Stanley, formerly Miss Libby Noble (since died) of Monroe.

Mrs. Mitchell's father was Hon. Austin E. Wing, who became a resident of Detroit in 1816, coming with Gen. Cass and Governor Woodbridge from Marietta, Ohio, on horseback through a dense wilderness. Detroit at that time was a small hamlet. Mr. Wing had graduated the year before from Williams college and was the first collector of the port of Detroit; was also mayor and afterwards twice elected delegate to congress from the territory of Michigan, which then embraced Wisconsin. He was afterwards United States marshal of the state under President Polk, and died in 1849.

Mr. Mitchell's father started in life as a miller, and afterwards was a farmer. His grandfather, Major Andrew Mitchell, was born in or near Ayr in Scotland, and came to this country about 1750, and settled in Schenectady, New York, as a merchant. He was major of the Twelfth Regiment of Frontier Guards and stationed in what is now Saratoga county. He was afterwards colonel of the same regiment. After the revolution he moved up on the Mohawk to what is now Spraker's Basin, where he purchased a large tract of land and settled his children about him, and died about 1800. He was also a member of the colonial legislature from Tryan county when it embraced all of the state of New York west of Albany.

When Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell were married and went to Hillsdale to live the town was a very small one. There were no buildings on Howell street above the Smith house. They have seen it grow into a beautiful little city.

In 1855 the banking office of Mitchell, Waldron & Co. was established, composed of C. T. Mitchell, Henry Waldron and John P. Cook, and was the first bank in the town. Mr. Cook withdrew in 1864, and Mr. Waldron and Mr. Mitchell continued the business, and established the Second National Bank in 1865 with a capital of $100,000, and continued in business together for nearly twenty-five years, and until Mr. Waldron's brother, William, died, making it necessary for him to take charge of the First National bank. Mr. Mitchell was appointed by Gov. Bingham a member of the board to locate and build the reform school at Lansing; and by Gov. Baldwin as chairman of the state board of charities and corrections. He was elected delegate to the republican national convention in Baltimore that nominated Mr. Lincoln for the second term; also to the convention of 1888 at Chicago that nominated President Harrison; and was appointed by Gov. Bagley a trustee of the

Michigan Asylum at Kalamazoo, which position he held for eighteen years.

In 1882 he met Mr. Newell, president of the Lake Shore railroad, who told him that the company contemplated bringing all the branches of their road together at Hillsdale. He did all in his power to further the project, and the final agreement was made and the agreement signed by Mr. Newell in Mr. Mitchell's office, with no one present but Mr. Newell, Mr. F. W. Stock and himself. He kept the original papers in his possession until the time of his death.

The above early history sketch, as to dates, etc., were taken almost bodily from memoranda prepared by Mr. Mitchell himself at the time of his golden wedding in 1897.

His children living are Will W. and Austin W. Mitchell of Cadillac, and Mrs. W. H. Sawyer of Hillsdale.

Rich.—David B. Rich died October 30, 1898, aged 67 years. In the year 1846, when but 15 years of age, he with his parents moved to the vicinity of Hillsdale. He was married to Miss Maria Antoinette Whitbeck, who survives him, February 25, 1855, and they moved to Center Cambria, Hillsdale county, on the place where he departed this life, in the year 1857. There were six children born to them, one of whom, Louis A. Rich, died July 29, 1885. The other children are: Gerard A., Louise M., now Mrs. Frank A. Carncross, Curtis A., Frank A. and Ella L., now Mrs. Austin W. Warren, all of whom survive him.

HURON COUNTY.

BY LUKE S. JOHNSON.

Stevens.—Erastus M. Stevens died at his home in Caseville, June 18, 1899.

He was born in the town of Roxbury, Delaware county, N. Y., March 6, 1822. When ten years of age he came with his parents to Michigan and settled in Oakland county, where he resided until 1881, when he removed to Caseville, Huron county.

He was a soldier of the rebellion, and as a member of the Fifth and First Michigan Cavalry he saw much hard service, for he served during the entire war. In "Michigan in the War" may be found the following splendid record:

Erastus M. Stevens, Detroit, entered service September 1, 1862, as sergeant Company K, Fifth Cavalry; second lieutenant, First Cavalry, September 18, 1863; first lieutenant, October 1, 1863; wounded in action at Shepherdstown, Va., August 25, 1864; discharged for disability January 13, 1865.

INGHAM COUNTY.

BY C. B. STEBBINS.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Atwood, M. M.	Lansing	Sept. 24, 1898.	78	
Bacheler, Mrs. Mary E.	Stockbridge	June 27, 1898.	53	
Banner, Wm.	Bell Oak	Jan. 26, 1899	83	
Barker, John A.	Lansing	Jan. 28, 1899.	61	
Baumgrass, Mrs. M. C.	Lansing	Dec. 4, 1898.	79	
Bement, Mrs. Edwin	Lansing	May 13, 1899.	83	
Black, Allen D.	Lansing	Jan. 12, 1899.	84	
Blakely, Wm.	Lansing	Nov. 23, 1898.	86	
Buck, Samuel P.	Lansing	Sept. 19, 1898.	66	
Bush, Mrs. Charles J.	Lansing	Aug. 3, 1898.	69	
Callahan, Mrs.	Meridian	Nov. 3, 1898.	60	
Case, Daniel L.	Lansing	Nov. 24, 1898.	87	
Chapman, Mrs. O. H.	Lansing	Jan. 20, 1899.	93	
Christopher, Mrs. Cornelia		June 2, 1898.	82	
Church, Mrs. Helen	Lansing	April 17, 1899.	52	
Clathworthy, Mrs. Jno.	Leslie	Jan. 10, 1899.	74	
Collins, Joseph W.	Lansing	Jan. 11, 1899.	80	
Cook, Geo. Wm.	Lansing	June 1, 1898.	70	
Cornell, Mrs. Sarah C.	Lansing	Nov. 17, 1898.	81	
Covey, Rev. J. W.	Lansing	March 26, 1899	70	
Coryell, Richard C.	Lansing	June 13, 1898.	82	
Crouch, Alecta A.		Feb. 3, 1899.	72	
Dalley, Patrick	Lansing	Nov. 13, 1898.	76	
Davis, Arthur T.	Lansing	Oct. 31, 1898	61	
DeLamater, Peter		June 17, 1898.	61	
Ellis, Wm	Lansing	Dec. 7, 1898.	58	
Fitzsimmons, David	Alaiedon	March 13, 1899	74	
Foster, Adam	Lansing	March 22, 1899	81	
Gilbert, Mrs. Mary	Lansing	March 11, 1899	81	
Gillam, Mrs. Geo. F.	Lansing	March 11, 1899	66	
Green, Miss Jennie B.	Lansing	June 3, 1898.	33	
Harrington, Mrs. G. F.	Okemos	March 17, 1899	82	
Herrmann, John	Lansing	July 24, 1898.	61	
Hilliard, Mary J.	Lansing	Jan. 15, 1899.	82	
Holmes, Theodore S.	Lansing	Feb. 2, 1899.	55	
House, Enoch S.	Aurelius	Feb. 23, 1899.	97	
Howell, Mrs. M. A.	Lansing	April 9, 1899.	69	
Hyatt, Dr. A. S.	Lansing	Jan. 12, 1899.	43	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Jones, Charles	Lansing	Dec. 19, 1898..	77	
Jones, G. Homer	Lansing	Dec. 11, 1898..	52	Many years a resident of Eaton county.
Kilbourne, Mrs. S. L	Lansing	Dec. 1, 1898...	46	
Klotz, Mrs. Margaret	Lansing	Nov. 11, 1898..	92	
Meyer, Mrs. Mary E	Lansing	Oct. 21, 1898..	77	
Murray, Geo. R	Lansing	Dec. 1, 1898...	68	
Park, Thomas	Delhi	Dec. 29, 1898...	85	
Phelps, Mrs. Mary C	Mason	June 25, 1898..	77	
Pratt, Mrs. Hugh R	Lansing	March 3, 1899.	65	
Reed, Nathan P	Lansing	Aug. 25, 1898..	82	
Richmond, Geo. P	Lansing	Aug. 2, 1898...	49	
Rogers, Mrs. Harriet	Lansing	Oct. 4, 1898 ...	93	
Rouser, Christian	Lansing	Sept. 27, 1898.	72	
Royston, Wm	Mason	Dec. 5, 1898...	86	
Shiveley, Mrs. Catherine	Lansing	May 1, 1899....	74	
Smith, Mrs. Mary	Lansing	Feb. 10, 1899..	72	
Sweet, Loren,	Lansing	July 7, 1898...	77	
Tenney, Mrs. Harriet A	Lansing	Jan. 20, 1899..	65	See memorial.
Thorburn, Mrs. Jane	Lansing	Nov. 11, 1898..	66	
Tooker, Mrs Caroline M	Lansing	May 10, 1899 ..	73	
Ward, Mrs. W. D	Lansing	June 22, 1898..	69	
Westcott, Thos. W	Lansing	Aug. 7, 1898..	64	Many years a resident of Lansing.
Whiteley, James H	Lansing	March 21, 1899	72	
Wright, Wm	Lansing	March 20, 1899	74	

My list of departed pioneers in Ingham county for the past year is greater than of any former reports. The same is true of the number over 90 years of age, of which there are five, as follows:

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Rogers, Mrs. Harriet	Lansing	Oct. 4	93	
Klotz, Mrs. Margaret	Lansing	Nov. 11	92	
Teter, Elson	Lansing	Jan. 3	92	Average 93 and $\frac{2}{5}$ years.
Chapman, Mrs. O. H	Lansing	Jan. 20	93	
House, Enoch	Aurelius	Feb. 23	97	

The entire number of deaths was 65. Of these, 29 were women, and 36 men. The average was 75½ years. The total for the several months as follows:

June	8	December	8
July	2	January	11
August	5	February	4
September	3	March	8
October	2	April	4
November	8	May	3

The most fatal months were June, November, December, January and March.

The most healthful months were July, October and May.

Over half of the 65 deaths were in January, June, November and March.

If I had the statistics of all my former reports we could perhaps by comparison come to a tolerable conclusion as to which months people over sixty years of age may have to fear. But, of course, it would be no criterion for the entire population.

My report includes but five under 50 years of age, and two of these were 49 years.

The following table will give a general idea of the ages of those of 50 years and over:

50 years and over	60	85 years and over	9
60 " " "	56	90 " " "	5
70 " " "	35	93 " " "	3
80 " " "	19	97 " " "	1

CAMPBELL.—Job T. Campbell died at his home in Mason April 13, 1899. He was born in Onondaga township, Ingham county, July 5, 1855, the tenth child and sixth son of a family of twelve children of whom seven were sons and five daughters, all of whom lived to years of full maturity, and eight of whom still survive. Marshall Campbell, his father, was himself a man of striking personality, of sturdy stature, of strong native reverence and natural intuition, all of which he gave as a modest patrimony to his son. He lived to see his eightieth birthday long past. In so far as environments mould the character of men, the character of Job T. Campbell was fashioned amid the rural scenes of Onondaga township. There came the first rude shock to his childish sensibilities, the death of his mother in 1862. From his father's hearthside went one by one three sons and brothers, each lacking years of manhood, to do battle for their country in the war of the rebellion.

At the neighboring school house he obtained the rudiments of his edu-

cation, and as a farm hand upon neighboring homesteads he earned a modest compensation, and what was far more valuable also the lessons of industry, frugality and temperance, which in this country form everywhere the basis of good citizenship and true manhood. But the fates had decreed that Job T. Campbell should exert more influence upon his fellow men than as a "hewer of wood and a drawer of water," though a more complete education as a graduate of the Leslie high school came to him at a time in life long after it is usually accorded to the average youth, and that too only after a wooing in which self denial and sturdy struggles were a part, still he rapidly grew into the confidence and esteem of all who know him or who were brought within the sphere of his influence.

He was deputy county clerk of Ingham county for 1880-83. Since that time he had been engaged in the newspaper work as proprietor of the Leslie Local, 1883-6, Pinckney Dispatch, 1887, purchasing the Ingham County News in November, 1889, and continuing its publication until his death. After severance of his connection with the Pinckney Dispatch in 1887 he spent some time in the law department of the university of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and was admitted to practice as a member of the Ingham county bar in the circuit court for the county of Ingham on the 19th of June, 1888. It was during his connection with the Leslie Local in 1884 that he was united in marriage with Miss Eva Huntington, who still survives him.

Since coming to the city of Mason the demands made upon Mr. Campbell have been many. Of a political nature as circuit court commissioner, member of the board of education, supervisior of his ward, a member of the house of representatives of the state legislature from the second district of Ingham county for the years 1893-4 and 1895-6. In the legislature of '95-96 he served upon some of the most responsible committees, among which was the chairmanship of the committee of private corporations, and as the second member of the committee on ways and means.

Davis.—Arthur T. Davis, for many years one of Lansing's leading business men, died at his home, August 31, 1898. He was the third of three brothers, the others being Franklin E. and E. H. Davis, to die within a period of ten months, all after a comparatively brief illness.

Mr. Davis was born March 1, 1837, at Carlton, N. Y. His family soon removed to Ellisburg, Jefferson county, where he lived until 1855, when the family went to Anoka, Minn. There he engaged in the hardware busi-

ness, continuing until 1865, when, with the other members of his family, he located in Lansing. He entered the crockery business, in which he continued seven years. Retiring from that business, he became secretary of the Michigan Millers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company, which owed its success to his skillful management. He was still secretary of that company and was director of the City National bank at the time of his death.

He is survived by his wife and two daughters, Misses Clara and Lucy Davis, also by a sister, Mrs. Helen D. Baker.

FOSTER.—Adam Foster, one of the oldest settlers in Lansing, died March 22, 1899.

He was 81 years old and was born in Ireland. He was one of a family of ten children who came to America in 1850. They lived in northern Ohio one year, then, in 1851, removed to Michigan and settled on a farm east of Lansing, where deceased resided until his death.

He was a bachelor and lived at home with two unmarried sisters. The household has been noted for its hospitality and good cheer.

FREEMAN.—Phineas R. Freeman died November 23, 1898, at his home in Lansing, aged 76 years.

Deceased was born in Chautauqua county, N. Y., in 1822. He came to Michigan in an early day and located near Lansing. He took up the land now known as the Lansing farm, where he resided for a number of years. In 1845 he was married to Miss Abigaile Cook, of DeWitt, and she survives him.

At the beginning of the war he enlisted in the Third Michigan Cavalry, but after being in the prison at Macon, Ga., for a considerable time, his health failed, and he was honorably discharged.

In the early days of Lansing Mr. Freeman ran a grocery store on Center street, North Lansing. He also assisted in raising the first building ever put up in Lansing, a saw mill at the foot of Maple street, across the river from the Hart mill.

HERRMANN.—John T. Herrmann, one of Lansing's well known and honored business men, and a resident of the city for more than a quarter of a century, died at his home, 512 Capitol avenue North, June 24, 1898, aged 61 years.

Mr. Herrmann was born in Darmstadt, Germany, September 9, 1837. He came to America and located in the capital city in 1872 and was a

continual resident of Lansing until his demise. During the first six years of residence in the city he was in the employ of Lemley & Westcott, merchant tailors, and in 1878 he engaged in business for himself on Washington avenue, opposite the present location; later he purchased the building now owned by the Troy laundry, which he occupied for 13 years, when he purchased and removed to the building where, for the last seven years, he has been located. He enjoyed a very prosperous business career by reason of his upright dealing, strict business methods and superior workmanship. He amassed considerable property, the direct result of his energy and foresight in taking advantage of investments to be made in the capital city.

Mr. Herrmann leaves a wife and six children, three sons and three daughters, viz.: Henry, Christian and Charles, and Mrs. Otto Schreiber, Mrs. Herman Schreiber and Miss Marie Herrmann, all of Lansing.

Hilliard.—Miss Mary J. Hilliard died January 15, 1899, at her home in Lansing, aged 82 years.

The deceased was born in Nova Scotia, of Irish parents, who were seeking a home on this side of the Atlantic, where the advantages for a poor man to acquire property and, perhaps, competency were vastly superior to those in the country which they were leaving. A sea voyage in 1817, when six weeks were required to cross the ocean, was not the pleasure trip it is in 1900, when the trip is made in as many days. Her parents were shipwrecked on the steamship Lord Nelson, off the coast of Nova Scotia, while going from Ireland to New Brunswick. Their rescue was effected by savages. Three days after they were safely landed the deceased was born in an Indian hut. She came to Lansing for the first time in 1852 and four years later took up her residence in that city. For the past 40 years, she and her two maiden sisters lived by themselves in their late home. A sister and one brother, J. E. Hilliard, survive her.

Hoskins.—Lucretia Bartlett Hoskins was born in Lebanon, Conn., July 11, 1803. Her parents were Julius Bartlett and Nancy (Rogers) Bartlett. In her childhood the family moved to Albany, N. Y., where her father rented for a term of years, a large farm from the Van-Rensselaer estate. With the profits from working that farm, he purchased a farm at Stillwater, Saratoga county. Here, on October 9, 1824, she was married to Dr. Thomas Hoskins, a practicing physician.

In the spring of 1836, the family removed to Michigan and settled in Marion, Livingston county. He bought the northeast quarter of section 31 of that township, June 17, 1836. After a two years residence there, they removed to Scio, Washtenaw county, where they resided till the

summer of 1866, when they removed to Lansing, whither two of their daughters, Mrs. C. B. Seymour and Mrs. M. D. Osband had preceded them.

Here on July 16, 1876, her husband died. The next year she went to live with her youngest daughter (Mrs. F. L. Barker), in Frederic, Crawford county. This daughter died April 11, 1891. She then returned to Lansing, and made her home with her daughter Helen, Mrs. M. D. Osband. On August 3, 1892, this daughter also died. She then found a home with her grandson, Charles H. Osband, of Lansing. She resided here till October, 1898, when the family removed to Grand Rapids, where she died February 8, 1899, aged 95 years, six months and 28 days, after a residence of five months. She was buried beside other members of the family in Mt. Hope cemetery, Lansing, Mich.

Mrs. Hoskins had borne 11 children, but one of whom, Orlando Hoskins, of Tacoma, Washington, survives her.

She had been a Methodist over 70 years—over 32 of which as member of the Central M. E. church, of Lansing.

She was noted for her industry and economy, was a faithful and devoted wife, a loving and patient mother, and a zealous, consistent christian.

At the end of so long a journey rest was welcome.

Montgomery.—Judge Martin V. Montgomery died November 12, 1898, at his home in Lansing, aged 58 years.

Judge Montgomery was born at Eaton Rapids in 1840, where he received a common school education. He began teaching when 17 years old and pursued higher branches of study at the same time. At the age of 21 he began the study of law and was admitted to practice in 1865. One year previous he married Miss Julia A. Hayden at Eaton Rapids. He then formed a partnership with his preceptor, the late Isaac M. Crane, and practiced at Eaton Rapids until September, 1871, when he removed to Jackson. At the latter place he formed a partnership with Judge Johnson, which continued up to 1873, when, on the death of his father, the judge returned to Eaton Rapids, and renewed his partnership with Mr. Crane. In 1875 he removed to Lansing and formed a partnership with his brother, R. A. Montgomery. He served as a member of the state legislature in 1871, where he made an enviable record, as a representative from the first district of Eaton county, and was democratic candidate for attorney general in 1874. He was several times a delegate to the national conventions of his party.

As a lawyer he stood in the front ranks of his profession; as a politi-

cian he was a spirited partisan, but always fair and courteous towards opponents; as a citizen he was respected by every man, woman and child in the city of Lansing.

March 25, 1885, President Cleveland honored Judge Montgomery and publicly recognized his true worth by appointing him commissioner of patents, one of the finest appointments it is the privilege of a president to make. He served with great credit to himself and the administration, but the position became so distasteful to him because of the terrific demands for patronage that he resigned and was promptly appointed a member of the supreme court of the District of Columbia, where he gained much distinction as a jurist, and his resignation in October, 1892, was accepted with great regret. He at once returned to Lansing and renewed the partnership with his brother, R. A. Montgomery, which continued up to the time of his death. His name has been identified with some of the greatest cases, both criminal and civil, in the history of the state. In his practice he was remarkably successful.

Judge Montgomery is survived by a widow, but no children, his mother, who resided with him, two brothers, R. A. of Lansing, and W. B. of Detroit, and a sister, Mrs. E. M. Eisenbiess, of Indianapolis, Ind.

Reed.—Nathan P. Reed, an aged pioneer, died at his home in Lansing, August 25, 1898.

He was born November 19, 1815, in Massachusetts. When 13 years old he moved to Jefferson county, N. Y., with his parents. At the age of 17 years he came to Michigan alone; bought a farm near Salem; paid for it in day's work. Later he sent for his father and mother and they removed to Riley in 1837. He married Martha Cronkite, of Riley, January 6, 1840. He then moved to Oakland county and stayed there until 1848, when he returned to Riley. He resided there until 1873, when he moved to Lansing, where he had been a continuous resident since. Seven years ago the aged couple happily celebrated their golden wedding. He is survived by his wife and one daughter, Mrs. E. W. Perrin, of Northville, four sons, John and E. L. Reed, of Lansing; Riley Reed, of Clinton county, and Milo Reed, of Denver, Colo.; fourteen grandchildren and five great grandchildren; two sisters, Mrs. Phoebe Brooks and Mrs. Nancy Brooks, of Portland; two brothers, Charles, of Hastings, and Hiram, of Portland.

Two weeks before his death he gave his son Riley a pitchfork that he had purchased of J. I. Mead, an old pioneer of Lansing, at Farmington, in 1836.

TEETER.—Elson Teeter, one of Lansing's first settlers, died January 3, 1899, at the advanced age of 91 years. Until suddenly prostrated he had been in usual good health and attended church two days before his death.

He was one of a family of 13 children and was a native of Tompkins county, New York. He came to Lansing in 1847, before the Capital city was platted, and was one of the carpenters who worked on the first capitol building erected in Lansing.

Mr. Teeter was engaged in gardening during his long life when able to work, and it was he who performed the work of clearing the underbrush from the corners where the Lansing State Savings and City National banks now stand. Near his home on Washtenaw street, which was then practically a wilderness, there were living 14 families named Teeter, and that portion of the city was for many years called Teetertown.

When he first came to Lansing he secured from the government three lots of school lands, and retained the land for more than 50 years by paying annually a few dollars interest.

He was married in Ithaca, N. Y., in 1833, to Miss Mary Sharp, who died in 1848 in Lansing. In 1862 he again married, and chose for his bride his brother's widow, Mrs. Elenor Teeter.

Mr. Teeter is survived by one daughter, Mrs. Mary Case, child of his first marriage, and one son of the second marriage, Kimball Teeter of Centralia, Wash.; also two brothers, Anson Teeter of New Baltimore, Mich., and Venson Teeter of Nashville, Tenn., and one sister, Mrs. Sophrona Baker of Jackson county.

WHITELEY.—James H. Whiteley, one of Lansing's old settlers and pioneers, died March 21, 1899, aged 72 years.

Mr. Whiteley was a native of Palmyra, N. Y. He came to Michigan in 1848 with his brother John, and located in Lansing when it was a city of stumps and woods; the capital had just been located there that year. He lived in the town several years before railroads invaded the county, and he with his brother hauled goods and supplies from Detroit for the early storekeepers in the primitive city on the Grand.

After a few years he took up the farm south of the city where he lived until within a few years.

Three sons survive him; they are William A. and Henry of Lansing, and Walter Whiteley, who lives on the old homestead in Lansing township.

IONIA COUNTY.

BY ALBERT MOREHOUSE.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Allen, Dana C	Orange	May 26, 1899	78	Came to Michigan in 1837.
Allen, Wm. H	Orange	June 8, 1898	78	Came to Michigan in 1837.
Bogue, Martha	Portland	April 24, 1899.	69	Came to Michigan in 1834.
Bogue, Wm. W	Portland	March 7, 1899.	72	Came to Michigan in 1834.
Butler, Ann	Orange	Sept. 27, 1898.	96	Came to Michigan in an early day.
Griffin, Margaret	Portland	Aug. 1, 1898	82	Came to Michigan in 1847.
Mann, Loomis	Ionia	June 3, 1899	80	Came to Michigan in 1844.
Marlett, Sarah	Hubbardston	May 1, 1899	89	Came to Michigan in 1836.
Morehouse, Gertrude E	Portland	Aug. 3, 1898	58	Came to Michigan in 1843. A member of the pioneer society.
Pangborn, Samuel	Ionia	June 25, 1898.	89	
Probart, John	Portland	Feb. 6, 1899	84	Came to Michigan in 1837.
Read, Henry	Portland	July 8, 1898	70	Came to Michigan in 1834.
Spalding, Day	Lyons	July 7, 1898	70	
Spaulding, Jerry	Ionia	Nov. 29, 1898.	66	One of the most widely known persons in the county.
Sprague, Herman	Lyons	Aug. 16, 1898.	89	Came to Michigan in 1844.
Tyler, Mary N	Hubbardston	Jan. 28, 1899	86	
Van Buren, Henry	Danby	March 24, 1899	68	Came to Michigan in 1854.
Wolcott, Adaline	Portland	Aug. 20, 1898.	68	

KALAMAZOO COUNTY.

BY HENRY BISHOP.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Amperse, Martinus		Aug. 20, 1898..	84	
Anderson, Thomas		Jan. 5, 1899....	80	
Baker, Mrs. John		Aug. 2, 1898..	74	
Barrett, Rev. W. M		Nov. 8, 1898...	68	
Borden, Caroline L		Nov. 27, 1898..	82	
Boylan, Wm		Feb. 6, 1899...	76	
Briggs, Mrs. Asa		April 19, 1899.	77	
Brown, Congdon		Dec. 3, 1898...	97	
Budrow, John L		July 7, 1898....	77	
Burdick, Andrew I		Sept. 29, 1898 .	69	
Burdick, Edwin		Feb. 18, 1899..	82	
Caldwell, Mrs. Doct		April 19, 1899.	90	
Cobb, James B		May 8, 1899 ...	76	
Cooper, Justin		Jan. 18, 1899..	93	
Coy, Charles		Feb. 26, 1899..	74	
Day, John		Feb. 13, 1899..	67	
DeForest, Mrs. Electa		Oct. 31, 1898 ..	76	
Donovan, James		Sept. 28, 1898..	85	
Douglas, Eli		Dec. 15, 1898..	88	
Eldrid, Stephen		May 20, 1899 ..	89	
Fellows, Orville H		March 2, 1899.	79	A pioneer of 1829.
Finlay, James		July 27, 1898..	85	
Giddings, Orrin N		Nov. 13, 1898..	85	
Goodrich, Thomas		Jan. 20, 1899 ..	84	
Gould, Anna		April 4, 1899..	79	
Healey, Thos. J		July 15, 1898..	81	
Hill, Amanda		March 19, 1899	86	
Himebaugh, Henry		March 12, 1899	88	
Hubbard, Frank		Sept. 16, 1898..	70	
Hunt, Mrs. A. R..		Aug. 8, 1898...	84	
Huntley, Warren		Sept. 21, 1898..	86	
Kenicut, Geo. W		June 3, 1898...	87	
Kirby, Jas. J		Oct. 26, 1898..	71	
McGregor, Peter		May 7, 1899...	76	
McKain, Allen		Feb. 16, 1899..	70	
McLinn, Mrs. Eliza L		March 29, 1899	86	
Merrill, David B		Jan. 6, 1899....	66	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Mills, Willard		June 23, 1898..	90	
Nesbit, Thomas		Oct. 26, 1898 ..	81	
Pengelly, Richard		Nov. 8, 1898...	80	
Pratt, Foster		Aug. 12, 1898.	75	Surgeon 13th regiment.
Ramsdell, M. D.		Feb. 18, 1899..	76	
Richardson, Solomon		Nov. 17, 1898..	80	
Smith, Henry P.		June 24, 1898.	72	Justice of the peace.
Spicer, Nate		Feb. 17, 1899..	74	
Stephenson, Richard		July 14, 1898..	70	
Stone, Miss Chirza		Feb. 16, 1899..	93	One of the early pioneers of Michigan.
Taylor, James		March 13, 1899	70	
Tiffany, Chas. P.		Sept. 2, 1898 ..	75	
Trask, Caroline Woodbury		Jan. 13, 1899 ..	62	
Travis, Erasmus T.		July 1, 1898...	69	
Underwood, Hiram		April 9, 1899..	82	
Wattles, Col. Stephen H.		March 28, 1899	74	A veteran of '61-5.
Woodard, John E.		Feb. 1, 1899...	65	

Brown.—Hon. Ebenezer Lakin Brown passed away at his home in Schoolcraft, Wednesday, April 12, 1899, aged 90 years. He was in past years one of Kalamazoo county's most prominent men and had been thoroughly identified with the progress of the county from an early day.

He was born at Plymouth, Vt., April 16, 1809. He received but a common English education, his plans in that direction being cut short by the death of a brother. At the age of 21 he came to Michigan and stopped first at Ann Arbor, and later went to Kalamazoo county and secured employment in the store of Smith, Huston & Co., on Prairie Ronde, and later became a partner in the business, where he remained several years. Through his mercantile interests he became possessed of considerable real estate.

In 1848 he retired from business and devoted himself to the cultivation of his farm at Schoolcraft, and to literary pursuits, to which he had a great inclination. He became well versed in Greek and Latin largely through his own efforts. He was a poet of no mean ability, and his poems and literary articles have appeared in widely circulated magazines in this country. Had Mr. Brown been permitted to carry out his original purposes of education, and thus been able to bring to his literary work the thorough cultivation begotten of years of well directed

study, he would, doubtless, have been surpassed by few, if any, of his age in the beauty and power of his poetical compositions.

In 1840 Mr. Brown was elected to the legislature on the whig ticket. Later he joined the republican party and in 1855 was elected to the state senate, and was active in securing the passage of a strong prohibitory liquor law and laws concerning the return of fugitive slaves. He was also elected to the senate again in 1879. He was chosen in 1856 a member of the board of regents of the University of Michigan and held that position for six years. From 1857 to 1863 he was president of the Schoolcraft & Three Rivers railroad, and his energy procured the success of that enterprise, which is now a part of the Lake Shore line. He was a member of the first board of county commissioners and has been active in county affairs generally. He was married in September, 1837, to Amelia W. Scott of Petersburg, N. H., but she died in 1848. In September, 1852, he married Mary A. Miles of Hinesburg, Vt. He leaves one son, Senator Addison M. Brown, also one daughter, Miss Ada, who is a professor in a Cincinnati college. He left considerable property. He was an active member of the Baptist denomination.

KENT COUNTY.

BY WM. N. COOK.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Bates, Edward S.		March, 1899...	77	
Belknap, John.		Dec. 20, 1898..	76	
Blakesly, Mrs. Mary L.		March 21, 1899	76	
Borden, Baker.		Jan. 19, 1899..	85	
Burnett, Mrs. Louisa F.		Nov. 24, 1898 .	.....	
Button, Darius T.		June 12, 1898..	76	
Crittenden, J. L.		Jan. 5, 1899...	75	
Davis, Mrs. I. D.		March 14, 1899	.....	
DeCamp, Dr. Wm. H.		July 4, 1898...	73	
Dooge, Mrs. L.		Feb. 22, 1899..	.....	
Edison, Mrs. Enos.		Jan. 3, 1899...	.....	
Goodrich, Philip M.		Sept. 3, 1898...	76	
Gunn, Mrs. W. S.		Dec. 5, 1898...	.....	
Holmes, Mrs. Martha E.		Sept. 12, 1898..	50	
Kelley, Foster.		Jan. 12, 1899..	89	
Leathers, Don J.		Feb. 12, 1899..	55	
Lyon, Mrs. Lucinda.		Feb. 9, 1899...	98	
McReynolds, Andrew T.		Nov. 26, 1898..	90	
Mead, Lafayette...		March 12, 1899	75	
Scribner, Mrs. Eliza.		Dec. 24, 1898..	.....	
Scribner, W. R.		Dec. 15, 1898..	66	
Smith, Mrs. Phoebe.		July 17, 1898..	.....	
Smith, Reuben H.		Nov. 19, 1898..	82	
Stanton, Levi B.		Jan. 25, 1899..	55	
Steketee, Paul.		March 13, 1899	65	
Stevens, Mrs. E. O.		Jan. 11, 1899 ..	.....	
Welch, Madison.		March 23, 1899	87	
Williams, Mrs. R.		June 24, 1898..	.....	

HUGHART.—William Oden Hughart is dead. After nearly four score years of a busy life, the veteran railroad president passed away May 30, 1899. The members of the family were all present and the end came quietly and peacefully, as gently as the waning of the twilight.

William Oden Hughart was born in Bourbon county, Kentucky, in 1825, which made him 74 years old at the time of his death. He lived in the Blue Grass state until he was of age, and was admitted to practice at the bar there. Soon after attaining his majority he moved to Al-

legheny, Pa., and, while he moved from one city to another in that state, he remained within its borders until he came here. Immediately after settling down in Allegheny he was again admitted to the bar to practice, but soon after was compelled to give up his legal work on account of ill health. He next undertook the construction of the first telegraph line into Pittsburg, for the firm of Morse & Kendall, and successfully managed it. The telegraph system was new then, and he naturally became much interested in it. Later he was employed by the firm of Clark & Thaw, heavy freight traffic people, as their auditor, after which he undertook the construction of the Pittsburg & Connellsville road, first being its manager and then its president. While in Pittsburg Mr. Hughart married Miss Sarah Page. He was connected with the Pittsburg & Connellsville line until it became a part of the Baltimore & Ohio, after which he was for a short time president of the Southern Security company, having about 2,700 miles of road.

Mr. Hughart came to Grand Rapids in 1874 as president of the Grand Rapids & Indiana, in which position he remained until April 1, 1894, when he retired from active work on account of ill health. For the past few years he has spent his winters at Zellwood, Fla. His wife survives him, and he leaves the following children, all residing here: Miss Kate Hughart, Mrs. William S. Howard, James Hughart, W. O. Hughart, Jr., Oliver O. Hughart and John H. P. Hughart, general manager of the G. R. & I.

Smith.—Reuben H. Smith, one of the oldest pioneers and respected citizens of Grand Rapids, died Nov. 19, 1898. The announcement of his passing to the other shore will come as a shock to the many old residents of the city, every one of whom was a friend of the fine old gentleman.

Mr. Smith was 82 years of age, having been born on September 7, 1816, at Hamilton, Mason county, N. Y. He came to Michigan in 1838 and moved to Grand Rapids in 1848, when he was elected clerk of Kent county. To this office he was twice re-elected. His marriage occurred in 1852, and was with Miss H. Annette English of Boston, Mich. Mr. Smith held the office of justice of the peace in 1844, of supervisor of Caledonia in 1848, and of supervisor of Alpine in 1856. In November, 1874, he was elected superintendent of the county poor, and he continued in that position for 12 years. From 1872 to 1876 he was a member of the board of education. For 19 years he was secretary of the Old Residents' Association of the Grand River valley. His standing in the

esteem and confidence of his fellow citizens was well exhibited in the esteem they imposed in him in his election to many places of trust during the past 45 years.

Mr. Smith was, during the latter part of his active life, extensively interested in real estate; he bought and sold a great deal of farming land. Mr. Smith leaves a widow and three children, David E. Smith, the Rev. Reuben S. Smith and Mrs. William B. Bernard, all of Grand Rapids.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY.

Mills.—Mrs. Elizabeth Dickinson Mills, died April 27, 1899, aged 92 years.

Mrs. Mills was born in Middleburg, Schoharie county, New York, June 5, 1807, and was married to Stephen Mills, December 31, 1823. Mr. and Mrs. Mills moved to Camillas, Onondaga county, and from there to Wolcott, Wayne county, N. Y., where they remained thirteen years. In 1845 they moved to Michigan, settling first at Lyndon, Washtenaw county. Three years later they bought a farm of woods in Conway and since have been residents of Livingston county. Mr. Mills died in 1859 and she has since lived a widow. For the last twenty-three years Mrs. Mills has lived with her son, Dr. W. J. Mills, of Howell. Mrs. Mills was the mother of seven children, only two of whom survive her, Mrs. D. J. Hitchcock, of Lansing, and Dr. Wesley J. Mills. One son, Stephen P. Mills, was killed in the battle of Chickamauga. Another son, John H. Mills, served in the army and died in Howell in 1889 from disease contracted in the army.

Person.—Cornelius H. Person was born in Jefferson county, N. Y., October 6, 1822, and died April 13, 1899. He came to Michigan with his parents in 1836, and to Livingston county in 1837, locating in Iosco. He was married in 1849 to Lucinda A. Stafford, who preceded him to the better land but one week. They resided on the old homestead until 1868, when they removed to a farm in Howell township, where they remained until 1877, then removing to Howell village, where they have since resided. Mr. Person was a man of liberal education for his time and of marked ability and influence wherever he resided. He held many positions of public trust.

Person.—Lucinda A. Person, wife of C. H. Person, died April 6, 1899, at the home of her son, O. S. Person, of Howell, at the advanced age of 71 years, three months and four days.

The deceased was born in Chautauqua county, New York, on the 2d day of January, 1828. In 1843 her father, Joseph Stafford, moved with his family to Michigan and located in this county where her early womanhood was spent teaching in the district schools. On November 6, 1849, she was married to Cornelius H. Person, with whom she lived most happily until her death. They lived first in the township of Iosco and later in the village of Howell.

She leaves her aged husband, two sons, Judge R. H. Person, of Lansing, and O. S. Person of Howell, and three sisters, Miss Philene Stafford, of Lansing, Mrs. Ira Cronk, of Newago, Mrs. Lewis Rowland, of Howell.

MACOMB COUNTY.

BY GEO. H. CANNON.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Aldrich, Philip V		July 23, 1898..	66	Came to Michigan in 1833.
Burr, Mrs. Chas			75	Came to Michigan in 1832.
Burgess, Elisha Tucker		March 21, 1899	66	A native of Macomb Co.
Cady, Mrs. Chauncey		——— — 1899	79	
Chamberlain, Mrs. Dorothy	Armada	July 28, 1898..	84	Resided on the same farm 60 years.
Cole, Mason	Romeo	April 19, 1899.	80	Settled in Michigan in 1837.
Corbin, John		May —, 1899 ..	80	Settled in Michigan in 1834.
Davis, Mrs. Jane	Washington	Feb. 11, 1899..	66	Settled in Michigan in 1841.
Hebblewhite, Mrs		Jan. 26, 1899 ..	75	Settled in Michigan in 1856
Ingles, Mrs. Catherine		——— —, 1899.	92	
Leet, Mrs. Dr. Albert		——— —, 1899	80	
Lueedson, James		——— —, 1899.	81	
Michlem, Adam		Jan. 16, 1899..	71	Came to Michigan in 1856.
Mosher, Theodore S	Armada	May 18, 1899 ..	67	Came to Michigan in 1840.
Palmer, Mrs. Z. B		Oct. 17, 1898 ..	91	Came to Michigan in 1825.
Randall, Mrs. Felix	Richmond	Dec. 2, 1898...	80	Came to Michigan in 1837.
Smith, Lewis		Jan. —, 1899 ..	67	Came to Michigan in 1842.
Stone, Wm. A		——— —, 1899.	75	
Wilcox, Maria (Mrs. Harvey)	Shelby	Sept. 9, 1898..	72	A resident of Michigan more than 45 years.

BENJAMIN.—John L. Benjamin died April 1, 1899, at the home of his son, Frank, in Romeo, after a long illness, aged 71 years. Deceased had been a resident of the place for the past fifty years, and in an early day was one of the prominent business men in Romeo. He had resided on a fine farm one mile south of Romeo up to a year ago when he disposed of

his property. He was engaged in the purchase of wool for many years and is known to almost every farmer in the county of Macomb. He is survived by a widow, one daughter, Mrs. F. M. Churchill, of Ypsilanti; Mr. J. L. Benjamin, of Chicago; Ira H. Benjamin, of Detroit, and Frank Benjamin, of Romeo.

Scudder.—Matilda Scudder died July 2, 1898, aged 89 years. Matilda Summers was born in Warren county, New Jersey, April 14th, 1810. In 1831 she was married to Smith Scudder and came to Michigan, as a bride, with the family of her father, John Summers, who settled on a farm in Shelby township. She lived during the remainder of her long life in Utica or its vicinity, with the exception of a few years spent in Jackson, where her husband died in 1867. She united with the M. E. church of Utica twenty-four years ago, under the pastorate of Rev. Taylor. Of her family of three children, two daughters and a son, Mrs. J. E. Brownel alone survives her. Of her father's family of ten children, all of whom lived an average life-time, Mrs. Wm. Andrus is the only surviving member. One by one the old pioneers of the village, who have borne the heavy burdens and met the stern realities of early pioneer life, are dropping out of the ranks. To those of the present generation remains the privilege and duty of rekindling in the hearts and homes the glowing hearth fires of courage, virtue and industry whose cheer and warmth have made peaceful and bright the pathways of our forefathers.

Summers.—James D. Summers, son of Jacob and Jane Summers, was born in Oxford, Warren county, New Jersey, March 4, 1834, and died at Shelby, Michigan, April 24, 1899, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

When six weeks old he removed with his parents and a small company of families from the east to Detroit, by boat. They brought their wagons with them. At Detroit Mr. Summers bought an ox team, and by ox team and wagon moved his family to Sterling, Michigan, locating on what is now known as the Chapman farm. From this place he removed to West Shelby, to the Alva Arnold farm; he remained here for one year and then removed to a farm one mile south which farm became the Summers homestead. At this time James D. was about five years of age. The place was comparatively new, the soil unbroken, but with three or four ox teams to a breaking plow, Mr. Jacob Summers and his brothers soon changed the wilderness of sapling growths into harvest fields. Here things incident to pioneer life were theirs, but patient industry at

length evolved a good home. Here James D. spent his early life and grew to manhood.

On May 17, 1856, he was united in marriage to Miss Amelia Orcutt of Shelby. In her he found a true helper, and by industry and cheerfulness they arranged a beautiful home on the south half of the farm. Here they erected good buildings, adorned the place with shade trees, and made other improvements. At this place Mr. Summers lived for over 40 years; in all over sixty years on the homestead farm.

True.—Anna A. True, died July 22, 1898.

Anna A. Andrews was born at Putney, Vermont, January 8, 1812, and was married at Armada, Michigan, December 29, 1847, to Rev. Eleazer Wells True. Deceased had been a resident of this township since June, 1841, during which time she had made a large circle of friends. She was a woman of rare intellectual attainments and gifted by nature and grace. She was during her early life an able teacher in public and private schools, and superintended the education of her three younger brothers. Deceased was the only daughter of Rev. Elisha Deming Andrews, who was a pioneer, taking up from the government land in Armada township. She had five brothers, only two of whom, Hon. Chas. Andrews, of Armada, and Dr. Edmund Andrews, of Chicago, survive her. Two sons also, Elisha Deming and George A., are left to mourn her loss.

Welts.—Robert Welts, an esteemed citizen of Mt. Clemens, after a short illness, died from lung trouble at his home in that city on January 28, 1899. He was one of Michigan's early pioneers.

He moved with his parents, Isaac Welts and Phoebe Shields-Welts, from Frenchtown, N. J., to Victor, N. Y., in 1824, at the age of three years, and from there came to Mt. Clemens in 1830, stopping first at his uncle's, Robert Welts', on the farm at Frederick, now owned by Mr. Frank Hacker. He aided his father in clearing up a farm in the township of Macomb, and after he had learned the blacksmith trade at Utica he opened up a shop for himself at the Cross Roads, where the Andrews school house now stands, in the township of Shelby. Stony Creek soon thereafter became a thriving, prosperous village, and was the inducement that caused him to move his business there, where he and his brothers engaged in the manufacture of buggies and wagons. On selling out there he moved on his farm, located by Lewis Owen, four and a half miles north of Utica, where his wife, Matilda, daughter of Jeremiah Curtis, and their daughter, died in 1863. Afterwards he mar-

ried Mrs. Jennie Gamber-Cole, and moved from there to Almont, and from there to the present homestead, where his wife Jennie died in May, 1885.

He married Miss Fannie M. Loucks in 1887, who survives him, who aided in making his home all that one might wish to have, ever faithful to the end, and who has the heartfelt sympathy of many true friends.

His funeral services were held at his late home, Rev. Bryant officiating, and he was laid to rest in the Curtis cemetery in the township of Shelby, by the side of his first wife and daughter, on January 30.

MONROE COUNTY.

JOHNSON.—Charles G. Johnson died October 6, 1898, aged 76 years.

Death has again removed from Monroe one of the very few remaining pioneers who connect the history of the city of today with the little village of territorial times.

Among the earliest pioneers of Michigan, and among the earliest settlers along the River Raisin, was Oliver Johnson. He established his home upon what is now Washington street, on the west side of the street, between Front and First streets, in the place where the Freidenberg store now stands. Here, on June 13, 1822, his son, Charles G. Johnson, was born. The city of his birth has always been his home and the scene of his business activity. His early youth was spent at his father's home; availing himself of such means of education as were at hand, he passed through the necessary preparation for a college examination; became a student at Gambia, Ohio, at William's college, Williamstown, Massachusetts, then one of the leading colleges of the country, and graduated there September 15, 1841.

He returned to Monroe and, preferring an active to a professional career, entered into business in the city. For a number of years he was engaged in the dry goods business and later became a banker with his brother-in-law, the late T. E. Wing, under the firm name of "Wing & Johnson, Bankers." The banking business made more and more demands upon his time and he ultimately closed out his dry goods business and devoted his time exclusively to the bank.

When, during the civil war, the national banking act was passed, this bank became the foundation of the present First National Bank of Monroe. Mr. Johnson was from the first one of its officers and was from 1865 to 1876 its cashier. About that time he withdrew from active participation in the labors of the bank, and for some years was engaged in the milling business, being associated in that business, at various times,

with his son Oliver, Cyrus Stiles and the late E. P. Campbell. Some years ago he withdrew from active business life and passed his declining years in the old homestead just east of the court house.

He was a man of studious habits, a reading man and one thoroughly well informed. Though reserved and unassuming in his nature he was a delightful conversationalist and a charming and gracious host to those who were privileged to know him. Early in the '70's he enriched his mind with several years of foreign travel in Europe and the far east. He was a very charitable man, though remarkably unostentatious; and during the civil war was especially active in the raising of volunteers; was the encouraging friend of the soldiers and watchful of the care and comfort of the families they left behind them when they went to the front. For a number of years he was one of the trustees of the state school for the deaf and dumb at Flint.

He was averse to political strife and never sought public office, but for two terms was chosen as alderman of the Second ward, in which he resided. He was long identified with the Presbyterian church, and during the erection of the present house of worship was chairman of the building committee.

He was twice married and the father of five children, two of whom, Louie and Charles, are dead, and three, Oliver of Honolulu, Mrs. R. E. Phinney of Monroe, and Harry B. of South Bend, Indiana, survive him.

For the past few years his summers have been spent in the city and his winters in a more genial climate in the south.

MONTCALM COUNTY.

ELLSWORTH.—Elizabeth G. Ellsworth died February 14, 1899, aged 68 years.

Mrs. Elizabeth G., wife of Hon. C. C. Ellsworth, was born May 28, 1831, married October 8, 1850, and moved to Greenville in 1851, since which time she has been a resident there.

When the Congregational church was organized in that city she became one of its first members, and her whole life has been devoted to advocating its cause. For years she sang in the choir, always had been an earnest worker in the Sunday school, and an active worker for the cause of missions, being for years the state secretary of the W. B. M. I., at the same time doing her share among the local workers. When she died she was a deaconess of the church, having been re-elected for three years at the annual meeting of the church last December.

When the pioneer society of Greenville and vicinity was organized she was one of the charter members and ever since had done what she could for its growth and prosperity. In recognition of her services, three years ago she was elected its president and during her term of office, the society took on a new lease of life, and more persons became members than in any two years before.

She was also a member of the Lincoln club and its life and success is mainly due to her efforts for its benefit.

Fenn.—Saturday noon, May 20, 1899, Judge Oscar Fenn, for 33 years a resident of Stanton, passed away from earth. Mr. Fenn was ill but a short time. He was so much to so many, and touched the interests of the community at so many points, that it is hard to measure the large vacancy which has been made by his departure. It is a great life that has been taken; a great service that is ended; a strong and beautiful character that has attained its coronation.

Born in Medina, Ohio, in 1836, Judge Fenn spent the early years of his life on a farm in that most beautiful section of the western reserve until he reached the age of thirty, when he moved to Stanton. Only one or two rude houses, surrounded by dense forests of magnificent pine, then constituted the city in which he spent so many years of his life. All the lights and shades, all the hardness, dangers, privations, and isolations of a pioneer's life he endured. Broad in his sympathies, progressive in his thoughts, honored and respected by his fellow men, he was ever a leader in every enterprise which had for its object the good and improvement of the community. Men trusted him and evidenced this trust by conferring upon him such responsible positions as register of deeds, county superintendent of the poor, mayor of Stanton, president of the board of public works and judge of probate. The years which he occupied these places of public trust speak more eloquently than do words of his eminent fitness to discharge their many and varied duties.

It is not possible to make clear to those who did not know him intimately the rare combination and balance of qualities which made up the strength and completeness and beauty of his many sided character, and which so peculiarly fitted him for his large place and work in life. This is ever true because the best of life ever lies open toward God rather than man.

Measure him by whatever standard of manhood you please, and you will not find him wanting.

A son, two daughters, an aged mother-in-law, two sisters and one brother survive him.

SATTERLEE.—Alexander Satterlee died at his home in Greenville February 15, 1899, aged 85 years. The deceased was born in Easton, New York, in 1814, and came to Michigan in May, 1846, when he settled in the township of Eureka, on section 8. The deceased leaves two children, A. F. Satterlee, of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Wesley Griffith, of Greenville, and a wife. He was an honored member of the pioneer society of Greenville and vicinity, being one of its charter members.

MUSKEGON COUNTY.

HOLT.—Henry H. Holt, ex-lieutenant governor of Michigan and for forty years a prominent citizen of Muskegon, died at his home in that city, August 23, 1898.

Mr. Holt was born March 27, 1831, in Camden, Oneida county, New York. He was the eldest son of Henry Holt, who was a native of Pomfret, Connecticut, where he was born in 1803. Mr. Holt, Sr., removed to New York state about 1830, where he followed the occupation of farming and continued to reside until 1852, when, with his family, he came to Kent county, Michigan, where he purchased a farm and lived until his death a few years ago. The mother of Henry H. Holt was Lorency Potter, daughter of Philip W. Potter, a farmer, of Herkimer county, New York. She was a descendant of Roger Williams of Connecticut. She died in 1835 at twenty-seven years of age. Young Holt attended the district school until 1848, when he continued his studies at Fairfield academy, and subsequently spent one year at Christ's Church Hall, in Pomfret, Connecticut. In 1852 he came with his father to Michigan, and continued the work of teaching, commenced previously, which he followed until 1855, when he entered upon the study of law at a law school in Poughkeepsie, N. Y. He remained there one year, when he entered the Union Law college at Cleveland, Ohio, from which he graduated with the degree of LL. B., and was admitted to practice in July, 1857, Hon. David Tod, afterwards governor of the state, being at that time president of the institution. Returning to Michigan, Mr. Holt was admitted to practice at Grand Rapids by Hon. George Martin, who at that time was judge of the circuit court and subsequently chief justice of the state supreme court.

In May, 1858, he removed to Muskegon, and in the fall of that year was elected prosecuting attorney of Ottawa county, which then included all the territory now embraced in Muskegon and Ottawa counties. In 1859 Muskegon county was organized, and Mr. Holt was elected prose-

cuting attorney for the new county, and held that office four years. At the expiration of this term he was elected circuit court commissioner, and was re-elected for a second term two years later. In 1866 the republicans of his district elected him to represent the district in the lower house of the state legislature, to which office he was re-elected in 1868, when he became chairman of the ways and means committee. In 1870 he was again elected, and served in the same capacity on that committee. Much of his time was devoted to the interests of the charitable institutions of the state, and his earnest work in securing appropriations for them was an invaluable factor in developing them up to their present high standards.

In 1872 Mr. Holt was elected lieutenant governor of the state on the republican ticket, headed by Gov. Bagley, and two years later was re-elected to that office. In 1878 he was again elected to the legislature, when he was again made chairman of the ways and means committee. In 1886, for the fifth time, he was elected representative to the legislature, and became chairman of the committee on railroads, and held second place on the judiciary committee. The first four times he was elected a representative the district comprised the county, the last time it embraced only the city of Muskegon. He was chairman of the ways and means committee during the building of the state capitol at Lansing. In 1867 he was elected a member of the constitutional convention held at Lansing.

Having thus served five terms in the state legislature as representative of his district, and two terms as lieutenant governor, Mr. Holt had had a longer term of service than that of any resident, past or present, of the state.

In the spring of 1878 he was elected mayor of Muskegon and was re-elected in 1879, being the second republican mayor of the city. He had also served the people in various other public offices to which he had been elected from time to time. His experience was unusual in that, while he had been a candidate for an elective office about twenty-five times altogether, he had never been defeated. This record is all the more remarkable when it is considered that it was made in a city and district in those times almost as often democratic as republican.

Throughout his long residence in Muskegon he maintained a law office and continued in the active practice of his profession. Generally speaking, he was an office lawyer rather than a trial lawyer. In later years he had seldom taken part in the trial of cases except in the chancery court.

Mr. Holt had traveled extensively abroad. In 1873 and 1874 he visited the principal cities and countries of Europe. In 1875-6 he traveled through Egypt and the Holy Land and visited Constantinople and the old cities of the east. From these trips he brought home a large collection of curios, pictures and other works of art to adorn his residence or be placed in his extensive exhibit of rare and interesting articles which he kept in rooms near his office. This collection of relics, known as Mr. Holt's museum, contains about 10,000 articles, representing ages from the days of Alexander the Great down through the history of ancient Rome, the time of the Caesars, and along through the centuries to the present day. It is a very valuable museum, and if preserved intact, as it should be, and made available for public use, will help perpetuate Mr. Holt's name as well as be the means of benefiting his fellow citizens, to come after him, for many succeeding years.

Mr. Holt was always and everywhere loyal to Muskegon. Going there at the formative pioneer period, and at once taking an active part in public affairs, a part he continued up to his latest years, it was but natural that he should be thoroughly imbued with the local spirit. He early took great interest in the horticulture and agriculture of this section, then commonly considered devoid of profitable possibilities. For many years he was an active member of the Muskegon Horticultural society and worked patiently and faithfully to build up the horticultural interests of this locality. This society was born in his office, and for a number of years held its meetings and made its exhibits there.

Himself a pioneer, he was always interested in Muskegon's early history and in preserving the records for the information and guidance of succeeding generations. As the local historian, Mr. Holt has performed a service whose value will increase with the passing years and be, if possible, more highly appreciated by succeeding generations than it is by the present. His fund of information on the pioneer period was large and accurate. He had taken the pains to preserve many records which later became of great value and enabled him to speak with authority on subjects of historic interest. Not only was he regarded as the local historian, but his historical knowledge took a wider range and included particularly the state of Michigan. His library is one of the largest and most complete in its treasure of historic volumes to be found in the state.

Mr. Holt was one of the leaders in organizing the Muskegon County Pioneer and Historical society and for several years was the society's president. This society was formed in 1882 and for a number of years

kept up a vigorous organization, holding annual picnics, which were enjoyable and profitable reunions for the surviving early settlers and the public at large.

For years, and until his health had seriously failed, Mr. Holt was a director of the chamber of commerce. Most of this time he was a member of the harbor committee and took a leading part in the delicate and difficult task of securing increased appropriations by congress for the Muskegon harbor. He had for many years collected the reports and data which he furnished the United States engineer for this district to be used in his reports to congress recommending the appropriations for this harbor. In this work Mr. Holt took great interest and pride.

For over twenty years he had been a vice president of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical society, and at the time of his death was the society's oldest vice president in point of service. He was also a member of the American Historical society and of the Sons of the Revolution.

Mr. Holt was twice married; first in May, 1867, to Miss Mary E. Raynor, of Lansing, who died a few years later; second in February, 1878, to Mrs. Catherine E. Hackley, of Muskegon, who survives him.

Mr. Holt leaves one sister, Mrs. Luther Densmore of Cascade, Mich., and two half brothers and two half sisters, the former Gaylord Holt of Grand Rapids and Charles Holt of Cascade, and the latter Mrs. Helen Clark of Ada, Mich., and Mrs. Edgar Johnson of Cascade.

McSherry.—Dr. Charles P. McSherry died August 16, 1898, aged 77 years.

Dr. McSherry was the first physician to settle in Muskegon. He began his practice there in 1849, when the city of Muskegon was a small hamlet, and for many years was a widely known practitioner.

OAKLAND COUNTY.

BY JOHN M. NORTON.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Adams, Leonard	Oxford	Dec. 12, 1898	90	
Anderson, John W	Andersonville	Jan. 26, 1899	84	
Bird, John A	Waterford	Sept. 30, 1898	83	
Bowen, Mrs			80	
Briggs, Mrs. Betsey E		Jan. 29, 1898	83	
Christian, Thomas	Pontiac	Dec. 5, 1898	81	
Corbett, John	White Lake	April 13, 1898	90	
Cox, Clark	Rochester	Sept. 6, 1898	83	
Cox, Elizabeth	Farmington	April 10, 1898	84	
Curdy, Thomas	Milford	March 17, 1898	89	
Donaldson, Mrs. Nancy	Commerce	Sept. 3, 1898	91	
Ellenwood, John M	W. Bloomfield	Nov. 4, 1898	85	
Ensley, John	Oxford	Aug. 8, 1898	84	
Erwin, Jesse			80	
Fillingham, Wm	Rose	Aug. 19, 1898	83	
Goodsell, Mrs. Lydia	Pontiac	Nov. 28, 1898	81	
Green, Mrs. Minerva	Oxford	May 7, 1898	81	
Green, Thomas		April 27, 1898	82	
Haines, Mrs. Charles	Commerce	Oct. 3, 1898	84	
Horton, Christian Z	Rochester	Aug. 5, 1898	86	
Horton, Mrs. Henrietta	Commerce	Aug. 20, 1898	89	
Ingoldsby, Mrs. Sarah H			80	
Jenks, Cornelius W			85	
Jones, Mrs. Eunice			80	
Joslin, America			86	
Maybee, John	Indepenendce	Aug. 10, 1898	92	
Miller, Mrs. Mary	Drayton Plains	Aug. 2, 1898	80	
Nichols, W. C	Oxford	March 29, 1898	93	
Parks, Mrs. Elizabeth	Novi	Oct. 7, 1898	81	
Rose, Melvin	Bloomfield	Feb. 2, 1899	84	
Sayere, Mrs. Elizabeth	Milford	May 14, 1898	91	
Shadbolt, A. D			80	
Stout, Orrin P	W. Bloomfield	Feb. 10, 1899	93	
Sutton, Mrs. Elizabeth			94	
Sutton, Peter W	Rose	Feb. 10, 1898	81	
Swain, James	Oxford	Sept. 1, 1898	87	
Toby, Mrs. Grace			81	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Tompkinson, W. D.			82	
Tower, Mrs.			80	
Waldo, C. C.	Holly	Jan. 6, 1899.	90	
Walton, Joseph	Farmington	April 28, 1898.	89	
Waterbury, Mrs. Nancy	Milford	Sept. 6, 1898.	93	

NOTE—General average, 84 years.

HOWARD.—Charles A. Howard died at his home in Pontiac.

Chas. A. Howard was born in the city of Pontiac August 20, 1829, and was the first male child born in the city. He was born in a house which stood where Clinton Hall block is now located. He had been a resident of Pontiac, with the exception of a few years, his entire life.

As he grew to manhood he developed a talent toward inventing, but before this was developed entered business. He first started in the book and stationery store in 1858 in the building now occupied by Brown Bros. He retired from this business two years later to accept the office of register of deeds, having been elected to that office by the democrats. He refused a renomination at the end of his two years' term.

Early in the sixties Mr. Howard, accompanied by his father-in-law, Dr. M. L. Bagg, went to Oil City, Pa., and engaged in oil speculation. The venture proved successful, and after a few years the firm sold out their business in Pennsylvania and returned to Pontiac. On their return, which was about 1865, they entered into the dry goods business, in a building near where Webb's meat market is now located, moving their stock of goods to Clinton Hall block in 1866, that being the time this building was erected. Bagg & Howard were the first firm to occupy one of the stores, and became one of the leading firms of Oakland county, enjoying a very large business which they continued until 1876, when Mr. Howard disposed of his interest to Homer Axford.

On his retirement from business, Mr. Howard devoted his attention to his natural inclination for invention, and many useful articles were brought out by his genius. Among these were the Howard wagon spring, which is recognized throughout the country today as the best spring of its kind in use. He continued in the manufacture of these springs in partnership with Mr. A. G. North for a few years, when he disposed of his interest and retired from business. On closing out his spring business Mr. Howard went to Detroit, remaining there a few years, but returned to Pontiac determined to pass the remainder of his days where he was born and among his many friends.

He was married in 1853 to Miss Elizabeth Bagg, daughter of Dr. M. L. Bagg, of Pontiac, who survives. Four children were born to them, all of whom are living: Mrs. J. L. Douglas of Long Beach, Cal.; Miss Cliff of Pontiac, Charles of Owosso, and Thos. A. of Detroit.

STOUT.—Mrs. Jesse Lee Stout, one of the oldest and best known of the pioneers of Oakland county, died at her home on the Orchard Lake road Friday, February 10. Mrs. Stout's maiden name was Olivia Price Abbey, and she was born in Ontario county, New York, in 1805. She was married in 1828 and came to Michigan in 1831. She was the last of the pioneers of Troy township, her former home. Mrs. Stout had four children, the oldest of whom, Byron G. Stout, died here in 1896. The funeral was held from the home Sunday afternoon at 4 o'clock, and the remains were placed in the Petrie vault. Rev. W. F. Sheridan conducted the services.

SHIAWASSEE COUNTY.

BY A. H. OWENS.

BAKER.—Alonzo Baker, whose death occurred Saturday, January 22, 1899, was one of Shiawassee's best known citizens and a man honored and esteemed by all. He was born in Wayne county, N. Y., December 12, 1829. His father was captain on the canal, a man of broad intelligence, who gave his son what was then considered a splendid education. At twenty years of age he began teaching and followed this calling for some years. In 1856 he married Ann Eliza Smith and shortly afterward came to Michigan, entering the mercantile business in St. Johns. Later he returned to New York, where he went into the produce business, and at the death of his father purchased and moved onto the old homestead farm.

In 1880 he purchased the farm at Knaggs bridge, which he retained at the time of death. The little grandson, Bradley Baker, is the last representative of the family, bearing the family name.

BILHIMER.—Joseph Bilhimer died at the home of his son, J. F. Bilhimer, January 20, 1899, aged 86 years.

Joseph Bilhimer was born at Brock's Gap, Rockingham county, Va., December 6, 1815. He belonged to an old family that came originally from Wittemberg, Germany, to Lancaster county, Pa., early in 1700. His parents moved from there to Virginia, where his mother died when he was but two years old. When he was but six years old his father

returned to Westmoreland county, Pa., the lad making the trip on horseback. In his early manhood he was a teamster between Pittsburg, Philadelphia and Baltimore, but later engaged in farming. On the 5th of February, 1835, he was united in marriage to Miss Catherine Fox. In 1864 he, with his wife and family, moved to Shiawassee county, where he had since resided. He was the father of ten children, nine boys and one girl; four of them died young, one son resides in Pennsylvania and the remaining five sons reside in Shiawassee county.

He leaves six sons, Daniel, Eli, John F., A. Morrison and Foster B., living near Owosso, and Cyrus F., whose home is in Pennsylvania.

Boice.—Mark T. Boice of Corunna died March 30, 1899, aged 58 years.

Mr. Boice was born in Addison township, Oakland county, on December 14, 1841. He was one of a family of thirteen children, eight of whom still survive him, viz.: Elmer of Elsie, William of Rochester, Nicholas of Laingsburg, Benjamin of North Dakota, Sarah Sharts of Laingsburg, Hannah Lanning of Oxford, Edna Shurter of Orion, and Libbie Whitesal of Pontiac. He resided on the farm until seventeen years of age, when he went to Oxford and learned the blacksmith trade. He afterwards worked at his trade in New York and Philadelphia. On December 13, 1861, he enlisted in Co. I, 10th Regiment Michigan Infantry, and served until February 17, 1863, when he was honorably discharged for disability contracted in the service. He came to Byron in 1869 and formed a co-partnership with his brother, Jacob Boice, now deceased, in the blacksmithing business. The partnership was dissolved in 1885 and he moved on the farm where he died.

He was married to Miss Elizabeth Lahring in 1874, to whom were born one son, Harmon E. Boice, who is pursuing his medical studies in Philadelphia, but was called home on account of his father's death. One daughter, Miss Nora E., resides at home, who with the widow survive him.

Brandt.—Otto Brandt died at his home in Perry December 18, 1898, at the age of 79 years.

Otto F. Brandt was born in Hagenau, Germany. He was educated in the public schools of Hagenau and Mechlinberg, and later traveled extensively, not only in his native land, but in other countries of Europe.

He came to America in 1847 and settled in Shiawassee county, where he had since resided. He encountered the experiences of pioneer life, and by means of perseverance and strict economy secured a competence for his old age.

He was united in marriage with Rachel Spangenberg November, 1851. To them were born seven children, five of whom survive.

CHIPMAN.—Anson B. Chipman, pioneer of Shiawassee county, died June 21, 1898, aged 86 years.

Anson B. Chipman, one of the first actual settlers of Owosso, was born in Addison county, Vt., at the foot of the Green mountains, December 27, 1812. His father, William Chipman, a native of Vermont, was a son of Jesse Chipman, a soldier in the revolutionary war, who was with Gen. Montgomery at the fall of Quebec. The ancestors of the family were of English stock.

The mother of Mr. Chipman bore the maiden name of Adah Miner and was a daughter of Richard Miner; they were both natives of Connecticut and descendants of the old Puritan stock. They were the parents of a large family of children, of whom Anson B. was the last representative.

Mr. Chipman spent his boyhood and youth with his father at Malone, N. Y. He attended school mostly at Malone, and worked also with his father in making spinning wheels. In 1832 he came to Michigan to spend the summer, and in the fall returned home. In the spring of 1833 he returned with a team to Michigan and towed a boat through the Welland canal.

In 1837 Mr. Chipman moved to Shiawassee county, locating in the woods. Here he started a shop and set up a lathe a few years after, assisted by his father. In 1838 he entered into the hotel business, which was the first in Owosso, located on the corner of Washington and Exchange streets. It was subsequently burned and was on the site of the Salisbury block. He kept no liquors and carried on the business for three years. In 1847 he removed to his present location, which comprised a farm of some 120 acres, a part of which was covered with heavy timber of the best maple and oak trees. After thoroughly clearing his farm he platted a portion of it, which was adjacent to the city and south of the county road, and sold out ten acres in lots, which are at the present time well covered with homes.

Mr. Chipman was twice married. His first wife, to whom he was wedded in 1835, was Miss Mary Shattuck of near Ypsilanti. She died in 1839. His second marriage took place in 1841, when he was married to Miss Mary A. Pratt of Ypsilanti. She was a native of Augusta, Oneida county, N. Y., and was the fourth child of Samuel and Lucy (Hitchcock) Pratt. Five children were granted to the worthy couple—Adah,

George, Richard E. and Linnie, all deceased, and Emma, the wife of John S. Hoyt.

Politically Mr. Chipman was a staunch democrat, and he cast his first presidential vote for Andrew Jackson. In 1848 he was county judge, and has filled a number of offices—mayor of the city, supervisor of the township, town clerk, township treasurer and superintendent of the poor, the latter responsible office he had held for over forty years. He had also been justice of the peace for fourteen years, a notary public for forty years and a major in the militia.

Cornwell.—Martin L. Cornwell, father of Mrs. S. H. Whalen, died February 1, 1899, at the home of his daughter in Corunna, with whom he had made his home for the past two years. Mr. Cornwell was 88 years of age and had been in poor health for some time. He had formerly lived in Livingston county.

Esler.—George Esler died at his home one mile south of Vernon March 1, 1899.

Mr. Esler was born in Alsace-Loraine, Germany, June 18, 1830. In 1838 he removed with his parents to America, going direct to Suffield township, Portage county, Ohio. He started out in life for himself at the early age of fourteen, working on adjoining farms. A few years later he went to Pittsburg and bound himself out to a rope maker as apprentice and remained there six years. At the expiration of this term of service he went to Louisville, Ky., Pittsburg, Pa., St. Louis and Lexington, Mo., working at his trade in each place for some time.

In 1852 he became attracted by the gold craze in California, and he took his way westward. He was one of one hundred and sixteen men who drove sixteen hundred and sixty-five head of cattle and two hundred head of mules across the plains to California. He was successful as a miner, acquiring $3,000 in two years. He then returned to Ohio and bought a farm in Summit county.

Mr. Esler was married January 23, 1855, to Catherine Henry, who was the mother of the three older children. She died April 9, 1869.

For a second wife he married Martha Ewell, September 14, 1869. Of this union one son was born.

In 1875 Mr. Esler sold his Ohio property and moved to the farm where he died.

Fuller.—Ezra Fuller, aged 68 years, died April 21, 1899, at his home a few miles southwest of Owosso. Mr. Fuller was a brother of R. S.

Fuller, whose death occurred only a few days earlier. Like his brother, Ezra Fuller was one of the oldest residents of the county, having lived in the county over forty years.

He was always engaged in farming and was one of the most successful and exemplary tillers of the soil in Shiawassee county. He leaves two daughters, Mrs. Ida Fish, who lived with him, and Mrs. John Love of Roscommon.

Goble.—Mr. and Mrs. Robert Goble of Bennington died February 1, 1899, from the grip, within five hours of each other. Mr. Goble was 65 years of age and Mrs. Goble 69 years. They were highly respected and had resided in Bennington for the past thirty years. They leave a son, Wallace of Bennington, and a daughter, Mrs. Emma Blake of Owosso.

Gould.—Perry A. Gould died at his home in Durand April 16, 1899, aged 65 years. He was born at Bruce, Macomb county, Mich., May 25, 1834, and married to Emma Foster December 17, 1854. He moved to the township of Woodhull in 1858, where he had resided till the last three years, when he moved to his late home.

Hartwell.—James H. Hartwell of Hartwellville, one of the oldest and most respected residents of the county, died at the home of his son-in-law, Frank Greenman, February 21, 1899.

Mr. Hartwell was born in Sherburne, N. Y., 74 years ago, and came to Michigan when but 15 years of age. He located on a farm seven miles south of Owosso on the Grand river road, and a few years later a post-office by the name of Hartwellville, in honor of the founder, was established at his house. Mr. Hartwell acted in the capacity of postmaster, and was for several years supervisor of Shiawassee township. In 1850 he married Miss Sarah Stewart. His wife and only child, Mrs. Frank Greenman, still survive him.

In 1857 he was instrumental in founding a lodge of the Independent Order of Good Templars, a strong temperance organization, at Hartwellville. Aided by Mr. Hartwell's untiring efforts, liberal expenditure of money and the influence of his strong personality, the lodge grew and flourished beyond expectations. A large hall was erected near the Hartwell residence, and in it over 1,900 members were initiated. The lodge has the distinction of being the oldest in the United States, and was the founder's especial pride. Mr. and Mrs. Hartwell spent their summers on his farm, but always went to Owosso to live with their daughter during the winter.

JUDD.—John Judd, one of the oldest residents of the county, died at the home of his son, Mr. Edward Judd of Corunna, January 23, 1899, aged 89 years, 6 months and 18 days.

The genealogy of the Judd family is traced back to the Puritanical times of 1633-34. Thomas Judd emigrated to this country and settled at Cambridge, Mass., being eight generations removed from the subject of this sketch. John Judd, the father, married Abigail Palmer, a descendant of Governor Carter, the first governor of Massachusetts.

John Judd, the deceased, was born at Hartford, Conn., June 15, 1809, where he lived for 21 years, following the occupation of cooper. For three years he followed the sea on a whaler, visited the island of St. Helena, the burial place of Napoleon, doubled Cape Good Hope, fished in the Mozambique channel, visited the coast of Africa and was twice shipwrecked, barely escaping with his life.

He was married July 27, 1834, to Matilda Leach, and resided at Hartford, Conn., until 1836, when a colony of the Methodist church was organized for emigration. He located in Richfield, Genesee county. After another five years they returned to Norwich, Conn. After five years spent there, they again returned to Michigan, where he engaged in the mercantile business and in manufacturing black salts and potash. In 1854 an exchange was made for 400 acres of land in Hazelton township, which he improved, resulting in a fine home. Mrs. Judd died April 18, 1869. There were born to them five children, four sons and one daughter. All the sons served three years during the rebellion, and all lived to return home.

About five years ago Mr. Judd moved to Corunna and lived with his son.

KELSEY.—Emily Gillett Kelsey died April 30, 1899. She was born July 26, 1819, at Vernon, Oneida county, N. Y., and came with her father's family to Michigan in 1837, locating at Troy, Oakland county. She was married to the late Judge Sullivan R. Kelsey in 1839, residing at Birmingham until 1842, when they moved to Byron, Shiawassee county, where Mr. Kelsey and B. W. Dennis erected a flouring mill, which was destroyed by fire only a couple of years ago. Mr. Kelsey afterwards engaged in the mercantile business until 1865, when he came to Corunna, having been elected judge of probate the year previous. They moved into the residence which she occupied at the time of her death, having lived there for the past 34 years. Mr. Kelsey held the office of judge of probate for 16 years and died in 1886.

Mrs. Kelsey was the mother of nine children. One, a son, died in infancy, and Rollin died a few years ago. The other sons are William of Lenox and Fred of Caro. The daughters are Mrs. Francis Peter of Portland, Ore., Mrs. Elizabeth Lemon of Lansing, Mrs. Carrie Lumber of Bay City, and Mrs. Mollie Kellogg and Miss Katharine Kelsey of Corunna. Deceased also leaves a brother, Mr. Baxter Gillett of Fenton. All the surviving children were present at the funeral except Mrs. Peter of Oregon.

Parmer.—Matthew Parmer died at the home of his son, Andrew, at Pontiac, February 7, 1899. He was born August 13, 1815, at Saratoga, N. Y. He was married to Esther Marie Mudge February 15, 1837. Four children were born to them, two of whom are living. Mrs. Mary Cole of Parshallville, Livingston county, Mich., and Andrew Parmer of Pontiac, Mich. He came to Michigan in 1855 and settled on a farm near Durand, where he resided until the death of his wife, March 17, 1889; since that event he has lived with his son Andrew.

Reed.—John Reed, one of Vernon's most respected citizens, passed to the "great beyond" May 4, 1899, aged 79.

Mr. Reed was born in Tompkins county, New York. He came to Michigan with his parents in 1836 when he was sixteen years old, and lived at home on the farm now occupied by George Reed for several years, helping his father clear the homestead.

He was married July 3, 1844, to Miss Mary A. McCollum, a native of Tompkins county, New York, and settled on the farm where he died.

He has seen the county converted from an unbroken wilderness to one of the finest farming sections in the world; for when he went there they had to cut the road for over four miles in order to reach the land where they located. The township was not then organized, and the first town meeting was held at his father's shanty and every voter in the township was present.

Mr. Reed was a man of sterling qualities but of a retiring disposition, and would never accept any political offices, although many were tendered him. In politics he was a staunch republican.

He was a member of the school board for 12 years and was president of the cemetery association for 32 years, only retiring from that office when incapacitated by ill health shortly before his death.

Mr. Reed leaves a wife and two children, Charles Reed of Bloomington, Ill., and Mrs. Ellen Howd of Vernon.

Ridley.—Mark Ridley of Owosso died March 1, 1899, at the Soldiers' Home in Grand Rapids, aged 70 years.

He had been an inmate of the home off and on for the last two years. He was terribly afflicted by tumors which gradually pushed his eyes out of his head. Last summer he was sent by the government to a noted specialist in Ohio to receive treatment for his eyes, but nothing could save him. As he was stepping from the train at the junction on his return from Ohio he fell, striking on his side. His hip was broken by the fall. After that time he was a great sufferer.

For a number of years Mr. Ridley had a shoe store at the corner of West Main and Chipman streets, conducting it until his health forced him to give up. He leaves a wife, who is in very poor health, and a brother, a resident of Rush township.

Mr. Ridley had been a Mason for many years. He served through the war of the rebellion, enlisting in the Tenth Michigan Infantry at Orion. He enlisted in Co. C as a sergeant September 14, 1861. On June 7, 1865, he was made a lieutenant, and was mustered out of the service July 19, 1865, and honorably discharged. Of the several battles he fought in, the most prominent were Mission Ridge, Chickamauga and Kenesaw Mountain.

After the arrival of the body at his late home it rested in state at the residence, and was visited during the day by many of the dead soldier's comrades.

Rowley.—Jacob Rowley died Thursday, April 27, 1899, at his home in Ovid.

He was 72 years of age and had spent most of his life on a farm just north and east of the village in Shiawassee county.

He lived in the village and his son Elmer worked the farm.

He leaves a widow, one son and three daughters. Two of the daughters are in Colorado and one in Ypsilanti.

He located there in the early days, cleared his farm, built fine buildings and now leaves it one of the finest farms of the county.

Shipman.—Elijah Clark Shipman, a resident of Venice township for the past 44 years, died January 30, 1899, aged 83 years.

Deceased was born in Saratoga county, New York, February 8, 1815. He was married to Louisa A. Soper February 25, 1846, and resided in Lockport until the fall of 1853, when he moved to Michigan, locating on the farm in Venice in the fall of 1854. His wife died in October, 1894, and soon thereafter his son, Chas. Shipman, rented his farm and moved

with his family into his father's house, that he might better care for him, Supervisor Shipman being the only surviving child.

SWEET.—Mrs. Calvin Sweet, better known as "Grandma Sweet," passed to her rest within the year, at the home of her son, Hiram Hemenway, being almost ninety years of age. Angeline Aliton was born at Walston, Delaware county, N. Y., in March, 1809, and when 22 years of age was married to Hiram G. Hemenway. To them were born five children, three sons and two daughters; of these three survive her, Hiram and Truman Hemenway of Bancroft, and Mrs. Francis Sanford of Reidsville, N. C. They removed to Michigan in the early forties and located on a farm in Antrim township, where Mr. Hemenway died in 1848.

Two years later she was married to Calvin Sweet, and since his death she lived alone in her little home in the southwest part of the village, except through recent winters, which have been spent in the home of her son Hiram.

THOMAS.—The death of George Thomas January 30, 1899, at the age of 86 years and 10 months, after an illness of but a few days with the grippe, adds one more to the large number for whom Owosso and vicinity have been called on to mourn during the year. Mr. Thomas had been a resident of Owosso for over 30 years. He purchased the Junction house when he first came to the city and ran the same for over 20 years, when he retired from active business life on account of the difficulties induced by his increasing age. He was also the owner of the Thomas block, corner of Main and Washington streets. A wife and a number of children survive him.

THOMPSON.—Joseph Randolph Thompson, one of the earliest pioneers of the county, died at his home east of Corunna in the 90th year of his age.

Mr. Thompson was born in Herkimer county, New York, August, 1809, and located in 1853 in Caledonia on the farm where he died. He leaves an aged widow and nine children, viz.: Mrs. Winton of Ithaca, Mrs. Gilbert, Moses and Dennison Thompson of Corunna, E. D. Thompson of Owosso, Chauncy Thompson of California, Mrs. Merrill of Oceana county, Chilton Thompson, who resides on the old homestead, and Mrs. Burleigh of Gratiot county.

Mr. Thompson moved to Michigan and located in Oakland county in 1833, afterwards coming to Caledonia. He was one of those sturdy

pioneers so well known for their integrity and honest toil. He served his township as commissioner for many years and was a member of the school board when his land was in the Corunna district.

WARD.—The long struggle and brave fight for life are over, and the weary brain and genial heart of Dr. Edgar B. Ward of Laingsburg are at rest. The end came Friday evening, May 12, 1899, after years of physical weakness and suffering under which a person of less indomitable will would long ago have sunk.

As "Laingsburg Q" of the Owosso Press, Dr. Ward had a state reputation for wit and pungent criticism. His sayings were quoted on a par with the humorists of the day. While bubbling over with the ludicrous phase of events, he also had a peculiar faculty of portraying the foibles of human nature in character sketches. His "Weatherwax" and "Old Man Starkill" stand out like real characters. He had a profound scorn for hypocrisy and sham pretenses, and these he attacked with scathing, withering scorn.

Those who knew only the humorous side of Dr. Ward's character could hardly realize the deep and tender feelings of his true nature. He was sympathetic, generous, warm and lasting in his friendships, and felt keenly the humanitarian side of his profession, which must often "wound to heal." We have his own assertion that he was not naturally of a humorous vein, but the reverse, and that often in despondent moods he turned to writing for relief, and as soon as his pen touched paper the humorous phase seized him, and he lost himself and his "blues" in the excitement of the succession of ideas which came rushing on. Certain it is that his pithy, pointed paragraphs contained many a moral truth and practical lesson which sunk into the minds of readers, when a more prosaic enunciation of the same idea would have left no impression. His reading and knowledge were extensive and his broad mind grasped all subjects of science and culture. He was a ready reasoner and a keen observer of cause and effect.

As a physician Dr. Ward stood high, not only in local but also in state professional circles. He commanded the practice of a broad extent of the surrounding country, and as long as his failing health would permit he held his extensive practice. He was a prominent member of several medical societies and ranked high in their councils. He was exceedingly jealous of the dignity of his profession and never sought to restrain his contempt for anything that tended to degrade the science of medicine from its "high and holy" calling.

In 1869 Dr. Ward was elected member of the legislature from the second district of Shiawassee county and served with credit.

Dr. Ward was in the 64th year of his age. He was born in Ontario county, New York, September 27, 1835. His parents removed to this state when he was a young child and settled in Lodi, Washtenaw county. The doctor was a graduate of the medical department of the university of Michigan in 1858. In 1862 he located in Laingsburg, where he built up and maintained his professional reputation. In 1857 his marriage with Miss Elizabeth Allen of Lodi took place. Two children were the result of the marriage—Dr. Walter E. Ward of Owosso and Miss Josephine, who resides at home.

Watts.—At a full age, like a shock of corn in its season, Peter Watts, another of Shiawassee county's aged pioneers, passed to his reward at his home in Burns, on the morning of May 13, 1899, after a severe and painful sickness of over nine months.

Peter Watts, son of Conrad E. and Margaret Watts, was born July 6, 1819, in Springfield, Otsego county, New York. From there he moved with his parents to Parmelia, Jefferson county, New York, where he spent his younger days. In 1848 he was married to Katy Ann Relyea. After about two years of married life at his home in New York, where one daughter, Sarah E., was born, he, like many other industrious young men of that day, determined to make for himself and family a home in the west and moved to the township of Forrest, Fond du Lac county, Wisconsin, where two daughters were born. After five years of rugged farm life in the forest of that state he removed to Burns, Shiawassee county, where he had lived ever since on the farm. The present beautiful home was hewn by his sturdy and persevering hands, as were many such old pioneer homes of the county. He lived at his present home nearly 44 years. He leaves an aged wife, three daughters and two sons.

Webster.—Dr. Hiram Webster, of Byron, died April 30, 1899, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. J. D. Royce, aged 77 years, 10 months and 23 days. Dr. Webster was born in Ogden, Monroe county, N. Y., March 13, 1821, and was the son of Dr. John and Susan (Allen) Webster. He came to Michigan in 1851, and located at Byron, where he has practiced his profession for over forty years, enjoying the distinction of having been the oldest practitioner of that section, and one of the oldest in the county.

WEEDEN.—Charles P. Weeden died March 29, 1899, aged 59 years.

He came to Vernon in 1869, and engaged with his brother-in-law, James Tilden, in the boot and shoe business, but soon afterwards bought him out.

He lost his entire stock in the fire that burned the town in 1871, but soon stocked up and continued the business until the present time. He held many public positions, having been township treasurer two terms, and was serving his third term as justice of the peace.

In politics he was an old line democrat, and held the postoffice during both Cleveland administrations.

He was born in Madison county, N. Y., September 14, 1840, and came with his parents to Vernon in 1853 and settled on a farm two miles east and one south of Durand. He was married to Mary, daughter of L. K. Tilden, in 1867, who survives him.

ST. CLAIR COUNTY.

BY HELEN W. FARRAND.

Names.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Aikman, Richard S.	Port Huron	Sept. 18, 1898	82	
Allum, Mrs. Rachel (Smith)	Marine City	Aug. 7, 1898	73	
Ammon, Mrs. Amelia (Roher)	Port Huron	July 23, 1898	50	
Anderson, Wm	St. Clair tp	Nov. 17, 1898	72	
Artman, August	Ira	Nov. 27, 1898	59	
Ashley, Peter W	Kimball	July 17, 1898	77	
Atkins, Mrs. Eliza D	Clyde	Feb. 4, 1899	89	
Atwell, Mrs. Margaret	Cottrellville	Feb. 5, 1899	83	
Avery, Mrs. Caroline	Jeddo	May 2, 1899	50	
Ayres, Mrs. Sallie (Sanford)	Columbus	Feb. 2, 1899	86	
Bailey, Mrs. Hannah	Algonac	Sept. 20, 1898	66	
Banfill, Mrs. Rachel	Capac	Feb. 2, 1899	75	
Banfill, Reuben	Capac	Feb. 2, 1899	94	
Barnett, Richard	Port Huron	July 27, 1898	86	
Barnum, Thos	Port Huron	Nov. 12, 1898	94	
Bartholomew, Joseph	Port Huron	Jan. 14, 1899	80	
Bates, Mrs. Helen	Port Huron	Nov. 9, 1898	63	
Bathey, Geo	Columbus	Feb. 10, 1899	86	
Beckton, Geo	Burtchville	Aug. 15, 1898	71	
Bell, Mrs. Elizabeth (Kennedy)	St. Clair	Feb. 13, 1899	86	
Bell, Thomas	Port Huron	Feb. 25, 1899	79	
Bell, Walter	Kimball	Aug. 9, 1898	70	
Bell, William	Port Huron tp	Feb. 2, 1899	.....	Over 40 years a resident here.
Belyea, Wellington	Port Huron	Jan. 19, 1899	79	
Benson, Mrs. Jno. W	Port Huron	May 21, 1899	56	
Bernard, Joel B	Wales	Feb. 27, 1899	70	
Biddlecomb, Thos	Port Huron	Aug. 20, 1898	59	
Blanchard, Mrs. Helen C	Port Huron	Jan. 26, 1899	62	
Blood, Fred C	Marine City	May 24, 1899	.....	
Bloom, Jacob	St. Clair	Feb. 15, 1899	86	
Boid, Mrs. Charity	Grant	Feb. 15, 1899	74	
Boid, Thomas	Grant	Feb. 28, 1899	82	
Bolio, Mrs. Susan (Evert)	Clyde	May 15, 1899	74	
Bonney, Frank	Ira	Sept. 22, 1898	62	
Bowen, Mrs. Catherine	Wales	Aug. 4, 1898	81	
Bowers, Mrs. Louisa (Mathews)	Port Huron	Jan. 13, 1899	58	
Boyce, Samuel J.	Port Huron	Oct. 30, 1898	77	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Brace, Elizabeth	Fort Gratiot	March 2, 1899.	67	
Bradley, Geo. J.	Port Huron	July 15, 1898..	57	
Bradshaw, Mrs. Janeth	Algonac	March 30, 1899	72	
Brakeman, Mrs. Maria E.	Marine City	Oct. 5, 1898....	57	
Brewer, Edwin H.	Kimball	Jan. 15, 1899..	74	
Brown, Alden S.	Riley	March 1, 1899.	57	
Brown, Mrs. Hannah	Brockway	Jan. 30, 1899..	68	
Brown, John F.	Kenockee	April 18, 1899.	49	
Brown, Mrs. Maria	Riley	April 30, 1899.	65	
Buckley, Thos	Riley	Feb. 3, 1899...	93	
Bunce, Horace E.	Marysville	Feb. 22, 1899..	79	
Burde, Mrs. Mary (Hintz)	Port Huron	June 9, 1899...	77	
Burman, Henry	Casco	Feb. 27, 1899..	71	
Byrne, Thos	Emmet	April 30, 1899.	70	
Cadotte, Mrs. Harriette	Algonac	Nov. 16, 1898..	72	
Calwell, Mrs. Susan	Port Huron	Sept. 23, 1898.	58	
Cameron, W. M.	Berlin	Oct. 7, 1898....	83	
Carpenter, Mrs. Eliza	Marysville	Feb. 22, 1899..	93	
Carpenter, Mrs. S. H.	Wales	Dec. 14, 1898..	79	
Caswell, Mrs. Elizabeth S.	Marine City	Oct. 23, 1898..	84	
Catherman, Mrs. Chris.	St. Clair	May 4, 1899...	.....	
Chamberlin, Orrin P.	Yale	April 26, 1899.	68	
Chambers, Mrs. Mary J.	Clay	June 23, 1898..	72	
Cherry, John	Ira	Dec. 3, 1898...	79	
Christie, George	Ira	Jan. 9, 1899...	70	
Christie, Henry	St. Clair	Feb. 7, 1899...	84	
Christie, Mary Ann	St. Clair	Feb. 5, 1899...	75	
Christie, Samuel	St. Clair	Feb. 2, 1899 ..	90	
Churchill, Mrs. Emma	Mussey	Aug. 3, 1898...	62	
Cline, Mrs. Elizabeth, (Hart)	Berlin	Aug. 18, 1898..	57	
Coburn, Mrs. Cornelia A.	Memphis	July 18, 1898..	65	
Cody, Richard	St. Clair	May 22, 1899 ..	76	
Cooper, Melissa	Port Huron	May 26, 1899 ..	78	
Corlan, Mrs. Jane	Grant	Feb. 11, 1899..	67	
Correy, George	Marine City	Jan. 31, 1899..	66	
Cottrell, Mrs. Ellesso	Marine City	Sept. 16, 1898..	58	
Cure, John P.	Grant	April 21, 1899.	64	
Curtis, Geo. W.	Capac	Oct. 23, 1898..	77	
Cuttle, Mrs. Elizabeth	Emmet	April 8, 1899..	74	
Darling, John	Greenwood	Nov. 26, 1898..	60	
David, Xavier	Ira	Feb. 7, 1899...	79	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Davidson, Mrs. Eliza J.	St. Clair	Nov. 3, 1898	56	
Dayton, Rufus P.	Columbus	July 17, 1898	87	
DeBrobender, Mrs. Catherine	St. Clair	April 22, 1899	81	
Degraw, Nelson	Port Huron	July 20, 1898	55	
Diem, Charles	Wales	Oct. 19, 1898	78	
Dietz, Mrs. Margaret (Goetz)	Port Huron	Feb. 14, 1899	77	
Dobie, Mrs. Jennet (Root)	Port Huron	June 7, 1898	83	
Donahue, Maggie	Marine City	Oct. 1, 1898	83	
Drewbard, Mrs. Minnie	Marine City	March 29, 1899	81	
Dwyer, Mrs. Augusta	Port Huron	June 25, 1898	50	
Edgerton, Mrs. Mary M.	Berlin	May 2, 1899		
Edison, Perrigan	Port Huron	Feb. 21, 1899	65	
Elworth, Mrs. Martha	Brockway	Nov. 16, 1898	78	
Faucher, Useb	Ira	March 18, 1899	66	
Ferguson, Mrs. Martha	St. Clair	Aug. 11, 1898	80	
Fields, Mrs. Charlotte (Hadley)	Burtchville	Jan. 11, 1899	61	
Fields, Wm. W.	Burtchville	Jan. 1, 1899	73	
Finch, Mrs. Charlotte	Capac	Feb. 1, 1899	67	
Finch, Walter	Capac	Feb. 7, 1899	78	
Fink, Mrs. Nicholas	Port Huron	March 26, 1899	90	
Fish, Mrs. C. Willson	Port Huron	Sept. 6, 1898	66	
Flaherty, Mrs. Mary	Port Huron	Sept. 25, 1898	70	
Fleury, Mrs. Sophia M.	St. Clair	Feb. 17, 1899	80	
Fleury, Wm. S.	St. Clair	Nov. 10, 1898	82	
Floton, Jacob	Cottrellville	Dec. 19, 1898	78	
Fram, Michael	Grant	April 16, 1899	74	
Frank, Rudolph	Casco	Jan. 6, 1899	50	
Freeland, Wm. A.	Wales	June 2, 1898	76	
Freeze, Mrs. Dora	Ira	March 24, 1899	66	
Fretz, Allen B.	St. Clair	July 8, 1898	71	
Fuller, Wm. C.	Grant	Nov. 25, 1898	75	
Furlong, John	Riley	June 2, 1898	70	
Gardner, Geo. H.	Port Huron	Feb. 13, 1899	88	
Geer, Charles	Clay	April, 7, 1899	73	
George, Mrs. Caroline	St. Clair	Aug. 14, 1898	91	
Gilgannon, Wm	Port Huron	May 1, 1899	51	
Glaspe, Elbert N	Riley	Jan. 10, 1899	54	
Gorman, Mrs. Mary	Port Huron	March 27, 1899	59	
Gould, Sabin, S.	Berlin	July 17, 1898	92	
Graham, Andrew B.	Columbus	Feb. 23, 1899	69	
Graham, Mrs. Mary	Columbus	Feb. 7, 1899	69	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Gramer, Joseph	Casco	Sept. 6, 1898..	78	
Green, Mary	Greenwood	May 5, 1899...	70	
Griffran, Mrs. B	Riley	Feb. 10, 1899..	80	
Grover, Hines	St. Clair	April 13, 1899.	56	
Hagedon, Mrs. Sophia	Port Huron	May 8, 1899...	90	
Haken, Mrs. Kaziah	Clyde	Aug. 21, 1898..	61	
Haley, James	Cottrellville	Sept. 14, 1898.	59	
Haley, Luke	Kenockee	April 17, 1899.	81	
Halpin, John	Marine City	Dec. 14, 1898..	73	
Halpin, Nancy	Marine City	Nov. 9, 1898...	64	
Hammond, Thos	Kenockee	Feb. 14, 1899..	56	
Harrington, Henry	Port Huron	Sept. 17, 1898..	77	
Hart, Lucy	Casco	Feb. 18, 1899..	87	
Hathaway, Daniel	St. Clair	Nov. 18, 1898..	66	
Hawley, Mrs. Julia	Port Huron	March 17, 1899	75	
Haywood, Works	St. Clair	Jan. 5, 1899....	57	
Head, Morris L	Berlin	Oct. 22, 1898...	71	
Hefferan, Mrs. Nancy	Port Huron	Feb. 11, 1899..	74	
Heisler, Barnhart	Marine City	Sept. 21, 1898.	73	
Hennessey, James	Port Huron	July 29, 1898..	90	
Hickey, Thos	Yale	Jan. 14, 1899..	61	
Hicks, John Jr	Yale	Jan. 14, 1899..	55	
Hildebrandt, Christian	Mussey	Aug. 22, 1898..	86	
Hock, Phillip J	Marine City	Feb. 1, 1899...	80	
Hoffman, Jacob	Port Huron	Aug. 25, 1898..	54	
Hollinghead, Mrs. M. S	Grant	Feb. 18, 1899..	68	
Howe, Charles H	Port Huron	Feb. 23, 1899..	47	
Howell, Ashel B	Berlin	Dec. 10, 1898..	82	
Irving, Mrs. Elizabeth	Port Huron	Nov. 28, 1898..	60	
Jacobs, Samuel	Kenockee	Jan. 27, 1899..	84	
Jardine, John	Yale	Jan. 6, 1899...	52	
Jeffers, Mrs. Laura	Riley	June 1, 1898...	65	
Jenks, Russ H	St. Clair	June 12, 1898..	71	
Joern, Mrs. Henriette	Casco	Feb. 27, 1899..	85	
Johnson, Fred	Fort Gratiot	May 21, 1899...	79	
Johnson, Mrs. Grace	Cottrellville	Jan. 9, 1899...	76	
Kaesemeyer, Ed. Wm. F	Port Huron	April 2, 1899..	78	
Kauffman, Mrs. Caroline	China	Jan. 4, 1899...	77	
Kean, Mrs. Anna	Cottrellville	Oct. 16, 1898..	65	
Kelly, Mrs. Julia (Harrington).	Columbus	Nov. 1, 1898...	44	
Kennedy, Mrs. Annie	Port Huron	April 10, 1899.	72	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Kenyon, Mrs. Aurilla	Marine City	April 27, 1899.	74	
Kimball, Alonzo L.	Port Huron	Jan. 16, 1899	77	
Kleihower, Mrs. Mary	Cottrellville	Jan. 24, 1899.	69	
Krautz, Mrs. Catherine	China	March 6, 1899.	78	
Kromer, Michael	Columbus	July 28, 1898	73	
Ladue, Charles	Port Huron	Feb. 22, 1899.	61	
Lamphere, Joseph	Berlin	April 22, 1899.	77	
Lampman, Mrs. Rebecca	Kenockee	June 24, 1898.	70	
Larman, Mrs. Sarah	Kenockee	Feb. 9, 1899	80	
Laudon, George	Clay	April 27, 1899.	57	
Laurence, Wm	Clyde	Feb. 4, 1899	73	
Leek, Michael	Ira	April 23, 1899.	74	
Lewis, J. Warren	Port Huron	July 12, 1898.	65	
Leister, Alex. M.		Feb. 28, 1899.	59	
Lightbody, Mrs. Elizabeth	Wales	Aug. 23, 1898.	76	
Lobez, Fred	Burtchville	Jan. 21, 1899	74	
Losau, Henry	Marine City	April 15, 1898.	57	
Lothian, Alex	Yale	Dec. 2, 1898	76	
Love, Mrs. Ella	Port Huron	Nov. 16, 1898.	80	
Love, Wm	Port Huron	Jan. 18, 1899	60	
Lowrey, Mrs. Sarah	Brockway	Feb. 27, 1899.	71	
Lumby, Mrs. Ellen	Marine City	Jan. 2, 1899	81	
Lynn, Robert	Grant	April 8, 1899.	84	
Macklem, Mrs. Catherine	Grant	Feb. 17, 1899.	67	
Mane, Mrs. Maria	Cottrellville	Feb. 13, 1899.	72	
Mann, Wm. F	Port Huron	April 19, 1899.	69	
Mapes, Abner B.	Port Huron	March 21, 1899	69	
Marks, Alvin B.	China	Dec. 10, 1898.	60	
Martin, John	Brockway	Sept. 24, 1898	80	
McArthur, Alex.	Port Huron	April, 5, 1899	60	
McBride, Mrs. Mary A.	Port Huron	May 30, 1899	84	
McCarry, Mrs. Mary	Port Huron	April 1, 1899.	55	
McCormick, John	Port Huron	Jan. 5, 1899	72	
McDonald, John	Marine City	Sept. 16, 1898.	61	
McFadzlan, Mrs. Agnes	Port Huron	May 13, 1899	61	
McFarland, John	Port Huron	April 27, 1899.	90	
McKay, Alpheus D.	Port Huron	May 14, 1899	79	
McKay, Mrs. Geo.	Port Huron	Aug. 15, 1898.	74	
McLane, Daniel	Kenockee	May 2, 1899	66	
McLellan, Geo. W.	Port Huron	April 27, 1899.	87	
McMahone, Mrs. Margaret	Riley	Sept. 6, 1898.	71	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
McLaughlin, John C	Memphis	Nov. 2, 1898	74	
Meehan, Mrs. Mary	Port Huron	July 12, 1898	66	
Melkert, Mrs. Dorah	Ira	Sept. 17, 1898	73	
Meir, John B	Port Huron	Dec. 25, 1898	54	
Miles, Mrs. Cyrus	Port Huron	Nov. 18, 1898		
Miller, Mrs. Emeline	Port Huron	Nov. 2, 1898	51	
Miller, Henry	China	March 31, 1899	66	
Miller, Mrs. Jane M	St. Clair	July 18, 1898	55	
Miller, Joseph C	Berlin	Feb. 25, 1899	52	
Miller, Steven	Port Huron	July 15, 1898	76	
Mitchell, James	St. Clair	Aug. 13, 1898	58	
Mittig, Stephen	St. Clair	April 21, 1899	76	
Monahan, Mrs. Allen	Kenockee	Feb. 17, 1899	80	
Mooney, Daniel H	Fort Gratiot	Jan. 25, 1899	80	
Morden, Enos	Port Huron	April 17, 1899	54	
Morton, Mart	Doyle	Nov. 16, 1898	70	
Mossie, Edward	Port Huron	Nov. 24, 1898	62	
Mudge, Mrs. Margaret E	Marine City	Feb. 26, 1898	83	
Mullie, Jesse	Port Huron	July 17, 1898	71	
Murdock, Thos	Grant	July 2, 1898	89	
Myers, Mrs. Jane E	Riley	Jan. 25, 1899	71	
Myron, Thos	Grant	July 9, 1898	68	
Needemeyer, Henry	Ira	Feb. 3, 1899	72	
Nettmany, Mrs. Christian	Mussey	Feb. 16, 1899	82	
Newburn, Mrs. Anna	Berlin	Feb. 14, 1899	62	
Norman, Rauson, Van	Port Huron	Jan. 26, 1899	81	
O'Brien, John	Wales	Aug. 8, 1898	65	
O'Neil, Michael	Wales	Feb. 23, 1899	76	
O'Rourke, Mrs. Martha	Kimball	Dec. 25, 1898	62	
Otter, Mrs. Augusta	St. Clair	Feb. 26, 1899	73	
Paice, Mrs. Elizabeth	Port Huron	Sept. 5, 1898	77	
Palmateer, Mrs. Julian	Greenwood	Feb. 16, 1899	84	
Palmer, Abner A	Port Huron	Oct. 20, 1898	60	
Parizo, Moses	Port Huron	Mar. 3, 1899	70	
Parker, Mrs. Mary H	Marine City	Aug. 5, 1898	56	
Parrett, Wm	Casco	Sept. 14, 1898	77	
Patrick, John	Atkins	Mar. 10, 1899		
Payne, James	Port Huron	April 30, 1899	87	
Peasley, Mrs. Mary	Greenwood	Nov. 28, 1898	71	
Peters, Mrs. Catherine	Casco	Sept. 13, 1898	63	
Pets, Mrs. Minnie	Mussey	Feb. 15, 1899	67	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Pierce, Joshua B	Port Huron	Feb. 27, 1899	54	
Poole, Henry	Algonac	Jan. 18, 1899	63	
Pollett, John	Port Huron	May 27, 1899	53	
Pollis, Mrs. Anthony	Port Huron	Aug. 10, 1898	75	
Potts, Mrs. Alice	Port Huron	Jan. 9, 1899	50	
Powell, Mrs. John	Port Huron	Oct. 5, 1898	79	
Powley, Mathias	St. Clair	Oct. 11, 1898	88	
Preter, Mrs. Sophia	Cottrellville	Sept. 29, 1898	55	
Priggs, Mrs. Hannah M	Port Huron	Mar. 16, 1899	55	
Purona, Wm	Wales	Mar. 21, 1899	56	
Pushburch, Mrs. Mary	Wales	Dec. 18, 1898	82	
Quail, James	Fort Gratiot	Feb. 2, 1899	74	
Ramsey, Samuel, Sr	Kenockee	May 21, 1899	77	
Ramsey, Samuel	Kenockee	Feb. 4, 1899	76	
Randall, Wm	Port Huron	April 26, 1899	62	
Rathfon, John		Dec. 11, 1898	76	
Ratray, Andrew	Harson's Island	May 31, 1899	83	
Redhead, Mrs. Elizabeth	Columbus	July 4, 1898	67	
Rewaldt, Mrs. Sophia	Casco	Mar. 31, 1899	65	
Rice, Josiah		Feb. 22, 1899	95	
Ricket, John	Casco	Nov. 3, 1898	81	
Riggs, Samuel M. H	Port Huron	Sept. 24, 1898	82	
Roach, James H	Port Huron	Feb. 11, 1899	89	
Robb, James	Port Huron	Dec. 26, 1898	74	
Roberts, Walter S	Marine City	Mar. 12, 1899	53	
Robins, Mrs. Frunda	St. Clair	Feb. 15, 1899	75	
Rogers, Mrs. Clarinda	Port Huron	Oct. 22, 1898	76	
Rollo, Wm	Port Huron	April 21, 1899	70	
Ronan, Mrs. Jane	Memphis	June 26, 1898	62	
Ross, Mrs. Phœbe	Riley	June 2, 1898	58	
Ruby, Silas	Port Huron	Aug. 16, 1898	72	
Ruddock, Mrs. Abbie	Port Huron	April 9, 1899	55	
Ryan, Daniel	Port Huron	Nov. 11, 1898	62	
Sailer, Mrs. Caroline	St. Clair	Mar. 21, 1899	68	
Salgat, Peter	Ira	June 19, 1898	83	
Sampson, Mrs. Ella	Port Huron	Jan. 25, 1899	70	
Sanderson, Mrs. Sarah	Port Huron	Feb. 18, 1899	84	
Saunders, Mrs. C. C	Port Huron	Dec. 18, 1898	60	
Saunders, Mrs. Ellen	Port Huron	Dec. 19, 1898	60	
Savoy, Mrs. Eliza	Lynn	Mar. 25, 1899	75	
Schindler, Jonas	Ira	June 16, 1898	70	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Scholes, Wm.	Port Huron	April 5, 1899.	76	
Schoolcraft, Mrs. Sarah	Port Huron	Nov. 18, 1898.	62	
Schroder, Christ.	China	Mar. 1, 1899.	56	
Schwickert, Mrs. Wilhelmina.	Port Huron	April 14, 1899.	49	
Seberth, Lawrence	Ira	Mar. 29, 1899.	68	
Sheehy, Mrs. Maria	Port Huron	Dec. 17, 1898.	74	
Sherman, Nicholas	Greenwood	Oct. 6, 1898.	78	
Sherman, Mrs. Rudolph	Lenox	Feb. 8, 1899	57	
Shettler, Mary	Port Huron	Nov. 20, 1898.	55	
Shipman, Geo. W.	Clay	Oct. 15, 1898	67	
Shuler, Alfred	Port Huron	Feb. 23, 1899.	62	
Shutt, Mrs. Anne D.	Mussey	June 9, 1898.	67	
Shutt, Richard	Mussey	Feb 6, 1899.	71	
Siguin, John	Port Huron	Sept. 28, 1898	92	
Simpson, Frank	Port Huron	Jan. 7, 1899.	76	
Smith, Mrs. Agnes Ann.	Kimball	June 26, 1898.	71	
Smith, Mrs. Ann Eliza		Oct. 22, 1898		
Smith, Mrs. Carrie	Port Huron	Oct. 1, 1898.	54	
Smith, Hiram	Wales	May 21, 1899	89	
Smith, Lester	Cottrellville	Sept. 23, 1898.	49	
Space, Mrs. Jennie	Port Huron	April 15, 1899.	51	
Springborn, John	China	April 6, 1899.	82	
Springer, Pauline	Capac	May 27, 1899.	78	
Stanton, Godfred	Clay	June 25, 1898.	63	
Steenburg, John B.	Yale	Jan. 24, 1899	83	
Stevens, Mrs. Mary	Fort Gratiot	Feb. 28, 1899.	72	
Stevens, Mrs. Sarah A.	Port Huron	Feb. 12, 1899.	63	
Stevenson, Wm	Port Huron	April 29, 1899.	70	
Stewart, Ben	St. Clair	Aug. 1, 1898.	67	
Stiff Fingered Pete (Indian)	Clay	Nov. 9, 1898.	100	
Stockburger, Mrs. Laura.	Marine City	July 3, 1898.	57	
Stoffer, Martin	Mussey	Feb. 16, 1899.	69	
Stratton, Mrs. Anna M.	Brockway	Nov. 16, 1898.	65	
Strong, Wm.	Yale	Feb. 17, 1899.	60	
Taylor, Mrs. Susan	Kimball	Jan. 17, 1899.	78	
Thacher, Sylvester	Cottrellville	April 4, 1899.	65	
Thomas, Mrs. Mary A.	Kenockee	Mar. 31, 1899.	61	
Thompson, Mrs. Elizabeth	Port Huron	Jan. 5, 1899.	84	
Tibbitts, Mrs. Sophronia	Riley	Nov. 12, 1898.	86	
Tibets, Simeon H.	Berlin	Aug. 5, 1898.	73	
Tinna, Mrs. Anula	Clyde	Feb. 9, 1899.	83	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Tokarski, Frank	Port Huron	April 25, 1899.	62	
VanCamp, Wm	Port Huron	Dec. 27, 1898.	62	
Varley, Mrs. Mary A	Port Huron	June 9, 1898	74	
Venson, Mrs. Lydia	Port Huron	May 21, 1899	56	
Vogalei, Mrs. Mary	Greenwood	Jan. 30, 1899.	68	
Waddy, Mrs. Eliza B	Port Huron	Feb. 18, 1899.	70	
Waldron, Mrs. Phœbe	Port Huron	Oct. 18, 1898.	90	
Walkerdine, Mrs. Mary A	Clay	Dec. 28, 1898.	74	
Ward, Mrs. Catherine	Kimball	July 16, 1898.	75	
Ward, Hiram	Cottrellville	Feb. 11, 1899.	72	
Wastell, Wm	Port Huron	July 18, 1898.	71	
Webb, James	Wales	March 24, 1899	70	
Weil, Wm	Casco	June 17, 1898.	87	
West, James	Port Huron	Dec. 3, 1898.	65	
Wheeler, Emery F	Port Huron	Sept. 30, 1898.	63	
Wheeler, Lucius B	Port Huron	Dec. 13, 1898.	79	
Whitman, Mrs. Eliza J	Port Huron	March 13, 1899	85	
Wilcox, Frank E	Wales	July 27, 1898.	53	
Wildum, George	Clyde	May 9, 1899.	66	
Wilson, John A	Yale	April 27, 1899.	54	
Wolf, Mrs. Catherine	Marine City	July 16, 1898.	74	
Woods, Leonard	Memphis	April 27, 1899.		
Wooluff, Mrs. Wm	Algonac	May 8, 1899.	70	
Wright, Alonzo	Capac	March 5, 1899.	82	
Wuerschmidt, Mrs. E	Greenwood	April 4, 1899.	74	
York, Mrs. Adeline	Port Huron	Dec. 16, 1898.	58	
Youngs, Andrew	Riley	Sept. 9, 1898	65	
Zilke, Mrs. Anna	Port Huron	Feb. 14, 1899.	62	

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.

GERSHOM P. DOAN.

MARVELL.—Lewis Marvell died at his residence in Park township, St. Joseph county, on the sixth day of May, 1899, aged 68 years and 10 months.

Lewis Marvell was born from French parents on the first day of June, 1831, in the Parish of Sorel, Province of Quebec, Canada East. His parents emigrated to Vermont when he was about three years old, and roamed through New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and by Sound to New York city, thence made their way back to

Burlington, Vt., thence up Lake Champlain in small boats to Albany, N. Y., then up the Erie canal to Buffalo, and by boat up Lake Erie to Detroit, Michigan, where they landed in the fall of 1836. Michigan has been his home ever since. He was married to Pauline Girard at Eagle Harbor, Keweenaw county, Michigan, on the ninth day of August, 1853. Four children, two boys and two girls, were the fruit of that union, of which two girls, Matilda A. and Mary A., and one boy, Lewis H., survived their mother.

He married for his second wife Harriet A. Willis, on the 26th day of June, 1863. Seven children, four boys and three girls were the fruit of this union, five of whom, Arthur Howard, Milton Allen, Linford Chas., Anna Louise and Lettie Alice survive.

In his youth and early manhood, or between the ages of 11 and 19 years, he was engaged in sailing all over the Great Lakes and a trip at sea to Cuba, Brazil, France and England as a marine in the navy. Becoming tired of a seafaring life, he turned his attention to mechanical work. He served an apprenticeship and became a proficient as a shipwright and millwright and, being a natural machinist, drifted into using wood working machinery of all kinds and general joiner work.

He early took an active part in politics and allied himself with the old whig party, which elected him in Keweenaw county a justice of the peace in 1853, and successively supervisor, township clerk and highway commissioner; his health being impaired in 1859, he resigned two of the above offices and left that section. He was a delegate to the convention under the oaks at Jackson, Mich., in 1854, and helped organize the republican party, and has never faltered in fidelity to it since.

He moved to the town of Park, St. Joseph county, in May, 1874, and had lived in the county since. He had long been interested in meteorology and had been connected with the state board of health and the U. S. signal service nearly since their organization, and had been well known for a number of years as the leading meteorologist, crop reporter, etc., of the county. He enlisted in the army in Company F, Sixth Michigan Heavy Artillery on the fifth day of January, 1864, and after having taken part in two or three skirmishes and one pitched battle (burning of Clara Belle) on Mississippi, he was honorably discharged on certificate of disability on July 15, 1865, having served one year, six months and ten days.

WASHTENAW COUNTY.

MAYNARD.—John W. Maynard, who had the university of Michigan located at Ann Arbor, died August 23, 1898, in the same house in which he had lived continuously for 54 years.

At the time the commissioners came to Ann Arbor to locate the university, he owned 146 acres of land in what is now the second ward of the city. The 40 acres which now comprise the campus was owned by the Ann Arbor Land Company, consisting of his brother, W. S. Maynard, E. W. Morgan, Charles Thayer and Daniel Brown. All signed to deed the land to the state for a university except Wm. S. Maynard. He would consent to do so only on condition that his brother John should deed him one-half of the 145 acres as his share of the gift, as he called it.

There was an active committee from Marshall there looking after the commissioners. John Maynard's attorney advised him to tell his brother and the university to go to hades, but the people of Ann Arbor appealed to John Maynard to save the location. He complied willingly, and Marshall lost the prize.

The deceased was 85 years of age, and up to the time of his death was the oldest continuous resident of the county, having located there in 1824. Two years ago he and his wife celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of their marriage. He leaves a widow and three sons, one of whom is Attorney General Fred Maynard, of Grand Rapids.

MEMORIAL OF HARRIET A. TENNEY.

BY MARY C. SPENCER.

In this brief memorial of Mrs. Tenney, which I have been asked to present, it does not seem to me necessary to enter very largely into a sketch of her life, from the fact that at the time of her death, January 20, 1899, the press of Michigan gave a detailed account of the life and services of this remarkable woman; and on page 11 of Vol. 4 of the Pioneer and Historical Society collections may also be found a biography of Mrs. Tenney, prepared by herself.

Mrs. Tenney, whose maiden name was Harriet Edgerton, was the eldest daughter of John Leffingwell and Delia Doud Edgerton. She was born April 1, 1834, at Essex, Vt. On her mother's side she was a direct descendant of Henry Doude, who came from England in 1639 with a colony under Rev. Henry Whitefield and settled at Guilford, Conn. She was a great granddaughter of Capt. Giles Doude, who was in the expedition to Canada, at the battle of Quebec. Mrs. Tenney was also a direct descendant of Richard Edgerton, who settled in Saybrooke, Conn., in 1653, and was one of the 35 original proprietors of Norwich, Conn., in 1659. Her great grandfather and her grandfather on her father's side served as captains in the revolutionary war. Her father was in the war of 1812 and her eldest brother served with much honor and credit in the civil war. Mrs. Tenney received an academic education at Franklin, Vt., and March 29, 1854, was married to Jesse Eugene Tenney, of the same place, going immediately with her husband to Homer, this state, and afterward to Marshall, remaining there until April, 1859, when Mr. Tenney was appointed state librarian by Governor Wisner, and they removed to Lansing. During the ten years her husband held the position, Mrs. Tenney spent much of her time in the library, and in 1869 Governor Baldwin appointed her to the position of librarian, an office which she held for 22 years.

In the few words which I shall say to you today I wish to dwell more upon the character of Mrs. Tenney and the position that she held in the educational system of the state. I do this with mingled feelings of pleasure and sorrow—pleasure that I am privileged to lay upon her grave the flower of a loving tribute, sorrow that she, with whom I held the closest and most intimate relationship for many years, has passed beyond my ken forever.

I have neither time nor desire to present to you a studied address. I can merely say to you that which is in my heart, a spontaneous tribute to my dead friend.

My acquaintance with Mrs. Tenney extended over a period of nearly nine years—during that time we were daily and hourly companions, and I learned to appreciate her character better, perhaps, than those who had known her even longer.

Born in a Vermont village and surrounded during the formative period of her life with influences peculiar to her environment, she partook in some measure of the character of her state—a character as strong and enduring as her native hills, and often seemingly as severe as their rocky summits, yet the cold exterior covered a heart warm in its sympathies, generous in its impulses, and ever true to its convictions.

While her own ideals of life were of the highest, she was full of charity for those who were lower in aim. In the years of daily contact with her I never heard from her lips a word of bitter criticism nor harsh judgment. She was a reticent, self-contained woman, who kept her sorrows (and she had many) locked in the secrecy of her own heart and buried them deep from human eyes. I think that she had learned through years of schooling, to cover with a grave, and often stern exterior, the experiences which she wished to hide from the world. Her life might well be called sombre—domestic in her impulses she never, excepting for a few short months, had a home of her own. The maternal instinct was strong with her, yet she was never blessed with children, and the overflow of this maternal instinct sought and found new channels in works of public and private philanthropy.

Mrs. Tenney was pre-eminently an organizer and leader. Her mind was constructive and original. These characteristics were the source of her great success in an official career. It is of this official life that I wish to say a word. In the magnificent state library, which stands today the pride of the state, Mrs. Tenney has a monument more enduring far than "storied urn—and animated bust," hers was the master mind and the rare executive ability that nourished and watched over the infancy of the library, bringing it from a feeble collection of a few hundred volumes in 1879 to a noble library of sixty thousand in 1891. The state library owes its exalted position in the galaxy of states today to the fact that during its constructive period it had so able a head.

The library was her life and her joy; she loved the books as the mother does her child, and watched them as closely. With limited resources and lack of appreciation by legislative bodies she built in every direc-

tion, doing that which is most difficult—laying the foundations firm and deep and strong, and when, after more than 20 years of faithful service, she laid down the cares of office, her retirement was as quiet and unostentatious as her official life had been. I shall never forget the simple dignity with which she took leave of the department, which had been her home for so many years—and one for which her heart yearned with a love unspeakable. From that time until her departure her life was one of retirement, but active in good works. Among the objects of her affectionate interest were the Woman's Relief Corps and the Order of the Eastern Star, and it is unnecessary for me to speak of her unceasing and loving work in those directions—active work up to the time of her decease.

Of all the work which entered into Mrs. Tenney's life and of which she was so important a factor, the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, was, I think, the nearest to her heart. A member of the society from its inception, and for many years the secretary, she threw into it the best energies of her life and gave to it generously of the wealth of her experience. I remember well the group of noble and accomplished men and women who were co-workers with her a half decade ago. Among them were Colonel Shoemaker of Jackson, Mr. Forester of Williamston, Judge Miller of Bay City, with many others who have passed into higher activities, and I doubt not into wider and higher spheres of usefulness. These men brought into their connection with the Pioneer Society the same zeal and energy which had made them successful in their various walks in life—and they will ever stand a noble group in the memories of the pioneer of Michigan. I speak of them because they were contemporary with Mrs. Tenney and like her have passed to their reward.

And now she has gone from us, she has gathered up the tangled threads of life and woven them into a smooth and beautiful fabric suitable for the Master's use and bearing her sheaves she has entered into her rest. And how sudden, how unexpected her departure—one moment her hand clasped in ours—the next she passed swiftly behind the curtain—that mysterious, impregnable veil of death through which human eye has never pierced, nor the cry of the most passionate grief ever echoed.

And yet I think that to the listening ear of faith there comes from the heights to which our friend has ascended, not the minor notes of earth, but a glad, a triumphant pæan of victory. "I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, I have

entered into the joy of my Lord." And that other strain so sweet to mourners' ears—"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, even so saith the spirit, for they rest from their labors and their works do follow them."

LIFE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF DANIEL L. CASE.

(From the "State Republican," November 24, 1898.)

CASE.—Daniel L. Case passed away Thanksgiving morning, November 24, 1898, at his home in Lansing.

Mr. Case had been the oldest resident of Ingham county for a number of years, and was conspicuous as one of the Capital city builders who came to Lansing in the early spring of 1847 and participated in the very initial efforts to establish a town there. For bright intelligence, keen observation, quick decision, fluent, incisive and forcible utterance Mr. Case probably had no superior in the band of able men who founded Lansing. For fifty years he was one of the most prominent men in the city. Wise in council, prompt and strong in execution, eloquent in persuasion and biting in sarcasm, he always labored with untiring zeal and wise liberality to build up and promote the fortunes of the city of his residence.

Mr. Case was born near Three Rivers, Canada, of New England parents, December 21, 1811. His parents were originally from Connecticut, but his father, Elija Case, went to Canada just before the war of 1812. On the breaking out of the war he was obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown, which he refused to do. He was therefore imprisoned until the close of the war, and his property confiscated to the British government. His family returned to Pennfield, New York, during his imprisonment, and when free, the father joined them, but died two years later from a disease contracted during his incarceration. From that time until 1829 Daniel L. worked on the farm summers and attended country school winters. In October, 1829, when nearly 18 years old, he came to the territory of Michigan, then called Indian territory, locating at Pontiac. The following year, in April, he went to Jackson and assisted in the survey of the village of Jacksonburgh, now the prison city. At that time there was but one cabin on the present site of the city and not another inhabitant within thirty miles. The fall of 1832 he returned to his former New York home and began the study of law

with Hon. William J. Moody, and the next year returned to Jackson, Judge Moody having removed to that place, and there he continued his legal studies.

In the fall of 1834 Mr. Case married Miss Miranda Brown, sister of Mrs. Moody, who died February, 1847. Three children were born of this union, the late Julien M. Case, who died in London in 1890, Daniel Case who was a student at West Point when the civil war broke out, enlisted in the Seventy-eighth New York Infantry, was confined in rebel prisons for ten months and died soon after the war from exposure suffered during his prison life. His only daughter, Mrs. Helen Case Adams survives him, and has been his devoted companion and nurse in his old age. He is survived by five grandchildren, Daniel L. Case, Jr., Bellevue; Mrs. John Peters, Rex and Julian Case, Detroit, and Mrs. Mary Collins of Chicago, Ills.

In March, 1849, he married Miss Adelia Monroe, sister of Mrs. Marian Turner and Mrs. Harriet Longyear, whose death occurred July 4, 1887. In 1836 Mr. Case moved to the territory of Iowa, from there to New Orleans, and after a few months' stay at the last place went into Texas, then a province of Mexico, which, at that time, was the arena of the political and governmental strife of the period. He remained in the "Lone Star" state until 1842 and then returned to Michigan.

He has corrected the statement that the family of Blackmans was the first in Jackson, and has stated many times that when he went there a man named Gillette was the only resident, and Mr. Case drove the team that moved the Blackmans into that village. He was in Texas during Houston's war with Santa Anna, and practiced law, giving his attention to the criminal code, his great strength being in his manner of pleading cases. His license allowed him to practice in all states and he became widely known as a lawyer of unfailing success in any case he undertook.

In 1843 he located in Mason, and in January, 1844, he was appointed prosecuting attorney of Ingham county by Governor John S. Barry, and was reappointed in 1846. That year he engaged in the mercantile business at Mason with the late H. H. Smith, but continued in office until 1848.

When, in 1847, the capital was removed from Detroit to its present site, then a dense forest, the firm of Case & Smith located in the northern part of the city, then being surveyed and platted. They erected a store at the corner of Franklin and Center streets, directly east of the Franklin house, where they put in a stock of dry goods in July. In the

fall of 1847 the firm purchased a flour mill, since burned, on the site of the present Hart mill. It was started in 1848 and the following year sold to the late Judge A. N. Hart. The firm of Case & Smith was then dissolved, the former purchasing the goods and taking them to Portland, where he continued the business for three years. In 1850 Mr. Case was honored by an election to the legislature from Ionia county. January, 1853, he returned to Lansing, where he still retained considerable interest. He again formed a partnership with H. H. Smith and in 1855 engaged in real estate and mercantile business with the father of the late James M. Turner, the style of the firm being J. Turner & Case, which partnership was continued until the former's death in 1869.

Mr. Case had always been an active democrat until the bitter and bloody contest in Kansas between pro slavery and free state parties. The conduct of President Pierce toward the slave power forced Mr. Case to sever his relations with his party, and in 1856 he fully identified himself with the republican party and canvassed the state for Fremont and Dayton. During that exciting campaign he delivered an address to the democracy of Ingham county, giving the reason of his political change, which was considered one of the most powerful and convincing political arguments of the time. It was signed by Mr. Case and 23 of his fellow democrats, among whom were the late H. H. Smith, B. E. Hart, John R. Price, O. A. Jenison and John Tooker. The powerful appeal of these gentlemen to their late political associates attracted attention throughout the state and was an important factor in the campaign of that year.

In 1858 Mr. Case was elected auditor general by the republican party, which office he held for two years, discharging the duties of the office with marked ability. He was one of the earliest and most helpful supporters of the late Hon. Zachariah Chandler, and the latter always freely acknowledged his great obligation to Mr. Case, who aided him materially to attain his position of unquestioned political leadership in the state. In 1862 Mr. Case missed the nomination to congress through the petty pique of one delegate, and but for this he would no doubt have attained great influence in public life, for no man in the state was better equipped for brilliant work as a statesman than our honored pioneer.

In 1864 President Lincoln appointed him paymaster in the army and he entered upon the duties with zeal and energy, but his health failed and he resigned the office soon after the capture of Atlanta by General Sherman.

Upon the death of J. C. Bailey in 1866 Mr. Case succeeded him in the

banking business in the building now occupied by the City National bank, but subsequently sold the business to Messrs. Hewitt & Co. In 1869 he built for his residence the large brown stone house on Washington avenue north, now known as the old hospital building.

He served as a member of the common council and board of education in his home city. In 1887 he was appointed by Governor Luce a member of the board of control for the Michigan school for the blind, and he served as treasurer of the board for several years.

Mr. Case has been one of the most energetic among the public spirited citizens who laid the foundation for the beautiful capital city, and although his struggles gave him a keen appreciation of the value of money, still he was always ready to give liberally his time and money to promote prosperity in the city. He donated $1,000 to assist in the establishing of the Michigan Female college by the Misses Rogers, which stood on the site of the school for the blind, and was a very prominent educational institution. He also gave $1,000 to aid in securing the Jackson, Lansing & Saginaw railroad, besides giving the depot grounds of that company at North Lansing. He gave five acres of valuable land to the D., L. & N. R. R. and contributed liberally to numerous other projects to promote public interests. He enjoyed honorable distinction among his fellows for his early, able and efficient labors in the founding and building of Lansing.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF DR. HENRY C. FAIRBANK.

BY HIS SON, H. W. FAIRBANK, CHICAGO, ILL.

"Who shall pay a tribute to the memory of one whose love for his family was never surpassed in mortal experience?"

"Whose golden pen shall narrate the events which crowded upon a life of early poverty, toil, hardships, sickness and disappointment, followed by a few years of apparent enjoyment and comparative ease, though attended with the sorrow and pain incident to advanced years?"

"Whose magnificent eloquence shall portray the devotion to principle, the faithfulness to professional trust, and the constant seeking out of all opportunities for the improvement of mind and soul which such a life has afforded?"

In their utter loneliness, such were the thoughts which occupied the minds of the members of his immedate family, as they accompanied the

remains of the subject of this sketch from Bay View, Mich., to Linden, Mich., the place of his burial. Their heart's desires, as expressed in the foregoing queries, were more than answered as they heard, a few hours later, the faithful account of his pilgrimage from the lips of his early playmate, the Rev. Orlando Sanborn; the glowing statements as to his home and religious life by his pastor, the Rev. Mr. Wolf, of Flint; and lastly, the eloquent and affectionate tribute of Dr. James C. Wilson, as he told of the professional and social career of his deceased co-laborer.

At the urgent request of many friends, it will be attempted, in this brief pamphlet, to tell the story of his life, illustrating, as it does, the experience of so many of his earlier professional companions, and encouraging, as it ought, his surviving relatives and friends to emulate his most worthy example, life and good deeds.

Dr. Henry Carlton Fairbank was born in the township of Rose, Wayne county, New York, December 20, 1824. His father, Zenas Fairbank, was a farmer and medical practitioner of that locality, who traced his ancestry back to revolutionary times. In fact, the first American ancestor of the family was Jonathan Fairebanke, who came from Wales in 1633, and settled at Dedham, Mass. The house, which he built shortly after, is, in part, standing at the present time, and belongs to a New England Historical society. The genealogy of the family, recently published, shows the fact that many of its members took an important part in the military affairs of the revolution. In later years the family name has been associated with many of the great industrial enterprises of the country, and is always suggestive of enterprise, perseverance and unremitting application to duty, coupled, as a rule, with unswerving fidelity.

An older sister of the doctor had married Mr. Perry Lamb of Wayne county, and in 1834 had emigrated to Genesee county, Mich., locating near the present village of Linden. An uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. Foster Collins, had also moved to Washtenaw county a few years previous, residing near Ann Arbor. The opportunities for earning a comfortable living, afforded by cultivating the rich lands of Michigan, had been described in glowing terms by both families, and the relatives back in New York finally decided to join their friends in the new Eldorado.

On the 10th of November, 1835, Zenas Fairbank and family started westward from their home in Rose, making the journey to Buffalo on a canal boat. Cold weather impeded their progress, and on arriving at Buffalo, they found the regular steamer had left on its last trip for

Detroit. After a short delay, they were so fortunate as to secure passage on the old steamer Monroe, arriving in Michigan November 21. They found their uncle's homestead a few days later and were made comfortable for the winter. The following spring they moved to Linden and located on a piece of government land, situated on the west bank of Silver lake. In passing, it is interesting to recall the many excellent qualities of mind and heart of Uncle Foster Collins. He was a gentleman of the old school, and his provincialisms were very amusing to his younger relatives. He always said "housen" for houses and "keows" for cows, after the fashion of the down east Yankees, from whom he descended. Uncle Foster was accustomed to lead the singing at the meetings held in the adjacent country school house, and on one occasion fell asleep. The minister finished his sermon and gave out a hymn, which some one else tried to start, using a melody that was not familiar. The effort was a failure, but it awoke Uncle Foster, who wiped his spectacles and tried to find the place. The minister got out of patience at the unusual delay, and noticing the increasing dismay on the countenances of the people, shouted, "Sing Mear, sing Mear; Brother Foster can't sing any other tune." The doctor, who was present, relates this as one of the most amusing episodes of his life.

The newly arrived family at Silver lake began at once to clear some land and put in a few simple crops which should sustain them during the coming winter. No pen can describe the hardships which ensued in the efforts to gain a livelihood. The howl of the wolf was of common occurrence, and the long trips to Pontiac and Ann Arbor for flour were attended with the greatest difficulties, not to say danger. Zenas Fairbank had some knowledge of medicine, and practiced all through the neighboring country, sometimes going ten or fifteen miles for 50 cents, or even taking a few vegetables for his pay. The younger boys cut the timber and put in the primitive crops, while the older ones worked out to help support the family. They also started a brick yard, which was quite successful for a new country. The doctor went to school with his brothers in an old log school house, and studied such books as he could buy and borrow, by the light of a pine knot, or the glow of the old-fashioned fire place. He soon became competent to teach a country school himself, and was occupied in this capacity for at least two or three winters. When Warner's barn was raised, a great many strangers were present, as it was the largest building of the kind in that part of the state. Henry C., who was present, met there a Scotchman who claimed to have some knowledge of phrenology. After supper this man exam-

ined the heads of the boys who attended the raising, and paid particular attention to Henry C.'s head, telling him that he should become a professional man, and prophesying great things in store should he improve his opportunities. This was a turning point in his youthful career, as it was then determined by himself and family that he should study medicine. He sought the advice of a friend of his father, Dr. J. C. Gallup, of Fenton (latterly principal of a young ladies' seminary at Clinton, New York). This gentleman at once took a special interest in the young man, and voluntarily became his preceptor in medicine. The student rode a pony over to Fenton to recite his lessons, and studied at home. He afterwards worked on a farm two summers and took for his pay two yokes of steers. These he traded for land, and later on sold the land for money to take him to Willoughby Medical College, near Cleveland, Ohio. He graduated from this college in 1844. His thesis on "The Changes of the Blood" is still in existence, and is pronounced an able paper in every respect.

On his return from college, he located at Fenton, Mich., and began a professional acquaintance which had a steady growth up to the time of his death. He was wont to relate an amusing incident connected with his first experience as a practitioner at Fenton. He and a college chum had brought with them a mascerated skeleton, and had decided to hide it in a hay mow. A circus chanced to come to town, and the country boys had to steal into town the night before so as to witness the parade early the next morning. Many of them had only enough money to pay for their admission ticket, so they were compelled to find a bed in the various hay mows of the village. Three of them happened to run against this skeleton. They were scared nearly out of their wits, and of course spread the news that there had been a grave robbery. Great excitement ensued, and it looked for awhile as if there would be a lynching or at least a fence rail excursion. The matter was finally explained and the young physicians felt greatly relieved.

In 1847 or 1848 Dr. Fairbank went over to Grand Blanc and bought out the business and home of Dr. James King, who retired from practice and located on a farm near Whigville, a mile and a half north of the village of Grand Blanc. Dr. Fairbank at once entered on a large and successful practice. The rides were necessarily very long, and on one occasion he had to ride nearly to Flushing, in a raw November storm. He took a severe cold which affected his lungs, and nearly drove him into consumption. On one of his many trips between Grand Blanc and Lin-

den he chanced to meet Harriet, the daughter of E. C. Waterman, who lived near the head of Long lake. The casual acquaintance ripened into friendship, and eventually resulted in their marriage in 1849. Mrs. Fairbank had been educated in Rochester, N. Y., and immediately entered into the domestic and social life of her husband, proving herself then, as in later years, a valuable helpmeet and loving companion. The doctor's weak lungs caused him grave apprehension, and it was decided in '56 that he should take a trip south. It was like going out into the great unknown, for an invalid, without sufficient money to make such a trip in those days, but the matter was imperative, and a start was made. Several times he was obliged to stop off at some convenient point on the way to Texas to recuperate and recover from attacks of hemorrhage which had become altogether too frequent.

He was delayed particularly at New Orleans, at Galveston and at Port Lavacca by these attacks. At one time, while riding on the stage from Port Lavacca to Victoria, the attack was so severe that he begged the driver to let him out on the prairie to die. This the humane official refused to do, and he was taken to the end of his journey in a comatose condition. A remarkable coincidence in connection with this trip may be noticed in the fact that at each stopping place in Texas, the doctor would immediately be visited by some family who needed medical attention, and who would insist on entertaining him as long as he would stay, thus enabling him to live practically without expense for several months. One family, that of Judge Rose of Victoria, is deserving of special mention, for they not only took the invalid home, but furnished him with a negro boy and pony, who were his constant attendants during his residence with them. The kind hospitality of this good judge had a beneficial effect on the doctor, and he began to feel better; and in due time could continue his journey west and north. He rode from Texas to St. Louis on an Indian pony, and constantly improved, living as he did almost exclusively in the open air. He sold his pony for a ticket to Detroit, and reached home after a year's absence, which cost him less than $200 in cash. The reader will find some letters appended which give his impressions of the soil and climate of Texas. The doctor at once resumed active practice which was uninterrupted for a great many years. He became actively interested in the building of a church at Grand Blanc, and took a trip to Detroit, with the late J. K. Abbott, to raise money for its completion. He was a member of its official board until his removal from the township. He led in the singing and often read a sermon in the absence of the officiating clergyman. He was

accustomed to carry an old melodeon to church each Sunday, on which Mrs. Fairbank would play the hymns. He was almost constantly a member of the school committee, and assisted at the examination of teachers for a good many years. He was instrumental in the establishment of singing schools and conventions, at which he and his wife always took leading parts. He was a pronounced abolitionist and was an active member of the underground railway society of his county. Many a slave has left the doctor's home, with food and money to help him on towards Canada. The doctor was always a total abstainer and was extremely radical in his temperance views. While living at Grand Blanc he once assisted in prosecuting some liquor sellers at Whigville, and had incurred their displeasure thereby. One night, in his absence, his house and barn were tarred and feathered as a result of his activity in this direction. He often said that he lived to attend the funeral of the perpetrators of the outrageous deed, although most of them became warm friends long before their demise. Among the families which became endeared to the doctor while a resident of Grand Blanc may be mentioned those of Newell Tupper, Jonathan Dayton, J. K. Abbott, Judge Rice, and A. Brainard. The nearest neighbor, Mrs. Newell Tupper, is still living, at an advanced age.

During the civil war the doctor enlisted as a volunteer surgeon, and in company with Wm. Clark, Esq., of Flint, went to the front at City Point, Va. There they saw active service during the battles before Richmond, but were compelled to leave the scene of action all too soon, on account of disease contracted at that terrible plague spot. Mr. Clark indeed never fully recovered from the effects of the trip, although the doctor soon regained his accustomed strength on reaching home.

As superintendent of the Sunday school, the doctor was brought into frequent contact with the ministers and prominent church people at Flint, and having often been urged to change his location, and being desirous of giving his family better educational advantages, he decided to move to Flint in 1864. He purchased the house on the southeast corner of Court and Liberty streets, and resided there uninterruptedly until the day of his death. He joined the Court Street M. E. church, and was a member of the official board of that church during his entire residence in Flint, contributing liberally to the erection of two churches, which were built during this period, and in other ways sustaining the routine work of the church to the best of his ability. He was a member of the Flint school board for a year, and a

member of the Genesee County Medical society for a great many years, serving as its president or on some important committee, as the occasion required. He was health officer of the city for several years, and did a great deal to improve the sanitary condition of the streets and alleys. His strong prohibition leanings prevented him from taking any active part in city politics, although he usually voted the republican ticket on national issues. His life was devoted to his profession, his family, his church and his books. He was an omnivorous reader and kept fully abreast with the times, particularly in medical and political literature. He was well known as a raconteur, and was the life of any social gathering where his peculiar talents in this direction could be properly utilized. He frequently attended the meetings of the American Medical association as a delegate, and was a most careful observer of the localities and peoples he chanced to visit. He invariably would write the most delightful letters, descriptive of his tours, which would appear in one or the other of the city papers. In 1873 he visited California and wrote a very interesting series of letters giving his impressions of the far west, which appeared from time to time in the Flint Globe. An attempt was made to secure one or two of these letters, but unfortunately the files were destroyed. His one great regret was that he had not taken a trip abroad before advancing years rendered such an undertaking impracticable.

His first wife, Harriet, the mother of his children, died at Flint of typhoid pneumonia in 1882. Her death was undoubtedly occasioned by her attendance upon some church duties, when the edifice was not properly warmed. Of his three daughters, Minnie died in infancy, in 1865. Carrie, the wife of Edward C. Greene, now a prosperous merchant of Jackson, Mich., died at Lapeer a few months after her mother's death; and Jennie, the second wife of Mr. Greene, died at Jackson, of lung trouble, in 1891. His only son, Henry W., resides in Chicago, where he is connected with the public schools and is engaged in publishing.

The doctor's second wife, Mary A., survives him. She was the daughter of the late Judge Rice of Grand Blanc, and for a long time held an important position at the State Normal school as professor of English literature. She is a woman of broad culture and refinement, and is highly esteemed and admired by a large coterie of friends. She made the doctor a most excellent companion, and served in many ways to lighten the cares and burdens of his declining years. His immediate relatives will never be able to properly testify to the noble qualities and self-sacrificing devotion of this remarkable woman.

Before referring to the last days of Dr. Fairbank, it may be advisable, in this connection, to mention some additional data which has been secured relative to his immediate family. His father, Zenas Fairbank, was born in 1790, and died at Linden in 1851. His mother, Lucy Wade, was born in 1793, and died at Linden in 1855. The oldest sister, Mrs. Mary Lamb, was born in 1816, and died at Linden in 1894. The oldest brother, Lafayette, was born in 1817, and is at present living with his daughter, Mrs. Oliver Sage, near Fenton. Another brother, Francis Colwert, was born in 1819, and died at Linden in 1865. Wm. Morris (1st) was born in 1822, and died in Rose in 1830. James Rozelle was born in 1829, and is still living in Salem, Oregon. Wm. Morris (2d) was born in 1831, and died at Linden in 1864. Zenas Jerome was born in 1827 and still lives in Linden. Lucy Catharine, the younger sister, was born in 1834 and is living at Ann Arbor.

In the winter of 1896-7 the doctor was taken with a congestive chill, followed by an attack of pneumonia and gastritis, which confined him to the house for nearly five months. He rallied slowly, and went to Bay View in July, where he improved quite rapidly under the influence of that wonderful climate. Returning home he managed to keep up during the fall and winter; but in February began to fail. He seemed to gradually lose strength, and was compelled to lie down a great deal of the time, which was an unusual thing for him to do. He was urged to go to Bay View again in June, but he feared that he should be unable to do so. Yielding finally to the importunities of his son, he managed to rally sufficiently to make the journey. He reached Bay View, June 30, 1898, and at once seemed to feel beneficial effects from the change. On Friday and Saturday, July 1 and 2, he walked about considerably and was able to visit with his family and friends, who thought him in a fair way to recover as he had done the previous summer. On Sunday he read considerably during the forenoon, and in the afternoon walked up the hills to Evelyn Hall, to attend a service at 3 o'clock. He returned home at 4:30 o'clock and appeared very tired. He sat in a rocking chair for a few moments, and then said that he would lie down. He went to the bedroom and probably fell asleep. In about ten minutes a commotion was heard, and, on entering the room, he was found vomiting a torrent of blood, the result of a severe hemorrhage from the lungs. Salt and water were administered, but it was of no avail. He said that he was dying. His son wanted to go for a doctor, but he shook his head and murmured, "No, no." He knew that it would be of no use, and did not want his son to leave him. In ten minutes he fell back unconscious, and

was soon dead. Early Monday morning a brief service was conducted at the house, by the Rev. Dr. Potts of the "Christian Advocate," and he was borne to the train by old friends, among whom were J. H. Howard, Jno. Hall, O. R. Wilmarth, M. A. Seelye, J. C. More and Dr. Cyrus Smith. The remains reached Linden on the evening of July 4, and were taken to the house of his brother Jerome, always open in time of family affliction. At 2 o'clock the next day friends gathered from Flint, Detroit, Jackson, Fenton and the surrounding country, and followed the sacred dead to the M. E. church, where the funeral exercises were held. As indicated in the opening pages of this pamphlet the addresses were delivered by the Rev. O. Sanborn, the Rev. H. E. Wolfe and Dr. Jas. C. Wilson. Members of the official board of the Court Street M. E. church, Flint, were in attendance, and also representatives of the Flint Academy of Medicine. Had the funeral been held in Flint, no doubt a great concourse would have witnessed the ceremonies, but there could have been no more touching or appropriate services planned than occurred on this peaceful, quiet afternoon, when all that was mortal of the dear husband, father and brother was laid to rest in the cemetery on the hillside, just east of the village where his early years of toil and vicissitude were spent.

Speaking of the death of Dr. Fairbank, the Flint News commented as follows:

He is at rest. Dr. H. C. Fairbank died at Bay View on Sunday. A life of great usefulness brought to its close. He was the oldest physician in Genesee county. Funeral services at Linden today. A man of whom no unkind word could be truthfully spoken.

A telegram received in this city yesterday morning brought the sad news of the death at Bay View of Dr. Henry C. Fairbank, the oldest physician in Genesee county and a man who has been prominent in county affairs for half a century. Dr. Fairbank had been in feeble health for some time, and the journey to Bay View was taken in the hope that rest and the change might recuperate his failing strength.

Dr. Fairbank was united in marriage to Miss Harriet J. Waterman, of Binghamton, N. Y., in 1849. Three children were born to them, Henry W., of Chicago, and two daughters who were victims to that dread disease, consumption. Dr. Fairbank afterward married Miss Mary A. Rice, daughter of the late Judge Samuel Rice, of Grand Blanc. She has been with him in his declining years a source of great comfort and consolation.

Dr. Fairbank was a prominent factor in the organization of the State

Medical Association and was also identified with the American Medical Association. For more than twenty-five years he has been an active member of the Methodist Episcopal church and during much of this time has served in an official capacity. For half a century he has enjoyed the esteem of hundreds in Genesee county and throughout the state was loved and respected by all who knew him, for he was a man of whom not one unkind word could be truthfully spoken.

Funeral services were held this afternoon at Linden. The Rev. H. E. Wolfe officiated.

* * *

The following letters were written while the doctor was traveling in Texas in 1856:

From the Wolverine Citizen:

Price's Creek, February 12th, 1856.
Dewit Co., Texas.

Editor Wolverine Citizen:

Dear Sir:—As some of your readers are personal friends, and as I engaged to give them some account of my trip through this portion of western Texas, with your permission I will be impartial, and give them at random some items by the way. My object in coming here, however, was to regain my health rather than to visit and travel through this portion of our growing country. The winter season, even in Texas, is an unpropitious time, however, for travel and observation; and, as much of the time I have as yet been in the state has been spent on a sick bed, I cannot this time promise a very extended letter.

I may here remark that the beginning of autumn and opening of spring are the proper seasons for visiting the state, either for health or to see many of its delightful and romantic sections.

Persons coming to this state via New Orleans, take one of the regular line of steamers which leave that city every Sunday and Thursday morning, and reach Galveston in two days. This city, as may be seen, is situated on an island in Galveston bay, contains nearly 6,000 inhabitants, and is at present the chief commercial port of the state, having quite an extensive shipping both in the foreign and domestic trade, and is also the depot for most of the produce of the interior of the eastern portion of the state. Leaving Galveston, the course lies southwest a distance of about 200 miles to Matagorda bay, on which is situated the thriving town of Indianola (or Powder Horn), which is the terminus of this line of steamers. From this point travelers have their choice, and go either by

sail vessel or stage to Port Lavacca, a distance of 75 miles, whence they may travel by stage or public conveyance to any portion of the state. Port Lavacca is an old Mexican town, and contains about 1,000 inhabitants, mostly Americans, who obtain a subsistence chiefly by their traffic with importers, immigrants, and planters of western Texas. I think the business aspect of the place would be much improved were it better supplied with mechanics and manufacturers, and an extensive hardware establishment I believe is desired much by the people.

Victoria is a growing town of some 1,600 inhabitants, situated on the Guadalupe river, 30 miles west of Lavacca, and is the point at which stages diverge for different parts of the country. Its buildings are superior to those of Lavacca, many of them being brick, which is not a common thing as yet with Texans. The Guadalupe has been navigated by small steamers, and when some obstructions shall have been removed from it, rendering it navigable for larger boats, Victoria will receive an impetus, and the corn and cotton growers of this part of the state find a readier market nearer home. The country in this region is principally prairie with plenty of timber along the streams, though it is much less durable than the timber of Michigan. Following up this river, one unaccustomed to the country will be interested to see the amount of mustang grape that grows luxuriantly on the bottom lands, loading the trees with their massive trunks and branches, while the fruit makes excellent wine, preserves, etc. Through the kindness of a friend, I had the pleasure of an introduction to, and of spending some time with, Judge R., whose long residence in Texas, and intimate acquaintance with its condition and advantages, together with his hospitality, rendered it desirable to stop a week or two on his plantation. And here, for the first time, I had a short experience in plantation life, which to me was novel in many respects, and served to gratify a desire I had long cherished. Here, too, I found almost everything calculated to minister to the wants of the body produced in abundance and with comparatively little labor. Imagine, Mr. Editor, four or five thousand acres of land in one farm, much of it in a good state of cultivation, and stocked with nearly two thousand head of horses and cattle, with other necessary things in proportion, and you will have a pretty correct idea of the possessions of this as well as many other Texan farmers. It is customary to raise two crops each year off the same piece of land when a farmer has not a sufficient quantity under cultivation to do otherwise. The idea of wearing out land here seems ridiculous to the people—the soil extending to the depth of from two to six feet, and of the richest

quality. All kinds of grain and fruits are raised here that grow north (and many that do not) though wheat and apples are not raised yet to any extent, except in the northeastern and eastern portions of the state, though efforts are put forth now by the farmers in the central and southern parts to raise both, to supply themselves.

The raising of stock, corn and cotton, has engaged the attention of the agricultural parts of the state hitherto, requiring less labor and outlay proportionately, and commanding ready pay.

A planter will raise several hundred head of cattle and horses each year, at no expense save the annual branding which the yearly increase undergo, and each autumn sell off what he chooses for beeves to immigrants and shippers. The average price of beeves, I am told, is fifteen dollars, of milch cows ten dollars, and of working oxen from forty to fifty dollars per yoke. All kinds of grain have been high during the past season, owing in part to the unprecedented immigration to the state. But there seems to be yet an abundance for them, and farmers flatter themselves they will reap a rich harvest the present season. Preparations are now making for planting, the weather being warm enough; and the whole animal creation seems to rejoice at the approach of genial spring again. But I am prolonging my letter this time and must conclude. Before doing so, however, I will mention the following melancholy affair which has just transpired in this neighborhood, and which, though in Michigan it might be regarded seriously, is here barely winked at many times.

It appears that a Mr. Weeks on his dying bed wished his heirs to liberate an old slave by the name of Jerry. As is too often the case, however, he was sold to one Mr. Moore, who allowed him many privileges on account of old age, trustworthiness and piety. Having received license to exhort in the M. E. church, and being accustomed to travel about the country and visit different classes, as well as work for himself when he saw fit (being a good blacksmith), Jerry left home a few days since, having engaged a teamster to carry his bundle of clothing, with the intention of stopping with a Mrs. Pridgen, for whom he had formerly done jobs of work. Just previous to their arrival, however, the teamster called at Mr. Bonner's to purchase corn for feed. Bonner asked Jerry where he was going, etc., to which he replied, "to Mrs. Pridgen's," whereupon one Smith ordered him to stop, suspecting he was a runaway slave. Jerry remarked, if Smith would accompany him to Mrs. Pridgen's he would be convinced to the contrary, to which Smith objected, and ordered the negro to remain where he was. Jerry said if he

must stay, he would go to the wagon and get his clothes. This privilege was also denied him; but he started for the wagon without further controversy. Smith, Bonner, and others followed him, and after running a few rods, saw that Jerry was going over the fence. Bonner overtook and stabbed him in the side with his bowie knife, and the negro died in a few minutes, having fallen back into the arms of the pursuer. A coroner's inquest was summoned, and much difficulty was experienced in finding the right sort of men. The evidence was so clear, however, that a verdict was rendered in accordance with the above facts.

Bonner, instead of being immediately arrested, was allowed to go at large for nearly a week, when a justice of the peace thought, to comply with the law, he would require him to give bail. Accordingly, he took his recognizance of $500, to appear at the next term of court, and told Bonner he must "add an extra acre to his field of cotton, this year, to help him out of the scrape."

No comments are necessary. Your readers are aware that this is no uncommon occurrence in regions where slavery is tolerated.

Very respectfully,

H. C. FAIRBANK.

From the Lansing State Republican:

FROM TEXAS

We extract the following from a letter just received from an esteemed friend in Texas. The letter is dated San Marcos, April 28th, 1856:

I came here hoping to find a mild winter and such other changes in climate, diet and exercise as would conduce to my health, and expected to return home during the present spring. I have found some things as I anticipated, while in others I have been greatly disappointed. Instead of a mild and comparatively dry atmosphere during the winter, we have had a variable, and much of the time, unpleasant season, though to a healthy northern person it would not have been considered at all severe; and the past winter has been colder and longer than is known to the oldest inhabitants. It commenced about Christmas and lasted till the 13th of March, with, however, some very fine days. What are known here as the "Northers" are north winds blowing about three days in seven during the winter season; but they are very welcome breezes during the long summers. The general shape of the country of western Texas favors a wide and extensive scope for the winds, and the people, owing to the poor protection their dwellings afford, feel them sensibly. The country of the western part of the state is mostly a rolling prairie cut through

occasionally by fine rivers, along which may be found most of the timber worth notice. This is the black walnut, sycamore, hack-berry, pecan, elm, black-jack, ash, cottonwood, mulberry, China, cypress, etc., and on some of the upland there are the post-oak, live-oak, muskeat, with some cedar on the mountains. Most of this timber, except the cedar and ash, is not suitable either for good fences or building purposes, and fences are often made of limbs, brush, and any other material that can be converted into a protection from the immense herds of cattle that roam everywhere. The soil is generally rich, though too deficient in clay to raise good wheat, and in sand for Irish potatoes. These articles are, however, raised in small quantities in this portion of the state. Corn, cotton, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, millet and some small grains are the principal productions. But the country seems better adapted to grazing than anything else; or, at least, money can be made easier at stock-raising than at almost any other business. The want of good timber for fencing and the ravages of the grasshoppers and ants, together with poor facilities for transportation to market, deter many from engaging in agricultural pursuits. Immense quantities of corn and cotton are, however, raised here, and the former with much less labor than at the north. This is almost always sold in the "shuck," a barrel making a bushel.

The horned stock here is larger. I believe, than with you, but the horses are of all sizes and colors.

Swine, domestic animals and fowls are raised in great abundance, and pork is salted in a log cabin instead of a barrel.

This spring is considered backward, but yesterday I drew the leaves of a hill of corn up and found they reached the brim of my hat while standing erect. The rivers of the state are generally deep, with very rapid currents and high, rocky banks, and there are many fine springs issuing from these banks and the mountain sides. Game, such as deer, bear, wolves, Mexican hogs, turkeys, rabbits, etc., are met with almost everywhere. There is a great need of good mechanics well supplied with stock to work up, and one will often be surprised on seeing the simplicity with which the people live and labor.

The most important places I have seen are, Galveston on the coast, and San Antonio in the interior, though there are many "right smart" towns in all the settled regions. The society is of a mixed character, being composed of persons from almost all parts of the world. There are, as might be expected, many enterprising and intelligent families, as well as those who are ignorant and superstitious. Politically, the state

is democratic, though the American party is making havoc in their ranks.

The state is rapidly settling, but owing to the depredations of the Indians, many are deterred from buying lands upon the frontier portion, while others are removing to older portions of the state, feeling unsafe, both in person and property. Emigrants from older states are continually coming in, and soon after their arrival may be seen a mud or log cabin, and signs of "making a crop." But people intending to settle here need more capital to begin with than in Michigan, owing to the high price of material and labor. But much of this difficulty will be obviated, however, as soon as railroads are built through the state.

H. C. F.

The following comments on the Cuban war matter occur in a letter written by the doctor April 25, 1898:

But all this to me seems scarcely worth noticing in view of the terrible fact that we are engaged in a war that may prove disastrous to our country, and which I think could have been averted had congress held its temper and accepted what Spain was inclined to concede to the insurgents and our government's demands. It hangs over me like a nightmare. Yesterday in Flint it seemed more like the Fourth of July than Sunday. Oh! what a destructive and demoralizing thing war is at any time! I hope and pray that the conflict will be a short one, for we are not to gain anything for our interference with other people's matters. And we may get what poor "Tray" got when he stepped aside to take the part of the under dog. We had better given Spain the $500,000,000 and taken Cuba with its half civilized population, its fighting bulls and game cocks. But all may end well yet—let us hope so.

Affectionately, FATHER.

Would it were possible to go further into the details of the life of this typical representative of true American manhood. The data are not at hand and the space too brief. Enough has been said, however, to convince the reader that the death of such a man is not only a source of genuine grief to his friends, but a misfortune to society. A life of such unusual rectitude is altogether too rare in this day and age, and it can only be hoped that its characteristics may not be forgotten, but may be frequently cited to the younger generation as altogether worthy of imitation. May his memory long be cherished and revered!

ADDRESS ON PROFESSOR THOMAS M. COOLEY, LL.D.

BY CHARLES A. KENT, A. M.

(Delivered in University Hall by request of the Senate, February 26, 1899.)

Judge Cooley was long one of the most distinguished, perhaps the most distinguished, of American jurists. His name is familiar to all lawyers throughout the country. His legal treatises and opinions are cited as high authority in all our common law and equity courts. As the arbitrator of controversies between some of our great trunk lines, as receiver of one of such lines, and as the head of the interstate commerce commission, he was well known among railroad men. His occasional addresses and magazine articles gave him reputation and influence among a wide circle of general readers.

In his death the state of Michigan has lost its most eminent lawyer. Here he spent his whole professional career. Here he rose from poverty and obscurity. He was successively compiler of the state statutes, reporter of our supreme court, and one of its judges. For more than thirty years he was familiar with the government of the state, and with all our leading public men. He exercised a large and beneficial influence on our state laws and political history.

He was connected with the University of Michigan for nearly forty years. In many ways he was one of its chief ornaments and supports. The prosperity of the law school has been due more to his reputation and his labors, than to those of any other man. From 1859 until his death he was a resident of Ann Arbor. It never had a more public spirited citizen. In the multitude of his occupations, he took an active part in all that concerned the city. He was ever ready to devote time and money to every enterprise which promised public good. He was a liberal friend of religious institutions. In all moral controversies he was a courageous supporter of what he deemed the right. There is nothing to conceal about Judge Cooley's life and character. There was no skeleton in his house or secret blot on his character. His life was open. The more it is studied, the more will he be admired and loved.

It is my purpose to trace the chief events in the history of this great and good man, to show how he grew in power and reputation, and to enumerate his leading characteristics.

I know the difficulty of the task, speaking as I do to many who knew him intimately, who loved and admired him, and who feel a personal

pride in his great reputation. I must speak without exaggeration, and present such a picture as I see, however unworthy it may seem of the original.

Thomas McIntyre Cooley was born January 6, 1824, on a farm about one mile east from the village of Attica, New York. The village is situated at the base of a chain of hills, which develop into ranges of mountains, the western Appalachians. The scenery is strikingly picturesque. Along the site of the village was an ancient Indian trail by which the Senecas and Iroquois went to what is now Buffalo. The Cooleys are an old New England family. The earliest ancestor, Benjamin Cooley, settled in Massachusetts in 1646. He was a man of prominence in his community. Four Cooley brothers removed to Attica from Massachusetts before the war of 1812. They came to a new country and had to suffer the harships of pioneers. They were all farmers, as prosperous as their neighbors, and much respected as straightforward men. Thomas, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a man of considerable local influence, who took an interest in politics though he never sought office. It is said that he much resembled the latest picture of his famous son. He had two wives and fifteen children, who grew to maturity. Thomas was the tenth, and the only one who attained distinction. Like Cicero and many others, he was the first of eminence in the family. There was good blood in his ancestry on both sides, but it seems one of the mysteries of heredity, incapable of explanation, how one of fifteen children, having no special advantages, can rise to great distinction, and the others all remain at the level of their parents. The case is not a singular one. Often, perhaps generally, great men spring from obscure families.

Thomas began to attend the common district school of his neighborhood at five, and so continued until fifteen. He then began to attend a school in the village, called Attica academy, and finished his school education there three years later. Here he studied Latin, algebra, and geometry. At the anniversary exercises of the school in 1842, he declaimed on the subject, "My Country." Thomas was always a very bright scholar. At the district school he came to know as much as the teachers. At the academy, he was the most advanced scholar of his age. It is said that his studies seemed only a pastime, he learned his lessons so rapidly. His love of history developed early. He read Gibbon, when but a boy, by the light of the fire in the fire place. He wrote passable verses, some of which were published in the Attica Democrat. He also excelled in prose composition. He had no youthful follies, no

wild oats to sow. His manners were unassuming. He was popular with his schoolmates. He earnestly desired a college education, but his father did not encourage his ambition, but wished him to be a farmer. But with his mother he found sympathy, and he confided to her all his hopes. The poverty of the family, and the number of children, made it impossible that he should receive much aid. He helped himself by teaching district school for several terms. Judge Cooley used to express his regret that he did not have a college education and early social advantages. He thought he might have made more of himself if he had had better opportunities. There is some foundation for this feeling. A classical education brings to one who improves his advantages, some general knowledge of the literature, history, and science of the world. Social advantages put one at his ease among all classes. But somehow Judge Cooley attained a better education than nine-tenths of college graduates. He learned from reading and the great school of life, where most of us get the discipline which is most useful. And it may be that this was the best school for him. He had the great blessing of early, but not extreme poverty. It is a truism that such poverty is the best starting point for a boy of great ability and ambition. The lower one is down on the ladder of life, the more eagerly does he, if conscious of great powers, seek to ascend. And physically and mentally, all growth comes from the vigorous exercise of our faculties. One who is born in a high position may feel no sufficient motive to endure the struggles necessary to greatness. And a broad education may sometimes hinder as much as it helps. A wide knowledge of the great men of history, and the great things which have been done may lead to a self-depreciation fatal to the highest achievements. Goethe says, that if he had been familiar, when he began to write, with the great poetry of the world, he might not have had courage to continue. And a college education by means of its very broadening power, may prevent the concentration to any one pursuit, usually necessary to the highest success.

Young Cooley gave up his hopes of a more extended school education, and began to read law in the summer of 1842, in the office of Theron K. Strong, afterward a judge of the supreme court of the state, at Palmyra, N. Y. Here he studied, but without instruction, save as he received it in the course of the work done, until in 1843, he removed to Adrian, Mich., and continued his legal studies in the office of Tiffany & Beaman. He was then poor and did any work which offered, whether professional or not. He copied records for the county and was deputy

county clerk. He was admitted to the bar in January, 1846. In December of the same year he married Mary Elizabeth Horton, then only sixteen. She proved a most devoted wife and mother, and a woman of good sense, capacity and amiability. Their home was a most happy one, until desolated by her death in 1890.

From 1846, for several years, Mr. Cooley was quite restless. Evidently he was not meeting with a success which satisfied his ambition. He resided for a time at Coldwater, and was in partnership with a lawyer named Fuller. He lived at Tecumseh for a period in association with Consider A. Stacy, then a distinguished lawyer. In 1848 he returned to Adrian and became a member of the law firm of Beaman, Beecher & Cooley. In 1850 he was elected circuit court commissioner and recorder of the village. At this time, in conjunction with his father-in-law, he was cultivating a farm, and was secretary of the Lenawee County Agricultural society, and editor of a newspaper. He wrote verses, which were published and have been preserved. They show a good command of language, but are neither better nor worse than such as are often written by young men of literary ability and poetical taste. In 1854 he was induced to move to Toledo, Ohio, and engage in the real estate business. He showed a great aptitude for this vocation and was successful in it. But his ambition was not satisfied. In 1855 he was an unsuccessful candidate for common pleas judge on the democratic ticket. Soon after he returned to Adrian and formed a partnership with the late Governor Croswell, which seemed satisfactory. Croswell kept the office, and Cooley did the work in the courts. He tried all kinds of cases, in justice courts, and in the circuit. I find only one case in which he appeared in the supreme court of the state prior to 1858. During this time Mr. Cooley gained a high local reputation at the bar of the county, but he had no state fame. He was known as a most intense and rapid worker. He would work for very little rather than not work. He took every kind of legal business which came. He had a reputation for literary cultivation.

When Mr. Cooley came to Michigan he was a democrat. In 1848 he went with the free soil portion of the party in the support of Martin Van Buren. When the republican party was formed, on the basis of antagonism to the spread of slavery, he naturally united with it. This was fortunate, and contributed to his gaining public position in the state. But he was never an extreme partisan. He never believed in high protective duties. He always exercised the liberty of voting for men of the opposite party, whenever he thought the public good required their election.

In 1857 Mr. Cooley was chosen by the legislature of Michigan to compile its statutes. In the execution of this work, he first showed his unusual powers in such a way as to gain a state reputation. The work required great labor. It was necessary to begin with the revised statutes of 1827, and examine all acts passed thereafter, and select for publication those still in force. The legislature allowed but nine months for the preparation and printing of the whole. It was finished within the time, and gave general satisfaction. The arrangement adopted has continued in every subsequent compilation. The preface is written with clearness and brevity, and shows the accomplished lawyer and man of good literary judgment.

In 1858 Mr. Cooley was appointed reporter of the state supreme court. In 1859 he was chosen one of the three professors in the law school, then first established in the University of Michigan. Here, at length, he has entered on his true life's work. Henceforth his path is clear, and his powers and his fame seem ever on the increase until the failure of his health. It is probable that his want of eminent success in his early practice of the law contributed to his ultimate advantage. Had he had in 1857 a great business, he might have declined the three appointments, wherein he first achieved reputation. In 1859 the family removed to Ann Arbor. They had there two temporary homes, but in 1862 acquired the beautiful lot and built the comfortable stone house which was ever after the family residence. Here three of the six children were born. Here all were brought up, receiving their education chiefly in the high school and university. It were hard to find a more fortunate and happy family. The children, as they grew up, all turned out well. In time many grandchildren were born, who in their frequent visits filled the grandparents' house with youthful gaiety. The family had the respect and esteem of the whole community. In the families of the university professors they found an intelligent and refined society. Judge and Mrs. Cooley dispensed a wide hospitality. They were foremost in every public enterprise, and leaders in society. They were charitable to the poor, and liberal in contributions of time and money to every object useful to the church of their choice, to the university, or to the city.

They took a deep interest in the trials of their friends and were ever ready to give sympathy and wise counsel.

They were not rich as men now count riches, but his income from his salaries and his publications was sufficient to deliver them from pecuniary troubles, to enable them to spend money with comparative

freedom, to provide a good education for their children, and to lay up a sufficiency for the future.

Mr. Cooley was reporter from 1858 to 1865. He published eight volumes of the Michigan state reports, from five to twelve inclusive. This work gave universal satisfaction. The statements of the principles on which the decisions are based are models of clearness and brevity. The work of a reporter, though very important to bench and bar, does not usually bring fame. In Mr. Cooley's case, it was the stepping stone which led to his election as one of the judges of the state supreme court.

The law school was successful from the start. It was fortunate in its first three professors, Campbell, Walker, and Cooley. The first two were then better known than Cooley. Campbell was a judge of the supreme court of the state, and Walker a leading practitioner in Detroit. All were very popular lecturers. But because Cooley lived in Ann Arbor, and came more in contact with the students and regents of the university, the largest share of the success of the school must be attributed to him. He was chosen dean of the law faculty; and the burden of the correspondence and of interviewing and governing the students fell on him. Students soon began to come from almost every state in the union and from some foreign countries, and through them the law school and its professors became widely and favorably known. Judge Cooley continued his work in the law school until 1884. In 1881 he began to lecture in the school of political science, then just established in the academic department of the university. From 1884 he lectured on American history in the same department. His connection with the university never entirely ceased until his death, though his regular work was given up, first from the pressure of other occupations, and then from ill health. He delivered two courses of law lectures in the Johns Hopkins university. He declined invitations to lecture in several of the leading law schools, and in some cases to take charge of such schools.

As a law lecturer, Judge Cooley was remarkable for the clearness and force with which he stated the leading principles of his subject. Though his voice was thin, his enunciation was so distinct, and his utterances so measured and slow, that every word could be taken down by the students. His lectures in the school of political science were mainly on legal topics and were like his law lectures. He had a great love for early American history, and sympathy with the struggles by which our forefathers developed our political institutions. With no disposition to boast, he taught his hearers pride in our history and admiration for the

great men who guided the colonies and the nation in their formative periods.

In 1864 Mr. Cooley was elected one of the judges of the state supreme court, and by successive elections was continued in the position for more than twenty years. He became at once the equal of any of the able men on that bench. His opinions were written with extraordinary rapidity, and yet the points decided were presented with great ability, clearness, and force. Judge Cooley's decisions met with as general approval by the bar as can be expected, where each one necessarily disappointed the earnest hopes of one party. The great ability of the court, at that time, was universally conceded. But complaint was sometimes made, that the judges came to their conclusions too hastily. And there are opinions which seem to justify this criticism. And sometimes, in their eagerness to do what seemed just in a particular case, the judges may have forgotten that their chief business is not to make the law, but to declare it, as they found it in the statutes and previous decisions. Reverence for the law, as something above the will of the judges, needs cultivation everywhere.

The position of a judge in a state court of last resort is one of great importance, but even the best work in it is not likely to give a national reputation. The courts are too numerous, and the number of decisions too great and most of them of too little interest to awaken public attention.

How many men in a state, of intelligence, do not know the names of the judges of their highest court. How few lawyers can remember the names of the judges of any state save their own. And yet it is often said that our supreme court, in Judge Cooley's time, gained a high national reputation. So far as this is true, I think the fact is to be attributed to the fame Judge Cooley gained as an author, more than to his opinions on the bench, or those of any other member of the court. Few of these opinions appear to me to have made a great impression on the law of the country. The one most often cited, as proof of his power and influence, is found in the People vs. Salem, given in 1870, in which the power of the legislature to authorize municipalities to aid in the building of railroads was denied on grounds independent of any specific constitutional provision. This decision attracted much attention in other states, where bonds had been bought in reliance on the validity of the statute, which was held void. It was in conflict with numerous authorities, supposed to settle the law in favor of such bonds. It was

an attempt to correct a great evil; the tendency of cities and towns to contract excessive debts for railroad purposes. But neither Judge Cooley's authority, nor his reasoning, changed the law, save in this state. The case has not been followed elsewhere. In spite of it, the supreme court of the United States held valid bonds based on the very statute which the supreme court of this state held void.

Judge Cooley's national reputation began with his law books, and is still largely based upon them. The first, a Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations of the States of the American Union, appeared in 1868. He had lectured on this subject in the law school from 1859, but the work must have been largely written while he was engaged in the labors of the bench, as well as in the law school. It was written without having a publisher engaged, and the author feared he would have to publish it at his own risk. He showed it to two of his associates on the bench, and their high praise gave him confidence. The book was a great success. It filled a vacant place. There was no single work on the subject before, and none has since been written which has taken its place. It is today, as it has been since its publication, a work of the highest authority. It has made Judge Cooley's name respected wherever men study American constitutional law. It may appear strange that it was left for him, at so late a date, to be the pioneer in a work so much needed. Restrictions on the power of state legislatures have been discussed and decided throughout our national history. They have formed one of the most important branches of our law. Nor are constitutional questions of extreme difficulty. Our constitutions, state and national, are but fundamental statutes to be interpreted by rules, not radically different from those applied to other statutes.

The number of our state constitutions and their difference in detail, though based on like principles, probably prevented an earlier work. To construe a constitution is to interpret its exact words. But to do this with every state constitution would make a work of great length and without universal interest. Judge Cooley hit on the happy thought of presenting the general principles common to all, and discussing them with only occasional reference to the exact provisions of any state. This made his book of general interest and enabled him to discuss the subject in one volume. It had the disadvantage that sometimes a principle is stated which it is hard to deduce from the words of any constitution.

Judge Cooley published several other law books. In 1870 appeared his edition of Blackstone; in 1874 his edition of Story's Commentaries; in 1876 the work on Taxation; in 1879 that on Torts; and in 1880 a

Manual on Constitutional Law. New editions of all his works were published at various times. All these books were successful, pecuniarily and otherwise. All show Judge Cooley's characteristic ability and accuracy. I do not think the later books inferior to his first work. But they do not hold the field alone. All come into competition with the works of other legal writers.

The great merit of Judge Cooley as a writer of legal text-books is that he states with accuracy and brevity the principles found in a multitude of cases, and cites the authorities which support his text. He seldom undertakes to give conclusions not found in the decisions. In this he was wise. It is almost impossible to foretell the questions which may arise, or how a court will decide any new point, influenced as it is likely to be by the exigencies of a particular case.

One reason of Judge Cooley's great success as a writer of law books is, that such work has seldom been undertaken by men successful at the bar, or on the bench. Such men are usually crowded with other work, and the pecuniary rewards of law writing are not tempting. Too often our law books are written by men who are only able to make digests of the cases, without showing their basis in principle. In 1885, he published a popular history of the government of Michigan in the series of American Commonwealths. The book was successful and shows his great literary versatility.

While engaged in his arduous labors on the bench and in the law school, Judge Cooley wrote articles for various magazines, and special addresses. He continued like work until his health completely failed. His last address appears to have been one read before the American Bar association, as its president, in the summer of 1894. These papers are all interesting and some of them very able. They extended his reputation, but without changing its character.

An important phase of Judge Cooley's life was that of his connection with railroads. In 1882 he, with Allen G. Thurman and E. B. Washburne, were chosen by the great trunk lines terminating at New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, to determine what, if any, differential rates should be allowed on freights starting from, or going to, each of these cities. Much time was spent by the commission in taking testimony. A very able report written by Judge Cooley was agreed on, going over the whole ground, but leaving the differentials as they had been fixed by previous agreement.

During this year he declined to accept the position of one of three general railroad arbitrators, with Charles Francis Adams and David

A. Wells as associates. Twice after this he accepted the position of arbitrator in special railroad cases of great importance. In the fall of 1885 Judge Cooley left the bench. But no leisure came to him. He had many engagements as counsel in important cases. He thought for a time of engaging in the practice of the law in Chicago. He had many opportunities to engage in literary work of various kinds. He continued to lecture in the academic department of the university. He revised his book on Taxation. In December, 1886, he was most unexpectedly appointed receiver of the portion of the extensive railroad system known as the Wabash, lying east of the Mississippi river. He accepted and entered on the work with his usual ardor and success. He acted as general manager, a wonderful example of versatility and business capacity for a man whose life had been spent in legal and literary work.

In March, 1887, Judge Cooley was appointed by President Cleveland one of five commissioners under the interstate commerce law, then just passed. This appointment came without solicitation on his part, and in accordance with a general public feeling that he was the fittest man for the place. He was chosen by his associates chairman. His influence in the commission was controlling. He entered on the work with his usual extraordinary industry and ability. His reports and opinions discuss every phase of the law with great power. Similar laws had existed in England and in some of the states. The latter were effective only in state limits, and they do not seem to have attracted much public attention. The general purpose of the federal law is plain. It forbids all attempts of railroad companies to restrain competition by dividing their business or their freight earnings. It forbids any railroad to charge more for the carriage of persons or property, under substantially similar circumstances, for a shorter than a longer distance on the same line in the same direction. It requires railroads to treat every person and every place with the same fairness. The commission was appointed to enforce these provisions. They were authorized to investigate all violations of the statute, on complaint or at their own instance, to take the necessary evidence, to make orders and compel obedience by suits in the United States courts. There is no question as to the justice of any part of the law, unless it is that forbidding pooling. There is just as little question that the methods in which railroad business had been transacted seemed to demand the interference of the federal government. The law has done some good. A vast amount of statistics has been gathered of great use. The rail-

roads have been induced to keep their accounts in a better and more uniform way.

Some progress has been made in fixing the meaning of provisions, which seem very plain in the abstract, but very obscure when applied to given facts. The law may come to be still more useful. But it is not to be denied that it has not accomplished all which was hoped from it. The reasons appear plain. The decisions of the commission, on both law and facts, may be overruled by the courts, and some of them have been thus overruled. A suit which may be carried through the federal courts, from the lowest to the highest, with all the chances involved in almost every suit, is a slow way of compelling obedience to orders, which lose much of their usefulness if not obeyed at once. There have developed great difficulties in the interpretation of certain provisions, and the courts have not always agreed with the commission. The work of the commission is too great for any five men. They have to watch all the railroads of the country. When the commission was formed there were one hundred and thirty-three thousand miles of railway, managed by more than seven hundred corporations, subject to their jurisdiction, and the numbers are ever increasing. How is it possible that five men can enforce a law requiring so many corporations so widely scattered to treat their customers without discrimination? It were not much harder to enforce a law requiring all the merchants in a state to sell to all their customers at the same price. Judge Cooley saw the difficulty very clearly. He felt that the work of the commission, as a kind of police, would prove ineffectual, and he labored constantly to build up a moral sentiment among railroad managers which would result in willing obedience. And at first the attempt seemed successful. The leading railroad companies tried to obey the provisions of the law. But he found in the end, to his sorrow, that moral considerations alone are insufficient to check the fierce struggle for business between great corporations, who distrust each other, and feel that, in self-protection, they must use every means to get as large a share as possible of that business, which is insufficient for all. And this fact is not peculiar to railroads or corporations. There is no certainty that high moral rules will be observed in politics or in business, except men find by experience that success can be obtained in obedience to such rules.

In 1889 Judge Cooley had an attack of disease which threatened his life. He was sick for months. He recovered in part, and went on with his work in the commission. At length he concluded that no recovery was

possible, while he continued this work. In September, 1891, he resigned. That fall he grew slowly better and in January, 1892, he resumed his lectures in the literary department of the university. He continued this work until the last of 1894. During this period he wrote some magazine articles. He also acted as counsel in some legal matters of great consequence. From 1894 he gradually grew worse. His mind weakened with his body. He could not work. He had no occupation. He was very miserable. Life became a burden. He longed for death. His release came on the 12th of September, 1898. From many widely separated sources came testimonials of the esteem in which he was held. Among them were communications from the president of the United States, the secretary of state, the secretary of war, and the governor of Michigan. There were commendatory articles in many of the leading papers of the United States. There were many bar meetings voicing in speeches and resolutions the universal and great esteem in which he was held by the profession.

Judge Cooley was above the medium height and spare. He had bright black eyes. In youth he was rosy-cheeked and handsome. He always had the appearance of a frail man. He was very active in all his movements. He could walk long distances without fatigue. He took little regular exercise, and when pressed for time none at all. He ate little, needed less sleep than most, not unfrequently was sleepless a considerable portion of the night. At such times he read in bed. During most of his life his health was fairly good, but he suffered much from ague. He observed with interest fine scenery, knew the names of all our common trees, noticed farms and the condition of the crops, kept a record of extremes in the weather, and was interested in their effect on agriculture and other business. In manners he was without pride, affable to everyone, a democrat in the best sense, but without that jovial familiarity which makes some men popular. In presence he was not imposing, but in conversation on the subjects in which he was specially interested, or on topics of general interest, he impressed his hearers with the rapidity of his perceptions, and the wisdom of his opinions.

The characteristic of Judge Cooley most often mentioned is his enormous capacity for labor. This power he had in common with most men who attain great distinction. A large part of genius consists in the power to work harder than other men. His capacity may be shown by a brief statement of his work in 1883. I have selected this year, only because I find it easier to ascertain what he did during this time,

than in other years. His judicial work on the supreme bench of the state required him to hear in connection with three associates about six hundred cases, most of them probably on oral argument. He wrote nearly one hundred and fifty opinions, some of them involving questions of difficulty and importance. He had also to examine the cases entrusted to his associates, so as to be able to concur or dissent intelligently. He lectured in the law school for a term of six months, and in the department of political science for nine months, delivering in each department about fifty lectures of one hour each. He had to spend considerable time in examining candidates for graduation in both departments, and in hearing moot court cases in the law department. During this year he brought out new editions of his Constitutional Limitations, and his Blackstone, and worked on a new edition of his book on Taxation. He published articles in the North American and Princeton Reviews, and in the American Law Register. He wrote a memorial of the distinguished lawyer, D. D. Hughes, for the American Bar association. He made several addresses before different bodies. He examined and criticised for their authors two works on legal subjects. He was president of the Law Alumni association. He acted for the city of Ann Arbor in business of importance. He had a considerable correspondence, mainly with persons out of the state, who sought his opinions on legal and other subjects. Meantime he was directing the building of a large addition to his house, and was in frequent consultation with his business associates as to considerable enterprises in which he had a large interest in Bay City and in Lansing.

Judge Cooley's industry extended to small details. He read the proof of his works. He wrote with his own hand all he composed, and copied some things. He wrote a fine, legible hand, with few corrections. He had such an insatiable appetite for work that every moment must have its occupation. But this did not prevent a liberal hospitality. He seemed willing to drop his work, and attend to any visitor, who had something to say, or whom he could help by unpaid advice. Nor did he neglect the social duties incumbent on the family as social leaders. He gave entertainments, and attended those given by others. He took an active interest in all the public affairs of the nation, the state, the university, and the city, and was ready to aid officials who sought his advice on these subjects. With increasing age, and after he assumed the burdens of the interstate commerce work, his passion for labor seemed to increase, and his interest in all recreation, never great, appeared to die out. He became possessed by the demon of work, as other

men are with the demon of strong drink. And perhaps his demon was as little amenable to reason, and as fatal in its effects, as the other.

He had, as is common with many great men, an extraordinary amount of absorption in his work. He could write undisturbed by what was going on around him. Much of his literary work was done in his library, where his young children were playing their games, and they were not kept quiet. Judge Cooley's powers of analysis were great, though it does not appear that he spent much time in the formal divisions of his subjects. His mind penetrated rapidly to the essential points of his theme, and his writings show a natural and just order in the sequence of his thoughts. Still, I think that a more complete analysis before he began to write would have made his style more compact, and that even his great work on Constitutional Limitations would have been improved by such analysis.

He had entire sympathy with the principles on which our institutions are based, and the methods by which our law has been developed. He was a commentator rather than a critic or reformer. Still, he saw all the perils that inhere in popular government, and knew that it is adapted to but few nations. This sympathy was one great source of his success. Life is so short that usually one can accomplish little unless he builds with confidence on the work of his predecessors. He never manifested an extravagant opinion of his own powers. He never displayed arrogance or self conceit.

Still he was very strenuous in the maintenance of his opinions. Sometimes these appeared colored by the circumstances of his life. Having spent many years on the bench, where his views exercised a controlling power in making the law, he had perhaps too much confidence in the power of argument. He made an able address before the Georgia State Bar Association, seeking to show, contrary to the common opinion, the certainty of the law. If he had spent his life at the bar, trying to ascertain what the courts will decide on questions which arise in litigation, his views might have been different. And, when, after he retired from the bench, he gave counsel as a lawyer, or opinions as one of the commerce commission, his views were overruled by the courts perhaps as often as are those of other eminent lawyers. I think he had more faith than history will justify in constitutional objections to national expansion. Such matters are usually determined by the aspirations and passions of the people, as voiced by their political leaders. Constitutions bend to their will, and against annexation the courts are powerless. He had, also, what seems to me too great confidence in the

judiciary, as a bar to executive and legislative usurpation, and as a defense against all injustice.

The judges are but men, taken from the body of the people, by methods of selection not always the wisest, and having like passions and weaknesses with others. They often deny what seem to counsel and litigants the plainest rights.

Judge Cooley had extraordinary facility in forming and writing out his opinions on legal causes or other matters submitted to his judgment. This facility may have occasionally led to the overlooking of points of importance, but, on the whole, his opinions and arguments are remarkably clear and just. This facility is a most necessary gift to success in most departments of practical activity. Many of the questions which arise, in court or in business life, may be decided in various ways with equal plausibility and perhaps justice. The man who hesitates too long in coming to conclusions, if he commits less errors, will be a weaker force than one who comes to rapid conclusions without serious mistakes.

One great source of Judge Cooley's power lay in his absolute sincerity and earnestness. All his writings show his purpose to state the whole truth on the subject uninfluenced by any personal consideration. And no perversity of judgment disturbed his mental sight. He had no eccentricities, and no prejudices as to subjects or persons not amenable to argument. All his writings are on a high moral plane. He always seeks to inculcate that fairness to every one which is the essence of justice.

His writings extend over a varied field, and they all show a strong, clear mind, but there are limitations on the subjects in which he was interested. His was not one of those minds which are driven by an inherent necessity to study the foundations of human knowledge. He never troubled himself about the freedom of the will, or the nature of mind over matter, or any other question of metaphysics. Nor did he, I think, take any special interest in the theoretical problems of modern science, or in the truth or error of Darwinism, or in the primitive history of the human race and the institutions of society. He had very little knowledge of any language save English. His great interests, aside from the law, were in English and American history, the current political life of the world, and the problems of city government. I know no evidence that he studied any system of law, save that of England and America.

He read for recreation magazines and occasionally novels. In later

life, at least, he gave little attention to general literature, or art, or music. Though not a member, he was a constant attendant at the Congregational church, often going to both morning and evening services and taking an interest in the sermons he heard. When away from home he kept up his habit of attending church. He was a liberal supporter of church institutions. His writings show a deep sense of the value of christianity. His life was irreproachable. He had no vices. But if ever he formulated his religious creed, he has not left it behind. Religious questions seem never to have troubled him, or distracted his attention from his work.

He early developed and always kept a strong, simple, lucid and concise style, with no attempt at ornament. He aimed only to express his thought in the most direct, clear and forcible manner. He had a vein of humor which showed itself in his after dinner speeches, and sometimes even in his judicial opinions.

He was doubtless ambitious, and enjoyed the distinguished position and universal praise he received, but I know no evidence that he ever did anything in seeking any position which the most scrupulous moralist would condemn. Generally, perhaps always, the places he attained came without solicitation. His enormous industry is to be attributed to a constitution which made idleness insupportable, rather than to ambition for fame or money.

Judge Cooley looked back on his youth as a hard one. Born in poverty, the struggle to attain the position to which his talents entitled him was a severe one. But from the time he moved to Ann Arbor his success was assured, and he grew every year in public and private estimation.

Up to the failure of his health in 1889 he must be regarded as a fortunate and happy man. But then came years of hopeless physical and mental decay, for which all his previous success seems a most inadequate compensation. His name appears more likely to be remembered than that of any other American lawyer of this generation.

How long this remembrance will continue cannot be foretold. The competition for fame lies with the great men of the future, as well as those of the past. His influence, so long as it continues, will be a potent factor for good. His example should be an inspiration to all young lawyers. The breaking down of his health through overwork has also its impressive lesson. His life may be summed up as one of great usefulness, public and private, and of general happiness.

SENATE PROCEEDINGS.

At a meeting of the University Senate held October 10, 1898, the following memoranda were adopted and ordered placed on the record.

MEMORANDUM ON THE DEATH OF PROFESSOR THOMAS M. COOLEY.

We have come together this evening to pay the last sad tribute to three of the members of our faculties who have died since our last meeting. Two of these were taken suddenly, in the full vigor of their manhood, and before their life work had been completed.* The third, Judge Cooley, had for some years been reluctantly compelled to treat his work as finished, and had been so stricken with physical infirmities and weakness that he welcomed death as a deliverer.

His work, however, was already great, and the foundations of his lasting fame had been broadly and securely laid. Before ill health compelled him to retire, he had already labored many years, and the constant and marvelous activity of his days was such that, measured by its results, his life had at least double the duration of that of ordinary men.

He had labored in many fields and had won distinction in each of them. His work and his fame were not local. He belonged not simply to his state and nation, but to the world. Wherever English jurisprudence flourishes, and wherever constitutional government and the liberty of the law are cherished, there his work is known and his fame abides.

Still, however great his work and wide-spread his fame, the foundations of his reputation were laid in the work he did in this university. For it was here that his attention was first distinctly attracted to the great subject of constitutional law, and it is by his work in constitutional law, as a teacher, as a writer, and as a judge, that he is most widely known and will be most long remembered.

Thomas McIntyre Cooley was born in Attica, N. Y., on January 6,

*The reference here is to Professor Walter and to Dr. James L. High, non-resident lecturer in the department of law. Mr. High died at his home in Chicago, October 3, 1898, from fever contracted on a visit to his son in camp. He was born in Belleville, O., October 6, 1844; was graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1864, and from the law department of this university in 1866. He gained a high reputation at the bar and as the author of law books. Each year since 1890 he gave a brief course of lectures in our law department. He was greatly esteemed for his learning and for his elevation of character.

1824. He there obtained an academic education, and began the study of the law. Removing to Michigan in 1843, he completed his preliminary legal studies and was admitted to the bar at Adrian in 1846. He began his practice at Tecumseh, but after a brief residence there and at Toledo he finally located at Adrian.

In 1857, when a new compilation of the laws of Michigan was to be made, Mr. Cooley was appointed the compiler, and performed his undertaking in so acceptable a manner that his work has ever been a model of its kind.

In 1858 the supreme court, then recently reorganized, appointed Mr. Cooley its official reporter, and he immediately entered upon the task of reporting and publishing its decisions. This work also he performed with such singular good judgment and skill as to win public commendation and establish a high standard of law reporting.

While he was engaged upon the work the regents of the university, in March, 1859, having decided upon the establishment of a law department, appointed him, without his knowledge or solicitation, as a member of its first faculty. He accepted the appointment, though retaining his office as reporter, and removed his residence to Ann Arbor. In October, 1859, the new department was formally opened, and, in connection with his distinguished colleagues, James V. Campbell and Charles I. Walker of Detroit, Professor Cooley began that long connection with this university which, with the exception of a single year, continued uninterrupted until his death.

In 1864 he was appointed one of the justices of the supreme court of Michigan, and in January, 1865, took his seat upon that bench, where he remained for a period of a little over twenty years, and until his resignation in October, 1885.

During nineteen years of this period, Judge Cooley also retained his professorship in the law department and performed its duties until he resigned it in 1884.

Previous to that time, in 1881, an arrangement had been made with him, under which he was to do some work also in the literary department, and he was made professor of constitutional and administrative law in the school of political science.

During the academic year of 1884-85, he seems to have had no official connection with the university, but in August, 1885, he was elected professor of history and dean of the school of political science. In 1886 he was professor of American history and constitutional law, and dean of the school of political science.

In December, 1887, he was given leave of absence for the remainder of the academic year, which leave seems afterward to have been indefinitely continued.

In October, 1889, he was appointed lecturer on inter-state commerce in the law department, and this appointment was continued from year to year during the remainder of his life, and he delivered lectures upon this subject as long as his health would permit.

After resigning his position upon the bench and his law professorship he was, in 1886, appointed by Judge Gresham of the United States circuit court to the important and responsible post of receiver of the Wabash Railway system, which position he surrendered in 1887, at the earnest solicitation of President Cleveland, to accept the chairmanship of the newly-created interstate commerce commission. The latter position he retained until 1891, when continued ill health compelled him to resign. He then returned to Ann Arbor where he lived in comparative retirement until his death on September 12 last.

In 1868, after publishing the first digest of the decisions of the supreme court of Michigan, Judge Cooley began his great career as a legal author by the publication of his treatise upon the "Constitutional limitations which rest upon the legislative power of the states of the American union." This treatise, now in its sixth edition, was a substantially new departure in the field of constitutional law, and is doubtless the work by which he is most widely known, and upon which his reputation as a legal author most largely rests.

In 1870 he published his edition of Blackstone's commentaries, which is still the standard American edition of that famous work. In 1874 he prepared the fourth edition of Judge Story's commentaries on the constitution of the United States, and to this book he made extensive and valuable additions.

In 1876 appeared his treatise on the Law of Taxation, of which he made a new edition ten years later.

In 1879 he published his treatise on the Law of Torts, and in 1880 his Principles of Constitutional Law.

In 1885 his History of Michigan appeared in the American Commonwealth series.

His contributions to law and other periodicals during the same period covered a wide range and were very numerous. A list of them, not purporting to be entirely complete, which was published a few years ago, embraces more than thirty subjects.

He wrote the legal articles for the American Encyclopædia; many

of the articles for the Encyclopædia of Political Science; as well as the introductions to several books on law and kindred subjects. He delivered also a large number of addresses upon a variety of subjects, both at home and abroad.

He lectured in Johns Hopkins university for three successive years, on constitutional law and municipal government; and also delivered a series of lectures on inter-state commerce law before the law class of Yale university.

In 1893 he was president of the American bar association and delivered the annual address before that body in August of that year.

Such is a brief outline of the results of thirty-five years of intense activity, and the most self-sacrificing industry, devoted to the highest form of public service. It was a life of great achievements. It was also a life of great successes. Whatever Judge Cooley did was well done, and his reputation and usefulness grew with each succeeding year.

It was given to him, as to few other men, to win distinction in three fields, which, though somewhat closely allied, have yet many sharp points of difference, and any one of which might well demand the undivided efforts of him who would succeed in it.

He was a great teacher, a great judge, and a great author. Of his ability as a teacher of law, the law department of today is, perhaps, the strongest testimonial. The memory of that first faculty, their skill as teachers, as well as the reputations which its members made upon the bench and at the bar, and the widespread and commanding influence of Judge Cooley's books upon the growth and development of the law during the last thirty years, have been, and still are, potent forces in turning the footsteps of the youth of every state and country toward those halls where Judge Cooley and his associates labored so faithfully and well.

He was a great judge. Patient to hear, diligent to investigate, careful to deliberate; with a keen power of analysis which enabled him to discover the crucial question in the controversy; with a sure logic which led unerringly from the premise to the right conclusion; with a gift of clear and vigorous statement which left no room for doubt or ambiguity, Judge Cooley early proved himself one of the foremost jurists of his age, and the court of which he was a member came to rank as one of the greatest judicial tribunals of the land.

He was great as a legal author. To him authorship was a delight, and he is said to have preferred it to all other pursuits. Here his great

industry, his minute care, his clear analysis, his great power of expression, his conservative judgment, and his strong grasp of the great principles which underlie our system of jurisprudence, found a free and inviting field, which he cultivated with the highest success. No books produced by any American lawyer of his generation have met with a more generous reception, or exercised a more potent influence upon the legal thought and development of the age than his. His reputation here is a great and abiding one.

He had also great constructive and administrative abilities. His brilliant management of the Wabash system, where he evolved order out of chaos, and credit out of bankruptcy, was a revelation in the line of the control of railways by receivers in this country.

To the development and establishment of the interstate commerce commission, he gave his great powers with an all too generous zeal, and a fatally self-sacrificing enthusiasm. He clothed the new act with life, and the new commission with dignity and power; doing, as one of his colleagues said, for that statute what Chief Justice Marshall did for the constitution of the United States.

To say, however, that Judge Cooley was a great teacher, a great judge, a great author, and a great administrator is very far from telling the whole story. He was also great as a man.

He loved his family and his home and the intercourse of his friends. He had, in large degree, the kindly nature and the genial humor which makes social intercourse delightful. He had a quiet dignity, but no man was more readily accessible on all proper occasions. He had great modesty but adhered strongly to his convictions when deliberately formed. He had a deeply reverent and religious spirit which sought the highest ends untrammeled by any narrow sectarianism or rigid creed.

During all the years that he was winning fame and honor in his public life, his private life was singularly simple, pure, and noble.

In his death the state loses perhaps her most distinguished citizen; the university has lost one of the most honored members of its faculties; while the law department has lost the last of its great founders, who, while he worked here, was its most brilliant ornament; whose name and fame, when he could no longer work, have been to it as a great tower of strength; and whose memory and spirit will be to it hereafter a most precious heritage and a perpetual inspiration.

ADDRESS ON PROFESSOR EDWARD LORRAINE WALTER, PH. D.

BY RICHARD HUDSON, A. M.

(Delivered in University Hall by request of the Senate, February 26, 1899.)

We are met today to pay the last tribute of affectionate regard to colleagues whom within the last few months death has snatched from us. In the case of Mr. Walter the blow came with staggering force because utterly unexpected. He was in the prime of life. He had left us but a few days before in full vigor to spend the vacation abroad, as was his wont. His hearty farewell still seemed ringing in our ears when, on the morning of the sixth of July, the news reached us of the sinking of the Bourgogne, two days before. None of us will ever forget that anxious morning when, in the course of a few hours, suspense deepened into despair. Words must on this occasion fail to give expression to the poignancy of our grief and to the sense of our irreparable loss.

It is befitting the place where we are assembled that mention should first be made of Mr. Walter as a scholar. From the time when as a boy at Litchfield he read through volumes of the Congressional Globe, because there was nothing else left to read, nothing was more characteristic of him than insatiable intellectual curiosity. He had an altogether exceptional power of absorbing information both from books and from conversation. He loved learning for its own sake and without any regard to the use that he might expect to make of it. Though he had not taught Latin since 1879, yet he kept up the habit of reading Latin authors. A few years ago, for example, he was reading Tertullian in the original an hour every morning before breakfast. In the same way he read Homer through time and again for the pleasure it gave him. His powers of acquisition, his diligence, and an unusually retentive memory put him in possession of a vast store of knowledge of which he had perfect command and which he could at any time draw upon to illumine any subject that came up, whether in the class room or in conversation. We have seldom had in the senate of the university a man to whom the term learned could more justly be applied.

As between philology and literature Mr. Walter's bent was strongly in the direction of literature, but in his chosen field his work was as thorough and scientific as it would have been had his inclination led him in the other direction. While his acquaintance with the entire

range of romance literature was both large and accurate, he had explored parts of the field with the most painstaking research and with the use of all accessible material. In this thorough-going fashion he had mastered the writings of Montaigne, Voltaire and Rousseau. Nothing more clearly shows what was Mr. Walter's conception of the study of literature than the studies that he made of the development of French philosophy in order the better to understand Rousseau's political opinions. It is characteristic, however, of the breadth of his view and of the largeness of his horizon that his favorite author was Dante, for the study of whom his library, which he bequeathed to the university, contains a rich collection of valuable material. If Mr. Walter had put his knowledge of Dante into literary form, as his friends hoped he would do, he no doubt would have taken high rank among Dante scholars.

A large and sympathetic acquaintance with literature cannot exist without marked literary taste, and what we may call literary flavor was characteristic of Mr. Walter in a high degree. Work was to him a delight, for he studied the masterpieces of literature with the keenest relish and appreciation. His occasional contributions were marked by vigor and terseness and by a striking and felicitous way of putting things. The charm which the extent and variety of his knowledge and his mental keenness gave to his conversation was heightened by aptness and incisiveness of expression. As in literature, so in music, of which he had an exceptionally wide knowledge, Mr. Walter showed at the same time the keenest appreciation and the most correct and discriminating taste.

In Mr. Walter were combined two gifts which do not always go together. While he was a scholar he was also a capital teacher. This is the unanimous testimony of all who sat under his instruction. It was not merely that his ready command of large stores of knowledge enabled him to explain difficult passages and to bring out the more remote bearing and relations of the subject in hand. It was not merely his ability to flash light upon a subject in a few brief, well-chosen sentences which went right to the point. He was in the class-room a great vitalizing force arousing and stimulating students and inspiring them with his own zeal for knowledge. He knew his students and hence appreciated, as if by instinct, the difficulties that each of them was likely to meet, and so made himself the teacher not only of the class but of each of its members. Among the expressions of regret which his death called

forth nothing was more touching than the sad and grateful tribute of students who in the class-room had felt his stimulating influence.

But in the case of Mr. Walter the man was larger than the vocation, and while we admired the scholar and the teacher, it was the man that we loved. His personality was at the same time striking and winning. Strangers who met him for the first time felt that he was an unusual man. He was never morbid, but always cheerful and sunny. He showed alike in work and in play the eagerness and zest which belong to youth. He was instinctively kind and considerate. He seemed to divine what his friends desired and anticipated their wishes, even though unexpressed. He gave sympathy without putting it into words and never seemed himself either to exact or to need it. A man of his quality was sure to form deep and abiding friendships. We have all heard of the touching inquiry that the cable brought from Paris within two or three hours of the time the news of the disaster reached us.

One of Mr. Walter's most striking traits was sincerity. He was a man of the highest integrity and of the finest moral fibre. He expressed himself with perfect frankness and meant exactly what he said. If he had any criticism to make he always made it to your face. He was the foe of all shams and hypocrisies and would have considered it untruthful even to seem to be other than he was. All his intellectual work was honest and he never for a moment hesitated to confess ignorance if he did not know.

With Mr. Walter's sincerity was connected his modesty, which, however, had no suggestion of weakness, for he was always self-poised and at his ease. It was rather the result of high ideals and of generous recognition of intellectual and moral qualities wherever he saw them. The unselfishness which recognizes merit in others and which thinks little of its own worth was his in a very high degree.

As a solace for the loss of our friend and colleague we have only the remembrance of his virtues. The tender memories of his associates are the garlands that adorn his unknown sepulchre. Ours be the task to emulate his devotion to the university which he adorned and which is richer because he has lived.

MEMORANDUM ON THE DEATH OF PROFESSOR EDWARD L. WALTER.

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitas?

On the morning of July 6, 1898, the whole world was shocked to hear that the French liner La Bourgogne had been in collision off Sable Island two days before and had gone down within a few minutes, carrying with her all the first-class passengers and the officers of the ship. It was known to the friends of Professor Walter that he had taken passage on the ill-fated steamer, and all hope of his rescue soon faded away. And yet it was impossible to realize that he had gone forever from us. Vacation days have slipped by, and we have returned to our accustomed places. Amidst our mutual greetings as we have gone in and out upon the campus, we have almost fancied that we should hear again his familiar voice and grasp his friendly hand. But the painful consciousness is at last brought home to us that the hand has forever vanished and that the voice is forever still. And so we come together to pay the last tribute to our beloved colleague and friend, and to spread upon our records our sense of his worth and of our irreparable loss.

Edward Lorraine Walter was born in the village of Litchfield, Mich., February 2, 1845, the youngest of eight children. As a boy he was a favorite with all who knew him. He was the idol of his family and was given every advantage that the somewhat narrowing conditions of the village home permitted. He was fond of books, had a wonderfully retentive memory, and read everything that came his way. When he was but seventeen he became a volunteer in the Fourteenth Michigan Infantry, and was engaged in the deadly assault on the heights back of Fredericksburg in December, 1862. The bullets of the enemy swept by him and left him unharmed; but disease fastened upon him, and the following spring he was discharged for disability and returned home more dead than alive. Nursed back into life by his devoted family, he resumed his preparation for college and entered the university in 1864. By his own efforts he maintained himself through the four years and stood easily among the first men of his class. Even before graduation, Professor Frieze had called him to aid in the instruction of the freshmen, and in September, 1868, he was made assistant professor of Latin. From the first he had noteworthy success as a teacher, and three years later was

placed in charge of the department during Professor Frieze's extended absence in Europe. In 1874 he obtained leave of absence and went to Germany for study, and three years later received the degree of doctor of philosophy from the University of Leipsic. Meantime he had traveled extensively on the continent and in England. Two years after his return to the university he was made professor of modern languages and literatures and again went to Europe, this time to Paris, for study. In 1887, at his own request, the department of modern languages was divided; and he chose the chair of romance languages and literatures, which he filled with conspicuous success up to the time of his death.

During his service in the university, extending over a period of thirty years, he saw it grow from comparatively small, though vigorous, proportions to the great institution it has now become. He saw its courses multiplied ten fold and its corps of instructors correspondingly enlarged. Students flocked to its halls in ever increasing numbers, and he cheerfully shared in the added responsibilities, both in administering and teaching, which all this involved. He rejoiced in the prosperity of his alma mater and was always ready for any forward step when the means were at hand to warrant it.

He was an ardent student and acquired rapidly when at work; but he did not shut himself off from the world. With him there was a time for work and a time for play. By systematizing his time and holding rigorously to his hours, he was able to make extensive acquisitions in a wide range of knowledge and at the same time to keep his powers fresh and elastic in the society of his friends. And no man was more sought for or more welcome in the social life of the place. During his long residence here his face and kindly voice had become familiar to all classes of the community, and evidences of the universal sorrow at his untimely death have come from people in all ranks of life.

But his special hold was upon those who sat under his instruction in the class-room. Here was his true sphere. The fulness and accuracy of his scholarship, his clear and pointed exposition, his patience with the earnest and inquiring mind, his kindly and tolerant spirit, his enthusiasm for all things fine and noble—these were the qualities that gave him power over his classes; and the response he met in the devotion of the young people whom he taught does honor to the student world in which he moved. Hundreds of these—men and women ranging from youth to middle age and scattered over the wide world—read with poignant sorrow the record of his loss on that fatal July morning.

Mr. Walter was a man of singular justness of perception, not given to illusions, and ready always to look facts in the face. He hated all pretension and sham. The insincere man was his special aversion. He had positive convictions on a wide range of subjects and was ready to defend them when questioned; but at the same time his kindly nature made him tolerant of opposition, and he harbored no resentments.

He published but little. The labor of writing was somewhat irksome to him, but he always wrote with excellent judgment and taste. His papers before the philosophical and philological societies and his contributions to student publications were prepared with as much ability and care as he would have given to the larger world audience. He thought it wise to put his strength on extending the range of his scholarship and culture for the more perfect adornment of his classroom instruction. And so his name got written upon few title pages, but is written more enduringly upon hundreds of living hearts.

Perhaps the most characteristic thing about the man remains to be noted—a certain charm of personality, which attended him from his boyhood days, and which defies analysis or definition, but which all felt who came within the range of his influence. It may have had its root in a happy blending of the joyous with the serious elements of our nature. Uniformly hopeful and cheerful, he was never shallow; and underneath a happy exterior one might often catch glimpses of great depths of thought and emotion. He encountered life's problems and uncertainties with a fearless breast, and we may be sure that in those last crucial moments neither his humanity nor his courage failed him.

He has been snatched away from us in his prime, submerged forever from mortal sight, and our hearts are left desolate; but his work and his memory have taken deep root here and will abide.

The members of the Senate, amid the deep sense of their own bereavement, are not unmindful of the heavy weight of sorrow that has fallen upon those nearest to him who has gone, and to his stricken sisters and other kindred they desire to extend assurances of their heartfelt sympathy.

PIONEERS OF ST. CLAIR COUNTY.

BY MRS. JANE M. KINNEY.

I cannot in this paper do more than touch the history of the settlement at various points in the county by the first pioneers. The beauties of its natural location, bordered as it is by the noble Lake Huron and gem-like St. Clair and the beautiful river St. Clair, whose pure water flowing between the lakes, with its summer setting of emerald banks bordered by grand original forest trees, is today attracting the summer tourist to such an extent that the shores of lake and river are becoming almost one continuous summer home for those who live south and east. The silent waters that responded to the prow of the little "Griffin" are now cut by the breasts of thousands of the finest passenger and freight boats, and when we think that not a boat can go or return from Chicago or Duluth from Buffalo without passing through these waters of our county we can form some estimate of the fleets to be seen constantly passing and repassing, carrying the wealth of grains and minerals, the products of what was once the untrodden forests; the floating palaces, lighted as they are by electricity at night, making one of the grandest night displays as they move with majestic rapidity carrying hundreds of pleasure seekers, enlivened by strains of exquisite music, always so much more enjoyed, and seeming to have a melody unknown on land. The fertile farms, comfortable homes and prosperity of the farming community, the products of her salt and mineral wells, succeeding as they have to the wealth producing trade and pine lumber, orchards bending with fruit, waving fields of grain and grasses, well timbered, well watered by small streams flowing into the rivers, the Black, the Pine and the Belle, in their turn emptying into the St. Clair at Port Huron, St. Clair and Marine City, make this one of the best irrigated sections of the state with little, if any, land not adapted for cultivation, with railroads traversing it in many directions, making every point in the world easy of access. The claim that St. Clair county is near the center of the earth may not be altogether far fetched, as we expect the heart to have some of the best attributes of the whole. Almost the first wealth-producing industry was the manufacture of pine lumber, and the pioneer mills, from the time Patrick Sinclair had his mills at St. Clair, were situated at different points in the county as follows: Port Huron, Clyde, St. Clair, Newport,

Algonac, Waddams, Abbotsford and Bunce's Creek; most of these were water, a few steam mills. The Harrington's, Farrand & Baby, Brockway, Waddams, Howards, Sanborns, Whites, Hibbards, Beards, Bunce, Ogdens, Abbott, Chase, Miller, Petit, Vicary, Williams, Black River Steam Mill Company, Parker, Rust & Company, and many others who laid the foundation for substantial fortunes for themselves and their descendants. When the Honorable O. D. Conger was a young man he worked in the saw mill of B. C. Farrand at Lakeport. I shall not dwell so much on the earliest pioneer as upon those whose names are still familiar to us and who might more properly be termed the second generation of pioneers, and whose descendants are among our respected citizens today.

Many who came settled first on the lake and river, as the water ways were easier to follow in reaching Detroit and other points than were the almost impassable thick woods. After a time the rich soil and the need of its products tempted many a hardy couple to their fastnesses, and, although the wolves howled and the bear and wild cat were no infrequent visitors, and the gentle deer came near the log home, they were all found useful in their way and much more welcome than the fever and ague which racked the bones and burned the flesh. The integrity of purpose and steadfast endurance which marked the men and women of that day has wrought a rich heritage to us who came after, and although some of us were born in a log home, went to school in a log school house, rode over corduroy roads, saw some of the forests felled and knew little of fine churches, colleges and railroads, there is perhaps not one in this meeting today who tasted, by actual experience, all the struggles of the oldest settlers of my county.

I have heard my grandfather McCallum tell of coming from Detroit to Lake Huron in a canoe with Dr. Symmes, a British surgeon, long before there were any houses at Port Huron. Possessing the poetical nature of the highland Scotch, I have heard him describe the loveliness of lake and river with bordering woodland lying as yet untouched by the axe, and the exquisite calm over all under the light of the full moon gleaming on forest and expansive waters. Less than a century has passed, the red man and the red deer alike have passed away, although it is within my memory when the adjacent woods were full of deer, and the small clearings were sometimes their resort for the sake of the sweet cultivated grasses; and I have sometimes, when a child, seen them feeding a few rods from my home, and it was not an unusual

thing for my father to bring in two slain with one bullet. The spot where my home now stands was a favorite camping ground for the Indians on their way to and from Saginaw, Sarnia and Walpole Island. Among my earliest recollections is that of standing with my mother in the sweet summer evening, listening to the evening hymns of these christian Indians, and they came always to our home for flour, meat, tea, sugar and straw for their beds, and were never turned empty away. My mother was able to converse with them in their native tongue, as her father was a store keeper and had a good deal of trade with them at Bear Creek, Harsen's Island and Baby's Point, and her uncle Sampson and uncle Henry Ward were also traders among them, having their own boat with which they sailed to Buffalo, Green Bay, and Chicago. Once when some Indians came to our home and my mother had a bed prepared for them in a chamber she amused them very much by telling them, in the Indian language, that they might go up to heaven instead of up to bed. There are various theories as to the real origin of the name St. Clair given first to the gem-like lake, then to the noble river and finally to the county, one township and the pretty little city St. Clair.

In 1679 the "Griffin" landed her crew on the shore of what is now known as lake St. Clair. It is said they named the lake in honor of the Saint's day whose fete fell upon the day they landed. The name given by the Indians to the river was Otsiketeesippi and to the lake Otsiketee. Honorable Bela Hubbard and Bethune Duffield gave this origin, as did Judge Campbell in his poem "Lady Claire," while Mr. Duffield, in his poem "The Men of Auld Lang Syne," has this verse:

"Bold were the men of Auld Lang Syne
Who first braved ocean's breeze,
But bolder still the men whose will
First sailed these silent seas.
First broke the waters of St. Clair,
And gave our lake its name;
Here's honor to their bright career,
And an enduring fame."

The United States records are very definite in distinguishing between the names Sinclair and St. Clair. In 1765 Patrick Sinclair, an Irish officer in the British service, was commandant of Fort Sinclair. He built a large military and trading post where the city of St. Clair now stands. This was a regular fortification consisting of earthworks, mounted artillery, with a stockade and sallyport, all in regular military order. This he occupied for about seventeen years,

becoming the possessor of about four thousand acres of land situated on the river, being the first permanent English settler along the St. Clair river, and the only one until the year 1772. Nincamee or Lightning served under Sinclair in garrison duty in the fort at the mouth of Pine river. Judge Bunce had many recollections of him and said he was 105 years old when Judge Bunce came on the river, capable of attending to his corn fields, four miles south of Black river, which must have been a part of the land afterwards owned by Judge Bunce and is now the property of the Honorable O'Brien J. Atkinson, who bought the sightly spot where the old colonial home of Judge Bunce stands. He has repaired the house and it is one of the elegant summer homes on the river, and is occupied by Judge Atkinson and his wife during the long and beautiful summer days. It seems fitting that so ardent an admirer of the elegant old school judge should occupy the home, and it is in perfect keeping with the great interest Judge Atkinson has always felt in all that pertains to the pioneer history of our county and state. Every new years day Nincamee was accustomed to sail down the river in his large birch bark canoe on the bow of which he would fly the American colors to the breeze. On these occasions he would don his gold lace coat, beaded moccasins and leggings and all the ornaments in his possession. The old chief reached the great age of 112. The first name given the settlement at the mouth of Pine river was Palmer, named in honor of the father of our senator, Thomas W. Palmer, who platted a large tract of land in 1828. Subsequently its name was changed to St. Clair in honor of, and to perpetuate the name of General Arthur St. Clair, the American, and not that of Patrick Sinclair, who belonged to the British army.

Among the first and most notable visitors to the county was undoubtedly General Lewis Cass, succeeding Hull in 1813. General Cass was born at Exeter, New Hampshire, October 9, 1782, and died at Detroit June 17, 1866. He was afterward appointed secretary of war in 1831. He also received the appointment as minister to France which he filled until 1842. In January, 1845, he was elected United States senator. Augustus Brevoort Woodward, Judge James Witherell, James May, Gabriel Richards (Father Richards of the St. Sulpic order), Christian Clemens, John Stockton, General Brown and James Campau were all interested in the county and had large business relations with the settlers, as did Robert Abbott, whose business was second only to that of Joseph Campau. In 1786 M. DuLhut caused a garrison to be established at what was afterwards Fort Gratiot. This strongly erected trad-

ing post was called Fort St. Joseph. In July 1688 orders were received to remove the soldiers to Michilimackinac. Some say the fort was used but two years, others that it was a trading post of importance for eight years. The Fort Gratiot was so beautifully situated at the foot of Lake Huron just after it merged into the river, and standing as it did on an elevation commanding the rapids, with its strongly built houses for officers and men, neatly whitewashed, graveled walks and trimmed turf, the parade ground just to the south, made it a picturesque and historical spot, and it seemed to me a personal loss when the government decided to abandon it as a fortification and sold it to the Grand Trunk Railway company. It should have been preserved and would have added much to the historical interests of the city of Port Huron. Since the tunnel under the river, two miles below, has taken all the traffic away from the spot that once teemed with the business of a trunk line we can but regret that, instead of the unused tracks, could stand the historic and picturesque Fort Gratiot, named, I believe, for the engineer who built it.

In 1832 many of the soldiers were attacked with cholera, many of them dying, and all were buried in one grave and a wooden monument erected to their memory with all their names inscribed upon it. Later the grave was removed to Lakeside cemetery and a handsome granite monument erected over the soldier dead. I believe that all will concede that Judge Bunce was the most distinguished active settler the county ever had.

In 1883 he was the oldest inhabitant of the state. He was born in Hartford, Conn., November 14, 1787. He lived, when a child, in Windsor, Vermont, and Albany, New York. After he had attained manhood he sailed from Buffalo to Detroit, reaching Detroit May 15, 1817, remaining there a short time; then coming to Port Huron in the fall of the same year, he located lands extending four miles on the river and half a mile back. There was not a house where the city of Port Huron now stands for two years after his coming. His nearest neighbor was an old Frenchman, on the spot what is now St. Clair. He built mills at Bunce's Creek, at Abbottsford and on the lake shore in the township of Burtchville. With the aid of Colonel McNeil he built the first wagon road to Fort Gratiot. He had only one white man with him for nine years, but was always on friendly terms with the Indians and employed many of them. Among my childish recollections is that of driving by Judge Bunce's mill and seeing a large number of Indians, who came from the Indian reserve across the river in Canada to work for the Judge. They were always called "Bunce's Indians." He also built a

road twenty miles below his home. Ten years after coming to the territory he married Miss Louisa Ann Buryea, of New York, who lived until January 27, 1861. The judge was a justice of the peace and colonel of the Third Michigan militia. He was associate judge when the courts were held at Mt. Clemens, and when the county was divided he was chief justice of the courts of the county, and afterwards probate judge. He was in the legislature as long as we were a territory, and was the last surviving member. Judge Bunce attained his 102d year. When he was 100 years old his fellow citizens and neighbors decided to do him honor and asked him to open his home that they might give him the sincere tribute of their hearts in token of his long and enduring residence among them. As chairman of the committee from the county pioneer society it devolved upon the writer to invite some who had known the Judge in earlier days. We could not invite his contemporaries, but their children came to do him honor; among those present were Governor David H. Jerome and Ezra Rust of Saginaw, both of whom had often met him as boys at the home of their fathers at St. Clair, and in the home of the elegant and courtly man who was now their host. Hon. Thomas W. Palmer could not attend, but sent a letter expressing his admiration for the man we gathered together to honor. All day there was a procession of carriages. At midday there was a dinner, partaken of by Judge Bunce and his neighbors, who composed the pioneer Sunday school of which the Judge was a member. In the afternoon and evening, a program of music and speaking feliciting the Judge was indulged in and supper was laid for one hundred. The Judge sat at the table and, at the solicitation of Judge Atkinson, responded with some old time anecdotes and was very happy. The committee had gathered at my home and I impressed it upon them very strongly that they were not to shake Judge Bunce's hand. I said I am terrified for fear we shall kill him. You must not shake his hand but simply press it gently when I introduce you. Mr. Jerome said jokingly "don't be afraid, Mrs. Kinney, and if we wish to press anyone's hands we will press some of the ladies' hands." It was a most enjoyable occasion in honor of a most remarkable man, so bright, witty and kindly, and adding to our happiness in being able to receive us and show him our love and respect.

Among the pleasant features of the evening were the speeches made by Hon. William L. Bancroft, O'Brien J. Atkinson, Dr. E. L. Rexford, John W. Thompson, E. H. Bancroft, Hon. B. C. Walker. The following little poem dedicated to the Judge by B. C. Farrand will prove of interest:

"Dear Judge, at a meeting just held, our old pioneers,
Impressed by a sense of the weight of your years,
And seeing in prospect this pleasing occasion,
Passed vote that their greeting and congratulation
At the time that's now passing would justly be due
To yourself, as their leader, for having pulled through.
To the stake you now stick, by which it appears
You've been in this wilderness one hundred years.
To us earth made up mortals not often is given
Such extent of travel before reaching heaven.
Your friends have been wishing, and some of them praying,
That something might happen inducing delaying
Your exit from this to life's other shore,
Till your first century's finish should be up and more.
Their wishes are granted, their prayers have had heed,
Pioneers are well pleased, yes happy indeed.
The starters with you on this highway of life,
Long since were hence summoned and gave up the strife.
Far back 'twas you came, drawn, it would seem,
By the woods lying next to our beautiful stream
Whose clear and bright waters were flowing along
Before Eve found the apple or Adam dropped down.
With this queen of all rivers what else will compare,
Our deep and blue river, the lovely St. Clair.
On its banks 'twas you settled with life well begun,
With the bride that came with you, thus being one.
That site on the river so long since your home
Needs no other mention, to all it's well known.
Here passed the bright days of your life's early dream;
There you lived till your vision began to grow dim;
There children were born to you, daughters and sons,
They have reached middle age and are passing well on.
Where now are the men in those days your neighbors?
Settled, all are at rest and away from their labors.
There were Hopkins, Smiths, the Russels and Browns,
The Caswells, the Phillips, the Sinclairs, the Cooks,
The Wards, the Westbrooks, the Witmans and Wordens,
The Chamberlains, the Clarkes, Trusdells and Kittons,
The Beards well remember, John, Ai and James,
The rest I'll not mention so many the names,
They've all sailed from this to that other shore
Where mortals are gathered to stay evermore.
The world will swing on at its rapid old pace,
Nor long will be missed those swept from its face.
We all wish you health for years yet to come,
And with happiness crowned until you are called Home.
May we meet you again when the year rolls around
With strength unimpaired, healthy and sound."

Mr. John Howard, deceased, of Port Huron, was born in Pennsylvania March 3, 1799. Coming first to Detroit in a small schooner, in 1821 he started in the grocery business. He married Miss Nancy Hubbard. Mrs. Howard was eleven years of age when her father came to Detroit and remembers distinctly the surrender of Hull, and remembers Generals Proctor and Hull. Although but a child she carried delicacies to the sick and the wounded soldiers, typical of what she would do as a woman, for there are few, if any, who have given themselves more freely to the church, the sick and the suffering. She still lives in her comfortable home cared for by her loving daughters, Mrs. Hubbard and Mrs. Sanborn. Their oldest son, the Hon. Henry Howard, was associated with his father in the lumber business for many years, and since their death the mill still bears the familiar name "Howard & Son." Mrs. Howard is one of the oldest persons now living in the county, retains her faculties and strength to a remarkable degree, and it is rather amusing to see the way she takes affairs of church or charity into her own hands, sometimes ordering her coachman to drive her where she wishes, keeping her own counsel like the wise woman she has always been, and not letting the right hand know all that the left hand does. Mr. Howard was five years in partnership with Cummings Sanborn, afterwards built a mill and associated his son Henry with him. Hon. Henry Howard was one of the truest gentlemen and best business men Port Huron ever had. When the cholera broke out in Detroit his parents came to Port Huron and he grew to manhood and married there. He was connected with the First National bank since the time of its organization, was its president most of the time, president of the narrow gauge railroad, twice elected to the state legislature, alderman fourteen years, mayor of the city, president of the board of estimates and board of education, president of the Northern Transit company of Sarnia, Ont., largely interested in the Star line of steamers and regent of the state university. In the death of Mr. Howard, Port Huron lost one of its leading citizens and his personal friends were indeed bereft.

Captain James Moffat is a native of Scotland, coming to Canada when a young man. He was employed by Cameron when the ferry between Sarnia and Port Huron consisted of a row boat to transfer passengers and a scow to transport horses before what was called the "horse ferry" was in use. After the horse ferry, owned by the Davenports was used, he was in their employ six years. About 1851 Captain Moffat started a ferry consisting of a skiff and sail boat. He then had a horse ferry and built a ferry called the "Union." About 1859 he built

the "Sarnia;" a few years later he built several tugs. In 1877 he and Dan Runnels bought the "Beckwith," and later they built the "Omar D. Conger." Although 75 years of age Mr. Moffat is in good health and bids fair to see many summers.

Mr. Nelson Mills of Marysville was born in Nova Scotia and came to Michigan, locating first at Marine City, and became a ship builder. Today he is the owner of some of the finest boats on the lakes, owns mines and mills, and a few years ago bought Stag island which is in Canadian waters. He has made it one of the famous summer resorts of the St. Clair river. He married a daughter of Myron Williams, another of the pioneer settlers on the broad and beautiful river.

J. P. Minnie, deceased, was born at Algonac, St. Clair county, in 1807, and married Adeline La Duke, a native of Detroit. They were among the first settlers in Port Huron, coming in 1834. Mr. Minnie was elected and re-elected justice of the peace for twenty years, the office at that time being an important one, and not to know Squire Minnie was to argue oneself unknown. Mrs. Minnie was one of the sweet spirits of earth, kind to the poor, gentle to all. She survived Mr. Minnie for many years.

Hon. John Miller was born at Sugar Lake, Ontario, February 1, 1818. He was the son of John and Anna (Reist) Miller. His parents removed from Pennsylvania to Buffalo. They were of German extraction and of the Mennonite faith, Rev. John Reist (Mrs. Miller's brother) being a leading minister of that denomination and doing much missionary work. Mr. Miller was a successful and honorable business man. He engaged in the lumbering business. He became cashier and manager of the First National bank, a trustee and firm friend of the First Congregational church. His son, Mr. J. E. Miller, at his death, succeeded to the office of cashier and is now engaged in extensive coal business.

Anselm Petit was one of the first settlers in Port Huron and owned a plat of seventeen acres on the river. His home was at the place now the intersection of Court and Fort streets. His son Edward was the first white child born in Port Huron. The farm was platted by Mr. E. Petit and called Peru, and was the beginning of Port Huron. Simon Petit was engaged with his brother in lumbering but died when quite a young man. Their sons, Edwin and Marshal, are citizens of Port Huron.

David Howell Jerome was born at Detroit November 17, 1829. His parents came from Tompkins county, New York, in 1828. David was the youngest of nine children. After the death of his father his

mother moved back to New York, near Syracuse, but in 1834 Mrs. Jerome again came to Michigan and settled on a farm near St. Clair. Here the boy David learned to exercise those traits that afterwards proved his fitness to be a leader, and lessons of thrifty endurance and economy which fitted him for the office of governor of our great state, and a shrewd and successful business man. His social characteristics endeared him to all who knew him. The older brother Timothy (Tiff to those who knew him best) and George carried on the farm, and David was sent to school at the St. Clair academy kept by the Rev. O. C. Thompson. Here he was the schoolmate and friend of Thomas W. Palmer, and a friendship was formed that was never broken although both were rivals for nomination for governor, and both stood high in the sincere admiration of their friends; outside of political lines there has not probably been two men more honored in our county. At sixteen Mr. Jerome commenced his labors as lumberman, helping Tiff haul logs to the river. The next summer he rafted them to Algonac. In 1847 his political career commenced. Volney A. Ripley was register of deeds, and Marcus H. Miles was clerk. David was appointed deputy to each and received much merited praise for the excellent way in which he discharged his duties. He sometimes was clerk in the summer on passenger boats plying between Detroit and other points. In 1850 he and his brother chartered the steamer "Chautauqua" and young Dave became her master. Part of the time she was used as a passenger and traffic boat and later as a tow boat. At that time the St. Clair flats offered serious obstacles to navigation, and boats could not carry more than 10,000 bushels without serious danger of running aground. Mr. Jerome conceived an idea of towing boats from one lake to the other, and put his plans in operation. Through the influence of Mr. Jerome and others interested in marine matters the present canal was built. The brothers made a good deal of money but lost it all in a contract to raise the "General Scott." In the spring of 1851 David was clerk and acting master of the "Ruby" and "Franklin Moore" plying between Port Huron, Detroit and Goderich. The following year he was clerk of the propeller "Princeton" plying between Detroit and Buffalo. In 1853 Mr. Jerome went to California. He located the live Yankee Tunnel mine, was absent about a year when he came back to St. Clair county. During his absence his brother Tiff had located at Saginaw and David joined him in 1854 and spent much time in locating pine lands in the northern part of the state. He was commissioned by Governor Blair to raise six regiments in 1862. The same year he was elected state

senator. He was twice re-elected. He introduced the bill providing for the care of soldiers at Harper's hospital in Detroit. In August, 1880, at the republican state convention, he was nominated for governor and brought to the office a store of common sense, honorable and kindly treatment to all, the courtesy and dignity of bearing befitting the chief executive and serving as a model for boys of push and honesty.

That the pioneers had great memories can be proven by the experience of Tiff Jerome, who said he could remember the first little red shawl that he was wrapped in.

I can, myself, remember walking the railing of the bridge over Black river at Waddams when three years of age, but this is still surpassed by another member of my family who remembers when her sister was born, although the sister was three years older than herself.

Mrs. Flora Stafford died at Pointe aux Trembles, January 27, 1877. When about thirteen years old her father took her in Lord Selkirk's colony to Canada.

Captain John Clarke was born at Bath, Maine, 1797. He settled in Detroit in 1830, remained there three years and then removed to Port Huron to take charge of Dr. Rice's steam mill on Black river. He was captain of the steamer "General Gratiot" and sailed her a part of three seasons. He bought a large tract of land in China, on the river St. Clair, settling there in 1835, building a dock and store and doing a general trading business, buying furs, etc. He was the first senator elected from the fifth senatorial district of the newly admitted state of Michigan. He was probably better versed in masonry than any man in the state, and was the supposed oldest member of that order residing in Michigan. The commandery at St. Clair was named after him. It is said that after taking all the degrees American Masonry could bestow, he went to Europe and received two additional higher degrees. It is certain that he has held the third highest position in the Third General Commandery of the United States, that of vice eminent grand captain general.

John K. Smith, one of the earliest and most prominent settlers on the river, was born in New York state in 1786. He came to Detroit with the army of 1816 and he held the position of quartermaster. The following year he came up on the river to Stromeness island and started a pottery there. In 1818 Mr. Smith came up the river one mile above Algonac and started a store, and during the same year he married Miss Catherine McDonald. She was a native of Scotland, born in 1795. She came to Canada with the Beldoon colony brought over by Lord Sel-

kirk. Mr. Smith held various important offices of trust. He was appointed justice of the peace of Macomb county by General Cass, and he was appointed justice of the peace for St. Clair county by General Cass in 1821, he was appointed associate justice of this county in 1826; was appointed special commissioner by General Cass in 1827; appointed judge of probate of the county by Judge Cass in 1828; was appointed chief justice of the county in 1829; was appointed deputy collector of customs in 1832 and held that office and the office of postmaster until his death. The various commissions for each office signed by Governor Cass are preserved in the family, and are in the possession of his daughter, Miss Jane Smith. He was the first postmaster, the first probate judge and the first customs officer in the county at Algonac. The Indians had great confidence in him and called him "the big captain." They would come to him from a long distance to settle their disputes and his decision was always accepted as final. His son, Mr. Abram Smith, lives at Algonac. Miss Jane Smith, the oldest daughter, occupies the old home.

Aura P. Stewart was born in 1804, in Canandaigua, N. Y. He determined to seek a home in the territory of Michigan and accompanied by his brother, Daniel Stewart, he reached Buffalo late in November, 1810; finding no vessel bound for Detroit, he determined to travel through Canada. Reaching Moravian town on the River Thames, he contracted to fill a bill of ship timber and delivered the same at Malden, Ont., in 1811. He leased a farm on the River Thames and put in a crop of wheat and rye. In 1812 he, with six men, began to harvest the grain when they were driven off by a band of Indians. He then went to Detroit and was there when General Brock took the town. After Commodore Perry's victory on Lake Erie, the British troops prepared to evacuate Detroit and the citizens, fearing trouble with the Indians after the British troops left, selected eight men to go and inform Commodore Perry of the situation of the town, who, arriving late at night, were kept until morning. They were questioned by the commodore, and finding that they were well acquainted with the country through which General Harrison would have to march sent them with a letter from the commodore who engaged them as his guide up the Thames. Harvey Stewart witnessed the "Battle of the Thames," and was the first to recognize Tecumseh, dead on the field of battle. Harvey Stewart, during the war with England, married Mary Gravernet, of Albany, N. Y., by whom he had three sons and three daughters. Garrett G. Stew-

art of Algonac, Captain Albert Stewart, Mrs. Daniel McQueen and Sarah; the others died in childhood.

Among the first American settlers of Clay township was John K. Smith, Ora P. Stewart, George Harrow, Jacob Pier, Eben Westbrook, Ira Marks, S. Moore, H. Robertson and others named among the patentees of United States lands in the township.

George Cottrell was born in Detroit and came to this county about the year 1810, and located about two miles below St. Clair, built a store and engaged in trading with the Indians. He built around his store a fort and engaged some Frenchmen to help him guard it from the Indians. Capt. Cottrell was the oldest son of his parents who began sailing on the old schooner "St. Clair." He afterwards sailed as master of the propellers "Montgomery," "Sam Ward," "Forest Queen" and many others.

In the general history of Cottrellville township appear the names of its pioneer settlers, the Cottrells, Wards and Browns. In the year 1819, Capt. Samuel Ward came to St. Clair county. He built a house of round logs containing but one partition, and covered with oak shakes. The next year the first boat ever built in the town was placed upon its docks. In this boat Capt. Ward gained his start, peddling pumpkins and potatoes which then, as now, went under the head of general merchandise. The captain made some very extensive trips in this little boat, one of which was from Green Bay to New York. A short time after the St. Clair" was built Henry Robertson and Isaac Pomeroy built the schooner "Grampus" on Belle river. About this time Alexander St. Bernard built a frame house in Marine City. Capt. Ward was the king of this community, arbitrator of all disputes, but he could not, nor would he allow anyone else to rise above dependency if he could help it. Ward sailed his own boats and made money fast, as he had a monoply of the trade. About this time Aunt Emily Ward and her father came and lived in a little log house. Aunt Emily taught school and was therefore the first school teacher to grace the village of Marine City.

Dr. Nash was in many ways one of the most notable men who ever came to the county. Coming first to Port Huron as a missionary to the Indians, he built a house adapted to his needs, the lower part being one large room suited for an audience or church room with the living rooms above. Dr. Nash and Judge Bunce were firm friends for many years, only one day intervening between their birthdays. The three days, the two birthdays and the intervening day, always being spent

together at the residence of Judge Bunce. Dr. Nash never married, although once engaged when a young man, to a young lady who would receive attentions against his wishes from other young men and hence the engagement was broken. The doctor told me himself that after having returned to his eastern home and finding the love of his youth a widow he would have tried his fortune once more but he thought they were both too old to enter into new contracts and new experiences.

Capac village is the home of Judge D. C. Walker, the title being given by Judge Walker who named it after Manco Capac, one of the first Peruvian Empires. Judge DeWitt C. Walker, attorney at law, was born in 1812. He graduated at Middlebury college, he studied law at Yale law school, graduated in 1836. He then came to Romeo, Macomb county, where he settled and began the practice of law. He was then elected a representative one year and elected for two years to represent Macomb, St. Clair, Sanilac, Huron, Saginaw, Mackinaw and all of the upper peninsula in the senate of the state. Then in 1844 was re-elected to the house for one year, was regent of the University of Michigan in 1845, was a member of the house again in 1846, was a member of the constitutional convention in 1850, that framed the present constitution of the state of Michigan, and was elected judge of the probate court in 1862 for four years. He laid out and platted the town of Capac in 1857, donated the grounds for three churches in Capac, was president of the first council of the village. Judge Walker was, in 1846, mainly instrumental in securing the passage of a bill during the time of the sale by the state of its public railroad property whereby the state is now annually benefited by the sum of over half a million dollars. He was chairman of the educational committee of five in 1850 who introduced the bill giving us our present admirable system of free schools. Judge Walker was one of the representative men of the times, alive to all the large interests of our nation, and a constant attendant at state and county pioneer gatherings.

These are but a few of the brave men and fair women who came to our county in the early days, hewing out for themselves position and fortune and a memory that is dear to us all. There are hundreds of others who deserve equal mention, but this paper has already outgrown the limits of your patience, and I can only trust that someone will follow it another year with more of the history of the pioneers of St. Clair county.

In looking over the land claims called "Private claims" in St. Clair county we find that Capt. Alexander Harrow appeared as a witness

before the land commissioner in 1808, and stated on oath that George Cottrell was in possession of 400 acres of land previous to and since 1796. Antoine Nicholas Petit claimed 210 arpents on the river front, and there were hundreds of private claims settled in this way.

Personally, the history of my county is dear to me, as it was my birth place, and I expect it to be my home while I have an abiding city here. I only wish that time would allow me to give a sketch of many of those who were my father's and my mother's friends. My own father came to the county when a boy of 19, during the time of the McKenzie rebellion in Canada, my mother coming about the same time. They were married two years after and lived nearly fifty years on the second farm that my father owned, and celebrated their golden wedding, at which they had the pleasure of entertaining the lady who had been the bridesmaid, and one other guest who had been present when they were married on that beautiful May day fifty years before. It has been a labor of love for me to chronicle these events, and I am greatly indebted to the historical papers prepared for the history of St. Clair county some years since by the Hon. Ora P. Stewart, Mrs. B. C. Farrand and others.

AN EARLY VISITOR AT MARQUETTE'S GRAVE.

BY R. H. ELSWORTH.

(From the Ludington Appeal, March 16, 1900.)

As the death place of the missionary explorer, Jacques Marquette, the mouth of the Pere Marquette river has, on numerous occasions, been visited by persons of more than local renown. Among these early visitors is one, the Rev. Gabriel Richard of Detroit, who in 1821 did homage to the memory of Marquette on the banks of the river that now bears his name.

In a paper "The Life and Times of the Rev. Gabriel Richard,"* read before the Detroit Pioneer Society, December 17, 1872, J. A. Girardin, of Detroit, describes this visit of the Catholic father and quotes from his narration. The account is as follows:

"In the year 1821 he (Gabriel Richard) undertook a journey through the vast district under his charge, in order to ascertain the exact number of Catholics among the white and Indian population of the north-

*Michigan Pioneer Collection, vol. 1, p. 486.

west that the bishop (of Baltimore) might know the different posts which required a resident clergyman. Having left Detroit in July of the above named year, he spent three weeks at Mackinaw in missionary duty, after which he embarked on Lake Michigan in a large batteau, encamping every night with his party on the land. They were occupied an entire month in coasting the eastern shore of the lake. On arriving at Marquette river they were detained several days by contrary winds, which afforded him an opportunity of inquiring about the burial place of Father Jacques Marquette, of the Society of Jesus. 'The Indians,' says Father Richard, 'conducted me to the spot where the river emptied in 1675, where Father Marquette died on the 18th day of May.

"'Its mouth is now at least 3,000 feet more to the south than at that time, between two capes about 50 feet high, which appear to have been separated by the joint action of the winds and waves. The spot which they pointed out to me is about 240 feet from the shore of the lake, south of the former bed of the river, but 2,800 feet north of its present course. It is a well ascertained fact recorded by travelers and even protestant writers and confirmed by popular tradition, that a few weeks after the death of Father Marquette, the river changed its course, as if through respect for the precious remains of that saintly man. I planted a cross there, in the presence of eight Ottawa Indians and two white men, placing it in the spot where, according to the Indians, a former one had stood, but which had been carried away by the wind three years before. With my penknife I engraved upon it the following inscription: 'Father J. Marquette died here the 9th of May, 1675.'*

"'On Sunday I offered up the holy sacrifice under a tent, near the present mouth of the river, and in the afternoon we went in procession, 50 in number, English, Canadians and Indians, marching two by two along the sandy shore of the lake, and singing the litany of the Blessed Virgin, to the grave of Father Marquette. You may conceive that it was easy to be eloquent over the grave of a missionary who is said in the tradition of the country to have wrought miracles. After singing the libera we returned to our chapel and camp, chanting the litanies of the saints. During the night the wind, which had been adverse, became favorable, which we attributed to the aid of the good missionary whose grave had been the object of our veneration.'

"Father Richard had been invited by the Pottawattomie Indians,

*The date generally given for Marquette's death is May 18. May 9 may be a misprint, or Richard's chronology may have been defective. See "Pere Marquette, the Missionary Explorer," by the Honorable Thomas A. E. Weadock, Michigan Pioneer Collection, Vol. 21, p. 447.

residing at St. Joseph river to assist at the conclusion of the treaty between them and the governor of the northwest, which was to take place at Chicago; but the unavoidable delays on his journey prevented him from arriving in time and rendering them any service on that occasion. He had hoped to assist them in their petition to have a missionary stationed among them. As some time would elapse before an opportunity would present itself of returning to Detroit by the lakes, he traveled south to St. Louis, and thence proceeded by land to Bardstown, Kentucky, and to Cincinnati. At the latter place he was present at the ordination of the late Rev. Vincent Badin, who a few days after accompanied him to Detroit as an assistant missionary. From an interesting letter of Father Richard to Archbishop Marechal of Baltimore, dated December 22, 1822, we learn that there were only five churches or chapels in Michigan and the northwest, with a Catholic population of about 6,000 whites, and a certain number among the different savage tribes of that region."

The Rev. Gabriel Richard was one of the notable men of his time and his name is quite prominent in early Michigan history. He was born at Saintes, France, October 15, 1764.* His education was secured at the college of Angiers and the Catholic theological seminary at Paris. On account of the French revolution he came in 1792 to Baltimore, Md. At the request of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Carroll, bishop of Baltimore, he accepted the pastoral charge of the French and Canadian Catholics at Prairie du Rocher, Kaskaskia, Illinois, where he remained until 1798. In this year he was transferred to Detroit and there founded the church of Ste. Anne. His parish extended from Sandusky to St. Joseph and from Fort Wayne to Mackinaw.

The Rev. Richard has been given the credit of introducing the first printing press into what is now Michigan. This was in 1809, and the machine was brought overland from Baltimore. On this press was printed, probably at Richard's suggestion, Michigan's first newspaper, the Michigan Essay or Impartial Observer.†

In 1817 the Rev. Richard was associated with the Rev. John Monteith, the pastor of the Protestant church at Detroit, in organizing "The Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania."‡ The Rev. Monteith was president of this institution and held seven professorships, and the Rev. Gabriel Richard was vice president and held six professorships. The two constituted the faculty. Under the act of April 30, 1821, the Rev.

*Weadock, Michigan Pioneer Collection, Vol. 21, pp. 433 and 439.
†"History of Detroit and Michigan," Silas Farmer, p. 670.
‡"History of Detroit and Michigan," Silas Farmer, p. 728.

Richard was made a trustee of the re-organized university. Two years later he was elected delegate from the territory of Michigan to the congress of the United States. Here he served one term with credit.†

Considering his prominence in Michigan history the Rev. Gabriel Richard's visit to western Michigan in 1821 is entitled to considerable attention. Even though his attempt to locate to a foot Marquette's grave is not as helpful as we wish it was, it is exceedingly interesting to know that he stopped at the river Marquette which he found between two capes (hills) fifty feet high, that he was delayed there several days, during which time he inquired about the burial place of Marquette, and that he erected a cross where a former one had stood and on a Sunday afternoon led a procession of fifty along the sandy shore of the lake and held a service over the supposed grave. It would be even of greater interest could a copy of the letter which he wrote to Archbishop Marechal of Baltimore be found or his own diary of this visit discovered. Both of these would probably be more full on this point than the account of his biographer.

PORT HURON'S NAME—EARLY HISTORY OF THE PLACE.

BY C. H. HORTON.

[The following paper addressed to The Times was read at the meeting of the St. Clair County Pioneer society on Tuesday, June 25, 1895:]

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editor of The Times, Port Huron, Mich.:

Dear Sir—I noticed in your paper of March 19 a letter addressed to Mayor Boynton, dated Plymouth, Ill., March 15, '95, and signed John A. B. Shippey, said letter relating to the early history and naming of Port Huron, in which I think there are several inaccuracies. The foregoing you can consider as my apology for troubling you with this communication, and as it relates to the history of the place I am in hopes it will call out some of the old citizens who may be living at the present time to refute what I may put down, or to substantiate the same. You have, I think, in Port Huron, one member (at least) of the Michigan Pioneer Historical society, viz.: Mrs. B. C. Farrand, and it may be of interest to her at least.

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*Weadock, Michigan Pioneer Collection, Vol. 22, pp. 432-447.

My brother, Nelson Duane Horton, was born in Auburn, N. Y., in 1809, and came to Desmond in 1832. My father, Nathan Horton, and the rest of the family came to the same place in October, 1835. My father was born at Claverac, Columbia county, New York, in August, 1782. I, Charles H. Horton, was born at Palmyra, Wayne county, New York, October, 1827, and was eight years old when we arrived in Desmond on the steamship General Gratiot, John Clark, of China, master; and I lived there until the spring of 1843, when I went to Oberlin, Lorain county, Ohio, returning to the town in November, 1844, and lived there until October, 1852, when I moved to the city of Detroit. When Harrison and Tyler swept the county in 1840, I was clerking for John Wells at the north end of the bridge, across Black river. In 1841 John Wells was appointed postmaster and Squire Reuben Hamilton came to swear in the new postmaster, and also swore me in as deputy postmaster. That being the first time that I had taken the oath to support the constitution of the United States, of course it made quite an impression on a boy, especially as Mr. Wells, after he was sworn, remarked to Squire Hamilton, "Now swear Charlie to be a whig," and I protested that I was a democrat. Squire Hamilton remarked that Charlie was a very good democrat, and could not be made a whig in any such way. When we arrived at Desmond the most of the hamlet was on the side of the river toward Lake Huron, but at the opposite end of the bridge there was a large wooden building, about where Wastell's drug store now is, occupied in 1835 by Cummings Sanborn, (then called Big Sanborn) as a general store, and that was the only house or store on that side of the Black or Delude river. A. W. and J. B. Comstock had a general store on the north side of the river, also the Black River Steam Mill Company, of which Bartlett A. Luce was manager, and John Miller and Benj. F. Luce were employes, and several other firms. I remember Martin H. Shippey very well, but have no remembrance that he kept a general store. He was a painter and glazier and I remember that he painted the house of Joseph T. Minnie a cream color. Mr. Shippey's sign read from three directions, the sign being perpendicular, "Painter" from one direction and "Glazier" from another and was a great wonder to the boys of that day. I do not remember Miss Shippey, nor the "Bear Episode," but do remember the daughters of Lieutenant Marcy, who was a brother (I think) of Gov. Marcy of New York. When I arrived there in 1835 there were two tribes of Indians located there, Pottawattomies and Ojibways. The first named tribe was in 1840 sent by the United States to Indian terri-

tory, west of the Mississippi river. Dr. Norman Nash I remember well. He was the only clergyman and the only physician there in 1835. He was an Episcopalian, and was sent by President Andrew Jackson to look after the Indians, and he arranged and had printed books in that language, and as he was my tutor he told me all about President Jackson and his (Nash's) early experience. The boys of that day, with myself included, early learned to talk "Indian." Major John Thorn and Daniel B. Harrington could also speak the tongue, as also Zepheniah W. Bunce, John Howard, Reuben Hamilton, Col. Wellington Davis, John Miller and many others.

I was at the meeting where the name was changed from Desmond to Port Huron. I think it was in 1837 or 1838, and I remember some of the persons there at that meeting, and cannot remember that M. H. Shippey was there; but he may have been, and am inclined to believe that he was there. I do remember that all the leading citizens were there (for they did not like the name of Desmond). A great many names were proposed, but who proposed any particular one I do not remember. Gratiot and Huron City were names proposed. Some speaker said that there was Huron in Ohio, and some said they did not know as it would ever be a city, and the name Port Huron was adopted as a compromise. All the then towns on the American side of St. Clair river have been changed—Palmer to St. Clair, Newport to Marine City, Point du Chien to Algonac.

If any of the following named parties are now living they could throw some light upon the early history, or their descendants can: Judge Bunce's two sons, Isaac Hamilton, Mrs. John Howard, Sr., Jedediah Spalding, Mrs. Wellington Davis, Mrs. Martin S. Gillett, Mrs. Nelson D. Horton, Miss Ursula King or her sister, Mrs. E. Patterson.

I think Reuben Hamilton came to the place in 1820, Zepheniah W. Bunce about 1826, John Howard, Sr., in 1832, Daniel B. Harrington in 1830, L. M. Mason in 1835, Amos James in 1835, and I could name over probably 30 others of the early settlers at that point. History tells that the French settled there in 1696 and at Detroit in 1701.

I would like to have "more light" on the subject, and shall take in good part any corrections of the above that may be forthcoming from any source.

Yours truly,

C. H. HORTON.

REVOLUTIONARY DAYS, OR DETROIT IN 1796.

BY SILAS FARMER.

One hundred years ago the revolutionary war had terminated, but the English were still in possession of Detroit and determined to retain control. What was known as "the west" had been surrendered to the United States by the treaty of 1782; but it was claimed that deception had been practiced, that the boundary was indefinite, and that the treaty was not binding because certain states had failed to pay their English debts.

It was under these conditions, and while negotiations for the delivery of the western posts were in progress, Col. Richard England being in command of Detroit, that on a bright morning in the month of June his majesty's schooner, the Faith, from Fort Niagara, reached the mouth of the Detroit, bringing supplies of salted meats, oatmeal and gunpowder for the garrison, and also some general merchandise.

Availing themselves of the opportunity, several officers' wives were making the trip in order to join their husbands at Detroit. Among them was the wife of Lieut. Pool England, also then stationed at this post. It was the first voyage of most of the ladies through the strait, and it is no wonder that they were enthusiastic, for beautiful as the scenery is now, it was then much more captivating. The islands were all densely wooded and deer, bears, and turkeys abounded upon the steep and thicketed banks. Along the shores innumerable ducks were diving amid the white and blue of the pond lily and the sweet flag, while here and there the smoke of wigwams streamed upward through the trees.

But, hark! What loud and lusty song is this that greets the passengers? It seems to come from just beyond that bend, which sailors call the point:

> "The voices are in tune,
> And the oars keep time,
> The rowers seem merry and free."

Ah! here they are, true relics of the old regime, the veritable couriers de bois of the days of Cadillac, in one of those wonderful Mackinaw canoes.

The boat is birch bark, 35 feet long and six feet wide. She carries twice a ton, and yet she rides the water as graceful as a swan. Look at those bales of furs! That tarpaulin covers their blankets and their

food. See those bronzed and bearded faces! Notice the muscular action of those well-developed arms. The boatmen sing in perfect time, and the birds along the shore fill out the cheerful chorus.

Meanwhile the Faith moves onward through the strait, and signs of habitation increasingly appear, most noticeable of all the round-towered and red-painted windmills with broad arms that loom against the clear blue sky.

"Is this Holland?" asked one of the ladies, "or are we in that fairyland where Brownies grind the grain?"

Just then the breeze freshened, filling the sails of the vessel. The wings of the mills also felt the air, and waved their welcome to the voyageurs.

As the schooner moved along, the ribbon farms, each fronting on a narrow strip of shore, and stretching back towards the woods, grew more numerous, and the voyageurs, yielding to the beauty of the scene, became more and more appreciative.

See those monstrous trees, quite near the bank! They tower aloft, overtopping all the others; gigantic pear trees from Normandy—nowhere else in all the land does such a sight appear.

Look at those wild vines! How they leap from tree to tree, forming a natural arbor 'neath which one might lie, sheltered all day long, and gaze upon the river. Yes, and there are orchards, too. This region is famous for its apples and sweet pears.

How fragrant and fresh these south winds blow! Surely this is Acadia or Utopia, or a land fairer still, with the beauties of both combined. Low, log houses, with steep roofs thatched with bark, dot the banks at regular intervals, one to every farm. Their white chimneys seem whiter still by contrast with the gray and brown of the roofs and the green foliage of the trees.

"Captain," says Mrs. England, "what stream is this we're passing now, near where the river bends northeast?"

"That is Cabacier's, and yonder are his house and mill."

"See! A canoe shoots from the stream and crosses in our wake. That French girl paddles her canoe with wondrous skill and grace. Now another darts from yonder shore, and—yes; he is expected. She no longer plies the oar, but, side by side, the two boats drift, while we move on."

Another stream now comes in view—the Savoyard.

"It skirts about the town
A natural moat, where dug-outs float,
For traffic up and down."

The stockade now is in full view. Its high pickets, close set and sharp pointed, guard the town, and on the higher ground beyond, the guns of Fort Lernoult glisten in the sunlight. Hark! They signal us; the cannon booms from the battery at the water's edge. And now the flag appears. The royal standard of King George, bright red, with corner of white cross-bars, floats out upon the air. Surely, we may feel glad. The flag to us means safety and protection.

"The sentinels, how bright they look,
In red and buff arrayed,
With neck enclosed in stiffened stock,
They form the real stockade."

Well, here we are at last, and from the high banks our friends come hurrying down. Lay to, and let the anchor drop. This is the king's wharf, and we are welcome.

"Ah, Colonel, I am glad to see and hear you once again.
What new honors have you won at cards, and what's the latest pun?
The Indians; do you clothe them well, and give them corn and rum?
Who led the dance last night, and what's the news from home?
Hold! let's on these ponies, and canter to the town.
These friends? There comes an escort who will take them home."

"What streets! Well, this is quaint, indeed. Why, you can almost touch each roof. The houses look real cozy, and they are safe, of course, within the palisade."

"Why, Pool! And where were you? The colonel met me at the boat. Busy? Well, I knew 'twas so. Is this the house?"

"Yes, and may St. James defend. We are lodged upon his street. This is our room; low, but large."

"Anywhere with you."

The dormers will give air, and the walls lined with deerskins will vanquish winter's cold. These beams must be of cedar. Yes, it still perfumes the room. With Indian mats for curtains, and rugs from bear and deer, 'twill be a pleasant home.

"Dinner? I am glad. I'm hungry as a bear."

"Broiled whitefish," did you say? Roast duck, and wild turkey with cranberries, rabbit pie, Indian samp and wild honey, with shrub and muscatelle, and real Jamaica rum for those who tarry after we have left the room. Well, we must keep this country, that is sure. I'm glad you asked the colonel and Macomb to dine. I know they will be pleased.

What perfect servants these Pawnees make! Black Nance and Jim

could do no better. I hear some green slaves have lately come from Albany. I wish those joy that have the training of these new importations. Poor fellows! Some have found hard masters. I think the governor should interfere to mitigate the treatment they receive.

What's this? A peach? Yes, and a poem, too. Ah! De Peyster is still poetical. Let's see, what now has left his pen:

"Accept, fair Ann, I do beseech,
This tempting gift, a clingstone peach,
The finest fruit I culled from three,
Which you may safely take from me.
Should Pool request to share the favor,
Eat you the peach, give him the flavor;
Which surely he can't take amiss,
When 'tis so hightened by your kiss."

Ah, colonel, he shall have them both when we're alone again.

Mr. Macomb, what's this I hear? Are you trying to tempt the whole community to gather at your store? Such lovely crimson satins and straw-colored silks, as I am told, were never seen before. And those new styles of high-heeled slippers, with bows of gilded leather. Save two pair at least for me. I'm coming down tomorrow.

You've other goods, you say? Yes, I know of some, for the manifest of goods on board the boat was plain, and a box was broken on the way. When I come, pray keep those horrid knives hidden out of sight. I cannot bear to see—'tis bad enough to know—that Indians buy, and that you sell such dreadful wares.

"The rebels must be punished," do you say? Yes, of course; but is there not some better and more christian way than to encourage savages to scalp our former friends?

"Take care," say you? Oh, never fear for me. I know of rebel sympathizers, even in this room, that wish and wait for the day when we shall leave this post. But as for me, I love the service and am a loyal subject of the king. Tomorrow I'll celebrate with you his birthday. The high day of royalty we'll royally observe.

"The day is here! King George's day,
The day by Britons blest,
The cannons glitter in the sun,
The troops are in their best.
The flag floats proudly from its staff,
The flag we hold so dear.
Hurrah! Hurrah! for Georgius Rex,
No Yanks are wanted here.
The streets are gay with uniforms,
There's music everywhere,
The fair sex have turned out in force,
The town seems like a fair.

The cannons boom, the troops march by,
The Indians throng the street,
And squaws and children by the score
Are given bread and meat.
Foot races next engage the eye,
And fife and drum the ear,
Let's all be gay this King's birthday,
Perhaps the last one here."

The day at last is over, and now let's to the wedding.

"Thank fortune, Pool, we're here at last."

Yes, and everybody else of any note in town. The bride's a special favorite, her father's farm's the oldest on the river, and the family are accounted among the very best. The groom is a lieutenant in the Rangers. He is a well known and noble son of a worthy English sire, and a real acquisition to our society. At other posts he kept aloof from all entanglements, but soon after coming here he surrendered, and to-night will formally capitulate. I'm glad it's so near over. Those who attend St. Anne's have been on tiptoe many days. They heard the bans three times.

"Look, Pool, see how queer that woman's dressed. I'm glad I came. There is one, at least, that has honored the occasion with a new dress; and it fits me like a glove."

Those maidens in blue kirtles show off well. Short dresses are becoming with a neat and glossy shoe.

But, see! the notary has come, with paper and inkhorn. He reads the wedding contract, which specifies at length the dowry of the bride, and in it all the guests are named, with their relationship, if any, to bride and groom.

Hush! There they come, the bride in white satin with long and pointed waist, and a full skirt, without a train. The groom in uniform looks every inch a man. And now the ceremony has begun. Priest Frechette stands before them in straight and long black gown. He counsels and then marries them in sacramental form; and when his prayer is done, with grave and easy tone the colonel reads the English service, promises are duly made, and the pair are doubly wed.

Congratulations now are given, kisses are bestowed, and jokes and fun begin. In that small room upon the west is a tankard full of home-brewed ale, and beside it pitchers of hard cider. They are frequently refilled; and there is cake for all. The fiddler now begins to tune, and the oaken floor to shake, and merriment increases as the hours move. But hark! The clock strikes one, the dancing ceases, and in groups and pairs the guests go home.

Come, Ann, let's take a morning walk along the shore where the Indians are. We'll stop and get the colonel on the way. How crowded these streets keep! There's danger here from fire. This is St. Anne's street, and there the ancient bake-house stands; and see the bakers at the door. The upper half is open to admit the cooling air; the lower shuts out dogs. The baker is an important person here. The trade of all the town is centered in his hands; but still he may not grow rich fast, for every month the governor fixes the weight and price of what he has to sell. He must have quite a fire beneath his oven. See his chimney; see the smoke outpour! Why, man, your bakery's on fire.

"Fire! Fire!" How the people fly! See the crowds from every house and store. Some, with swabs on poles, try to beat the flames, others dart down to the stream with pail in either hand. They gather by the score and form in double line, clear to the water's edge and back again. The buckets are dashed into the stream, and then passed from hand to hand. Soon the water pours upon the flames, and then the empty pails are handed on again to be refilled. The flame dies down, the smoke slowly clears away. The baker thanks his neighbors and his friends, and the crowd disperses.

Look at those Indians! one chieftain and five squaws. These last have each a young papoose with other burdens on their backs. A strap about the forehead helps to bear the strain, yet they bend over almost double with the weight they carry. No wonder that the men are straight! They do not serve and slave.

There is a war chief, fully painted. It is hard to tell which is the gayer, his head and face all streaked and smeared with ochre and vermilion, and crowned with eagle's feathers, or the scarlet blanket that enwraps him. Look at his belt! See the red-handled scalping knife and tomahawk. Yes, and there's another knife within his green-laced deerskin habit. What's that? A ruffled shirt, as I'm alive! Well, the king's servants are generous to his savage allies. Hear the bells tinkle on the border of his blanket! But for this you would not hear the motion of his walk, for as he steps his moccasins give forth no sound. His breast is decorated with an enormous silver gorget. They truly say that yearly barrels full of silver works are given to these braves. Even his fusil is heavy with the silver that ornaments the stock.

"Stay, Pool, here's Macomb's. Let's go in and see the latest goods. I want to see them now. Such lovely satin petticoats, and long silk hose. See, there's some black silk breeches with silver buckles at the knee. Just the thing for Dr. Anthon."

"Straw-colored silks, please. One pattern only of this shade? Well, I'm glad. 'Twill match the golden bows of these slippers well and fit me for the ball."

"Let's go. Why, here's the council house, and there's a crowd of Indians about the door. We'll wait until they enter, and see what brings them."

"It's a war party just returned from the back settlements of Virginia. See, the colonel takes the chair, the Indians seat themselves upon the floor and pass the pipe around. No word is spoken until all have puffed the calumet. The chief arises now, throws his blanket off and lays down from off his back a string of human scalps. 'We have seen the enemy,' he says. 'Ten papoose, 32 men's and 40 women's scalps.' "

"I cannot bear to see. Let's go."

"Not now, Ann. Let us see the end."

"How, now? The colonel says 'twould please me much if you had brought live meat instead. The king likes not this killing since the war has closed.

"The Indian's brow grows dark. 'Who gave,' he says, 'these tomahawks and knives, and for what were we fed and clothed?'

"Yes, you are right. But now we mean to be brothers with the Virginians, unless they treat you wrong, and then we'll put them out of sight. No matter now. Tomorrow we will talk more. Go to the commissary. He will give you food, new blankets, tobacco, wampum, looking-glasses and other useful things. Good-bye."

"Sergeant, when they are gone, lock the door and put those scalps away. Oh, God! and this is war!"

"What, more?"

"Yes, colonel, prisoners from Kentuck. Of women there's a score. Also eight children and 37 men."

"Well, thank God, they were not killed. Horrors! How their clothes are torn, their faces scratched and pale; how sad and tired they look, with bleeding feet, and hungry eyes red with weeping. See that lovely girl! Even her sad fate cannot hide her beauty.

"But what's done, is done. Our part to act like men. Here, sergeant, go through the town at once, present my compliments to the rebel ladies of the place (you know them all), and to my own as well. Tell them there's room to show humanity at the citadel. They know what ladies in the post have oft been gathered there. Meantime lead these forth at once, and let them wash and rest, and bid that food be served."

"Come, colonel, we are for a walk. Go with us, and forget these dreadful scenes."

"Thank you, I will go. Here, pass through the eastern gate where Pontiac went of yore. Brave souls were always at this post. And there, near to the gate, in the king's garden, Dalzell's bones repose. Right here's a busy place; the king's ships are kept in good repair, and the skeletons of new vessels on the stocks appear. There comes another vessel laden with Indian goods, I'm sure. It seems as if there was no limit to the needs of these wild western tribes. They cost us more than thrice as much as redcoats would, and still they are not satisfied. It's 'Give, give;' 'me hungry,' and 'me rum more,' until I'm losing flesh with listening to their cry. Yet what can we do? We can't turn back, or else we'll lose them all, and lose our cause besides.

"The king's ship lately brought new goods for Indian braves to wear. You'd hardly believe that ruffled shirts are among the gifts provided. Yet 'tis true. These, with ostrich feathers and beaver hats, are by no means rare, and the struggles between the squaws for calicos and colored cloths are curious to behold.

"There's a new party coming in canoes, and now there'll be another ox roast to provide, and a dog stew, also. There's one advantage, however, in this last. 'Twill lessen somewhat the number of abominable curs that hang around. It seems to me as if at every farm there is at least a score, besides the numbers in the town.

"Ha! the express has come; an Indian messenger from Macina, I judge. His name is Big Swift Deer."

"For many days upon the trail,
Alone from first to last,
The letters in his bosom safe,
He's hardly broke his fast.
Make way! and bid him welcome
With rum and hearty cheer,
He's faithful to the service,
He's His Majesty's 'swift deer.'"

"Come, Ann, we'll go on. Here's the headquarters for the Indian trade. What will you have—some gay moccasins, or a mocock of pure maple, a basket filled with huckleberries, or a fur mask for winter to shield your face from harm? See those little scamps at play! They're just about the color of the sand, and seem to feel as happy as the clams upon the shore. Notice that young squaw! If her face were only whiter, and she wore a better gown, she would turn the heads and hearts of the young men of the town. She is graceful in her motions,

and shapely in her form; she is beautiful to see; now, don't begin to frown. Let's walk the other way and see the sun go down.

"We'll stroll along the moat and see the rebels work. They've brought so many from Kentuck we dare not let them be idle."

"We make them help about the fort,
And cut wood on Hog Isle,
The worst we work upon the streets,
With ball and chain the while.
We cannot get them to enlist,
They say they can't be won,
And every night they sing a song
Of praise to Washington.
We have to feed them pretty well,
They board at 'Yankee Hall,'
And when they hear of Union news,
You'd think the walls would fall."

"Hark, Pool! What noise is that? What means this beating of a drum?"

"Oh, that's to attract attention. He's giving notice up and down that the garrison wants straw and wood. He's the crier for the town. It's the only way we have, except on Sundays at St. Anne's. After church you'll find that everything that's going on, or wanted, is proclaimed beside the old church door."

The sun is out of sight. Hear the cannon boom! And now the "Angelus" is rung. The main gates to the palisade will soon be closed, but the wicket will let us in. Tonight the council room will hear the merry song, and nimble feet will trip the time away.

"Is this Sunday?"

"Well, I hardly know. Yes, it must be, for there's the bugle for the grand review. 'Tis well to mark the time in some respectful way, and discipline is good. We keep the Sabbath day by putting an extra polish on our boots and by an extra drill. The chaplain reads a service once a month or so, but that is all. He's busy mostly with his dogs and gun, and the men care but little for him. Yes, it is wrong. We should keep the day more sacred, and help the spirit to overcome the flesh in the battle which it wages. I will try to get a better chaplain soon. I know of a good man who seeks the welfare of his fellow-men with true and zealous longing. Would that I were like him.

"See, the service at St. Anne's is done, and the crowds come out and linger around the door. Let's go and hear the news, and see the people race their ponies on the way towards home."

The crier calls:

"An auction at the Rouge, and a race when it's over, free to all!"

"Four ponies for sale cheap, and also an old sow!" "A dance at Bloody Run!" "New pickets ordered on the westward of the town!" "The militia will parade on Wednesday next!"

"That's all. He's done.
See the people crowd into their carts,
And see them all sit down.
There's straw in every box,
And room for every one.
They're full of laughter,
And their words flow faster
Than their ponies ever run.
They rush through yonder gateways,
Some eastward and some west,
They shout out to their ponies,
And urge them to their best.
They're happy almost every day,
But Sunday, well: to them,
But not unto their ponies,
This is a day of rest."

"Moravians, did you say? Where? How came they here?"

"They're from the settlement on the Huron or St. Claire. De Peyster sent them there to keep them from communicating with Americans. They've always seemed, however, to be true to their one work, and whenever they come here are most warmly welcome. Today they'll hold a service in a field back of the town between the Savoyard and the fort.

"To many of the troops to hear once more the German tongue in song and prayer is like going to the fatherland. The missionaries also speak in English, and their simple-hearted words have often made me feel that they had something better than anything that I possess."

"Well, Pool, Sunday's over and Monday's well begun. What's planned out for this week?"

"A canoe race."

"That surely will be fun."

"An Indian against a French girl."

"Ah, she'll win, I'll bet you ten to one. These girls are wonderfully active, with lots of reserve vim, and an Indian stands no chance with paddle against an oar. What else is on the carpet?"

"A drive along the shore."

"What! to Grosse Pointe?"

"Yes, and with cherries at the end, and a dinner at Barbeau's."

"All right, bring out the carriole. We'll be back at half-past 4."

"What's this procession that meets us on the way? A funeral?"

"Yes, and that's the bier borne upon the shoulders of four stout men. The priest bearing a crucifix aloft, goes slowly on before, and

the mourners with sad faces follow. They're going to the little cemetery within the palisade, the churchyard of St. Anne's."

"How pleasant the waves sound as they wash along the shore. See that peculiar house! The sides as well as the roof are shingled; and there is one with a chimney down which a prying bear might tumble. Look at those fishnets hung on reels! And there they're hauling in a net upon the sandy shore. See, they hitch a pony to the seine! It's a wondrous haul. And now upon the sands hundreds of whitefish glisten.

"In yonder house a veteran lives,
A relic of the old French war,
He never loved the English, and is
Rebellious to the core.
He will not sell his grain to us,
Nor greet us at his door,
But lives in hopes the day will come
He'll see us here, no more."
Hear those bobolinks!
Their song, refreshing like a breeze,
There's a dozen rows of hives
Beneath those monstrous trees."

"Halt! Here we are, and now for dinner, a short rest after, and then we'll speed toward home.

"On the road once more:
How quiet nature seems.
This drive is just as full of rest,
As one of childhood's dreams."

"What mean those boats—two schooners and a brig?"

"Yes, I feared 'twas so. The Americans have won, and we, alas! we must go back to Montreal, and leave this western paradise for others to enjoy."

The anachronism of having the Moravians here at this time will be pardoned under the circumstances.

DOMESTIC SUPPLY OF SUGAR FOR MICHIGAN.

BY R. C. KEDZIE.

A brief historical notice of the efforts of our people to obtain a home supply of sugar may be in place in the records of the State Pioneer Society.

1. Maple Sugar.—The large forests of sugar maple in our state, the ease with which the sap could be obtained, containing little matter in solution except sugar, the inexpensive apparatus necessary for making the sugar, and the fact that "the sugar season" was at a time of the year when ordinary farm work was not pressing—all these contributed to making maple sugar in our state. The high price of cane sugar and the fact that it demanded cash payment gave additional impulse to the effort. Here was a sugar that the farmer could secure by his own labor and appliances "without money and without price." It was the poor man's sugar.

As the forests were removed to prepare the land for crops, the sugar trees, to a large extent, bowed before the woodman's axe, and the manufacture of maple sugar has steadily declined, the change greatly promoted by the fall in price of cane sugar. When the delightful aromatic quality of maple syrup, caused by a very small amount of a peculiar volatile ether in the maple sap came to be recognized, the syrup became a luxury in place of a common food and now sells for twice the price of a corresponding quantity of cane sugar.

2. Sorghum.—In 1856 Chinese sugar cane or sorghum was introduced into this country and came into use for making syrup for table use. The manufacture was greatly stimulated during the civil war because of the high price of cane sugar on account of the interruption of commerce by rebel cruisers that swept our ships off the seas.

Great efforts were made to separate crystalline sugar from sorghum syrup, but with indifferent success. The Agricultural College conducted an extensive experiment on the college farm, made a large amount of very good syrup and a small amount of sugar. In order to develop the capacity of our state in this direction, the college secured a large quantity of seed of Minnesota amber cane and distributed 400 packages of this seed to farmers in various sections of our state for trial and for analysis of the canes raised in different sections. So general was the desire to provide a home supply of sugar for our people

that the legislature of 1881 passed an act (268) to encourage the manufacture of sugar, which exempted from taxes for five years "all buildings or machinery used for the manufacture of sugar from sugar cane, corn stalks or beets," and offered for five years "a bounty of two dollars for each and every hundred pounds of merchantable sugar made from the same."

The only person who secured this bounty was Daniel Root of Hudson, who, between the years 1882-1886, reported the manufacture of 20,235 pounds of sugar from sorghum, for which he received from the state treasury $404.70 as bounty. The effort to make sugar under this bounty was confined to Chinese sugar cane or sorghum. The claim that sugar could be made in large quantities from corn stalks and a profitable industry established with this comparatively waste material was the harmless delusion of the person who then held the position of chemist of the department of agriculture. He showed me in his laboratory in Washington a few pounds of brown sugar he had extracted from stalks of sweet corn, but that was the beginning and end of making corn stalk sugar.

Here was a bounty of two cents a pound for beet and other sugars offered by the state eighteen years ago, but no one took advantage of this enormous bounty because the state was not ready for the work from the fact that no one had reliable information about the capacity of our state to produce sugar beets, or the fitness of such beets for making sugar. Besides this the disastrous failures to make sugar from beets in Maine, Massachusetts and Illinois had closed the door of expectation in that direction.

3. Sugar Beets.—These efforts to secure a home supply of sugar, though backed by a heavy bounty, having fallen far short of desire and expectation, the college undertook a thorough investigation to determine the fitness of the soil and climate to produce sugar beets in such quantity as would pay the farmers for raising them and of such quality as would give a profit in making sugar from the beets. The heavy bounty of two cents a pound offered in 1881 having failed to stimulate the industry, it became evident that more information was required before the sugar beet industry could be established in Michigan.

The Agricultural College entered upon this investigation in 1890 and imported 1,760 pounds (800 kilograms) of best quality of sugar beet seed from France and Germany, which was distributed in all parts of the lower peninsula with directions for planting and cultivating the crop. This information being given in bulletin No. 71 of the experiment

station, with directions for reporting results of the trial, and for sending specimens of the beets for chemical analysis. Four leading varieties of sugar beet seed were sent out for trial to ascertain not only the fitness of the soil and climate of Michigan for raising sugar beets, but also the variety of sugar beets best suited to our state. The seeds sent out were Vilmorin Imperial Improved, Austrian Wohauka, Klein Wanzlebener and White Silesian.

The seed was sent out to nearly every county in the lower peninsula and at the close of the season specimens for analysis and reports of the results of cultivation were received from over 230 experimenters scattered through 39 counties. Full reports of this investigation were printed in bulletin No. 82 of the experiment station and can be found in the Report of Michigan Board of Agriculture for 1891, pages 327 to 342.

The results of these extensive experiments scattered over a large part of the lower peninsula, on a great variety of soils and in the hands of a large number of men with no experience and training in raising sugar beets, show an average production of nearly fifteen tons of beets per acre, with an average of 13.86 per cent of sugar in the juice. The demonstration of the capacity of Michigan as a sugar beet state was complete. These investigations corroborated by the labors of the chemist of the department of agriculture, have laid the sure foundations for the beet sugar industry in Michigan. It was the lack of such information that made the bounty law of 1881 of no effect.

In 1897 the Agricultural College again "took up the white man's burden" in this important field, sending out all over the state to all parties who applied 550 pounds of sugar beet seed for trial and investigation. The results of trial in 64 counties, and the results of analysis of 493 samples of the beets were given in bulletin No. 150. These show even better results than were reached in former years. Rejecting out of the 493 samples sent for analysis 28 that had been grown on the wrong kind of soil or from seed not true to name, we find as the result of the campaign of 1897 for the whole state an average of 16.40 per cent of sugar in the juice of sugar beets and an average purity of 84 per cent.

In 1898 seed was sent out to the amount of 1,058 pounds, the results of which trial will appear in a bulletin. This spring (1899) 2,026 pounds of seed of sugar beet have been sent out for this season's experiment.

In all the college has sent out 5,300 pounds of sugar beet seed for the use of our farmers and without cost to them. The college has thus planted the seed of a great industry in Michigan.

THE FUTURE OF BEET SUGAR IN MICHIGAN.

So many farmers have turned their efforts to raising sugar beets and so many factories are springing up in different parts of our state, that the fear has been expressed that there is danger of our overdoing this work and a reaction may bring distress, if not ruin, upon those who are now so enthusiastic in the new enterprise.

Last November, at the opening of the sugar beet season, I visited the factory at Bay City, saw the sugar manufactured and was greatly pleased with the success of this first effort to make sugar out of Michigan beets. I asked the manager how many pounds of sugar he expected to make during the season? "Six million pounds," equal to 3,000 tons. "Well, this will go quite a way to supply our state with sugar." "If we could make 7,500,000 pounds it would only supply the counties of Bay and Saginaw." Even if ten such factories are in full operation next fall, is there much danger of overproduction? Look over the bills for your table expenses and you will find that sugar leads them all and the cost of filling the sugar bowl exceeds the price of your daily bread.

Agricultural College, June 1, 1899.

NINTH ANNUAL PIONEER PICNIC OF CASS COUNTY.

(From the Cassopolis Vigilant, June 2, 1882.)

The day for the 9th annual pioneer picnic was favored, as all those preceding it have been, with irreproachable weather.

Teams commenced arriving early in the morning, and by noon the grounds were thronged with a crowd variously estimated at from six to eight thousand people.

Two large flags were floated from ropes drawn across the street, and many of the residences were decorated with flags.

There were three bands in attendance, the Dailey, Volinia and Cassopolis, furnishing plenty of music, at such times as required by the program.

Among the visitors we noticed Capt. Hendryx, a pioneer of Van Buren county, now a resident of Dowagiac, D. B. Cook of Niles, earliest newspaper publisher in southwestern Michigan, Wilson Harper, now a resident of Berrien, Hon. A. B. Copley of Decatur, Hon. George Meacham,

the first sheriff of Cass county, and Joseph S. Jacks of Edwardsburg, who was the first county clerk, Benj. Underwood of Penn, who has arrived at the age of 90 years.

Orlean Putnam had on exhibition a number of pieces of continental money issued during the revolution, and some old newspapers; the New York Morning Post, November 7, 1783; New England Weekly Journal, dated April 8, 1728, and Boston Gazette, March, 1770.

Jedediah Grennell presented an antiquated two tined pitchfork, a sample of the tools in use 50 years ago.

Wm. Hass presented a hatchel and flax, illustrating the first step in the process of preparing the native plant for tow cloth.

At 10 o'clock the audience was called to order by Joseph Harper, the president, and a prayer was offered by Elder Kirby of Volinia.

The president extended a hearty welcome to the ninth annual re-union of the early settlers of Cass county, and referred feelingly to the fact that a number of pioneers who have served this association as officers, have departed, and also that Bagley, Littlejohn and Bishop, who have served as speakers at previous re-unions, had experienced the great change incident to all humanity. The following reports from the secretary and treasurer were then read:

To the Cass County Pioneer Society:

As secretary of this society, I beg leave to report and ask its adoption. Since the picnic, one year ago, I have drawn orders on the treasurer as follows:

To Thomas M. Sears, drawing water	$3 50
To Wolf & Rench, ice	3 00
To Volinia Cornet Band	20 00
To H. J. Kline and R. Stennett, draying	75
To D. B. Ferris, pumping water	1 50
To Wm. Duncan, hauling lumber	1 50
To R. Stennett, draying	1 00
To Berry & Pangburn, counting teams	2 00
To H. McCoy, dinners for band and heating water	5 00
To C. C. Nelson, postal cards, wrappers, etc	2 38
To Thickstun & Berringer, lumber and hauling	2 91
To Wm. Graham, feeding band teams	1 00
To J. M. Shepard, printing	5 50
For entertainment of Gov. Jerome	9 75
Total expense of last picnic	$59 79

These items have no connection with today's meeting. The cost of this picnic remains to be paid hereafter.

The time having expired for which C. W. Clisbee had rented the room set apart for the society in the court house by the board of supervisors, on the 17th day of May, we took possession of the room and removed the relics to that place. As soon as it can be done suitable show cases will be procured, the relics labeled, and otherwise cared for.

During the year fifty names have been added to the constitution, making the whole number of signers 590. Many of these signers, the pioneer men and women of this county, have paid the debt and passed over to the other side. Peace to their ashes.

L. H. GLOVER, Secretary.

June 21, 1882.

To the Pioneer Society:

I herewith submit my annual report showing the financial condition of the society at this date:

Amount in treasury, January 14, 1881	$79 98
Received of H. S. Hadsell, from stands	20 50
Received from membership, by Glover	12 00
Received, collections on grounds, by Glover	19 07
Received others on collection	1 30
Total receipts	$132 85

CONTRA.

By amount paid on sundry orders	$59 79
Amount in treasury	73 06
	$132 85

June 21, 1882. J. TIETSORT, Treasurer.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President—J. G. Beeson.

Vice President—G. B. Turner.

Secretary—L. H. Glover.

Treasurer—C. H. Kingsbury.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Marcellus—Abijah Huyck.
Volinia—M. J. Gard.
Wayne—Lafayette Atwood.
Silver Creek—Wm. M. Frost.
Pokagon—R. J. Dickson.
Dowagiac—H. Michael.
La Grange—S. T. Read.
Penn—W. E. Bogue.
Newberg—J. M. Chapman.
Porter—J. H. Hitchcock.
Calvin—G. T. Shaffer.
Jefferson—H. C. Davis.
Howard—Jerome Wood.
Mason—A. J. Moody.
Ontwa—R. D. May.
Milton—J. H. Beauchamp.

After music by the Volinia band an adjournment was had for dinner.

AFTERNOON EXERCISES.

Previous to the regular order of business in the afternoon, excellent music was furnished by the Cassopolis, Dailey and Volinia cornet bands. The audience was called to order, and, led by Mr. Cormany on the cornet, sung the following anthem composed expressly for this association, by Hon. Levi Bishop, deceased:

Let us aloud our voices raise,
To God above in song of praise,
Let every field and forest nigh,
Send up the anthem to the sky.

As Moses with the chosen band,
From Pisgah saw the promised land,
So we beheld, from land afar,
Our western home—our morning star.

We early came—a hardy few,
Severe privations then we knew;
We bore along the weary way,
The heat and burden of the day.

And sorrows often met us here,
And often fell the mourner's tear,
For many sleep, to future born,
In hope they wait the final morn.

And yet were comforts here in store,
A plenty grew—enough and more.
The lighter pleasures care beguiled;
The social and moral smile.

Then let us now our anthem raise
In one loud choral song of praise,
Let earth salute the heavenly Host,
The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
AMEN, AMEN

The president then introduced Hon. Thomas W. Palmer of Detroit, who delivered the following address:

"And what is so rare as a day in June?
Then, if ever, comes perfect days,
Then heaven tries the earth, if it be in tune,
And over it softly her warm ear lays.
Whether we look or whether we listen,
We hear life murmur or see it glisten;
Every clod feels a stir of might,
An instinct within that reaches and towers,
And groping blindly above it for light,
Climbs to a soul in grass and flowers.
The flush of life may well be seen,
Thrilling back o'er hills and valleys;
The cowslip startles in meadows green,
The buttercup catches the sun in its chalice,
And there's not a leaf or blade too mean
To be some happy creature's palace.
The little bird sits at his door in the sun,
A tilt like a blossom among the leaves,
And lets his illumined being o'errun
With the deluge of summer it receives;
His mate feels the eggs beneath her wings,
And the heart in her dumb breast flutters and sings;
He sings to the wide world, she to her nest,
In the nice ear of nature, which song is the best."

Pioneers of Cass County and of Michigan, Friends and Fellow Citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Before going farther to find objects for which to exercise our gratitude to the pioneers, let us stop right here and thank them for the institution of this annual picnic, which would not have called us together at this flood time of the year if they had not toiled, suffered, and enjoyed. I am not a pioneer, and I say it without a blush—for it was not my fault. When amid the north woods of our state, where men still pioneer, I stopped one night at a certain log tavern. During the evening those in the public room began telling of how poor they were when they came to the state; one said he had only a yoke of oxen, another $10, another just enough to get here, and a wife and three children; until finally I was looked at in a manner which indicated that I was expected to speak, and I did so as follows:

"Gentlemen, when I landed in this state, I had literally no clothes, no money, and no provisions; I was too weak to feed myself for six months. When I was not asleep, I did nothing but wriggle, cry, and utter inarticulate sounds. One asked, 'were you wrecked?' I answered

that it was not yet determined. Finally, one old gentleman asked 'what was your weight when you landed?' I said about 10 pounds."

A pioneer, I believe, is one who goes ahead to prepare a place for others. This was done for me as for many of you; and it is to show our gratitude to those men and women who prepared an empire for us that we call this a pioneer picnic, where old recollections may be revived, old friendships renewed, and new ones made and cemented. It is well in our busy, material American life, where every man is supposed to have an object to attain, to add another to our too few festal days, when selfish effort may be relaxed and we may come together to grasp old friends by the hand, to hold up for emulation in common the same sturdy virtues, to build in common, as near as may be, the same ideal. It is not only a pleasant thing to do, but it pays materially.

But, ladies and gentlemen, if I was not a pioneer, I saw nearly as new a country outside the city where I was born as most of you. I can not give you the reminiscences of your county nearly as well as others, but of my own county I may be able to tell you something. When I was born, Detroit had only 2,700 people. She has now, without her suburbs, 130,000. She has more than doubled her population every decade, save the last two. I undoubtedly should have seen Simmons hung—the last execution in Michigan—if I had been old enough to run away from home. And here permit me to tell an incident which I have never seen published. Simmons lived at the River Rouge, below the city, and was condemned for murdering his wife in a drunken fit. On the day of the execution, his son brought those who desired to come to the hanging to the city for a dollar a head. This method of earning an honest dollar I think should score one for Wayne county, and I believe the interior of the state thinks she needs it.

But to resume. In 1850 there was not a foot of stone pavement in Detroit. As late as that I have seen horses with empty wagons mired at the intersections of our principal avenues. In my youth, the river Savoyard ran through the city, where now on its bed are erected costly structures of brick and stone. There was not a single brick sewer in the city, where now there is 175 miles; there was not a foot of iron water pipe, where now there is 138 miles. Land which then could have been bought for $25 per acre, can now be sold for $250 per foot, 150 deep. The grand circus park, now regarded as the center of the city, was considered distant almost a day's journey to a boy. It was a swale which fed a water course that ran one and a half miles into May's

Creek, now the road bed of the Michigan Central railroad. There were no railroads, no plank roads, and hardly any vehicles but two-wheeled carts. In 1830 there were 200,000 people in the state; now there must be over 1,700,000, as many as there were in England when William the Conqueror landed. And yet we used to complain that emigration shunned Michigan; and I remember hearing it often expressed that the steamboat owners on the great lakes had combined to push all emigration to Chicago on account of the longer distance and the greater charge for fare. Although Michigan has been settled so rapidly, other states have out-stripped her in rapidity of settlement, but on that very account have not so homogeneous a population. I know how men delight to tell of the hardships of pioneer life. Hardships there undoubtedly were, and suffering; but from my observation, I believe that the pioneer in Michigan in the past, and now, was and is more independent, more comfortable, with a better future before him, than he can have or could have had in older communities. I have suggested pioneering for men in older communities, when they deplored their condition, and from the responses received I have come to the conclusion that only the self-reliant, the self-helpful, are the legitimate and successful pioneers. But what a difference between the pioneers of forty or fifty years ago and now. Then they came in wagons, with their household furniture and one or two cows following behind; the men in straw hats or rusty stove pipes, the women in sun bonnets, and the boys and girls in home made clothes. Now they come by railroad, with no baggage but their clothing, or, as I saw them last summer on the plains, with the covered wagon, but little in it, the men with slouched hats, red shirts, with belt and revolvers, the women with the same sun bonnet that our mothers wore, following, as they always will, sometimes lords and sometimes brutes of creation.

The poetry of pioneering is gone. The sombre forest, the limpid lake, the hill, the dale, magnified, obscured and colored by the woods, are no longer for the pioneer. There only remains the limitless prairie, which heaves in huge undulations like the ocean, the mountain, rock-ribbed and bare of timber. But a short time, and men will no longer pioneer for homes. They will go to the mountains, not to remain, not to rear families, but to try the hazards of fortune; like the Englishman, who goes to India, at the risk of health, in the hope that he may return home with a prize. Even now the character of our pioneers is fast changing, and their inspiration is not as it was of yore. Fifty years ago it appeared a sacrifice of all sentiment, the sundering of the dearest

ties, and it required courage, self-denial, and fortitude to pierce what was then an unknown land. Today it is a summer day's journey, to be undertaken with a laugh, and retraced, if need be, without great sacrifice. Science and art have done much for humanity; but they have eliminated from American life the pioneer of fifty years ago. I doubt very much if any future Cooper will invest any western scenes with the romance he has thrown around the southwestern part of our state, in Oak Openings. No tale of border enterprise, Indian cunning, woman's intrepidity, christian sacrifice, such as he has woven in his story of Boden, Pigeon's wing, Margery and Parson Ameon, will ever idealize other western rivers, as some of ours have been, with the extremes of civilized and savage life.

The first pioneers on this continent were the Spaniards. Within half a lifetime they had conquered two empires, not of barbarians, but of races who, in many of the arts of civilized life, were superior to their conquerors. As an instance, they had built in Peru two military roads, 2,000 miles in length, of which Humbolt says: "They were among the most useful and stupendous works ever executed by the hand of man. In Mexico and Peru they have erected edifices which excited the amazement of the Spaniards. Their public couriers, on foot, by a series of relays, could make, if necessary, 200 miles a day." Of these empires, the Spaniards, as I said before, took possession in half a lifetime; but compare Mexico and Peru with our country today.

The next immigrants were the French. They drew a cordon of trading posts from Quebec to New Orleans, by way of the great lakes and the Mississippi. The greater part of the continent was theirs; and now, a mere fragment, they are being absorbed by the Anglo-American. Can we divine a reason for this? Let us see. The Spaniard came for gold, and for empire. The French came for empire, adventure and gold. The ancestor of the pioneer came for moral breathing room. That achieved, all else was of little value. For brilliancy of exploit, nothing in history or in fiction can surpass the achievements of Cortez, Pizarro, Sandhoval or Alvarado. For unselfish devotion and sublime self-sacrifice, nothing stands out in history equal to the Jesuit fathers, who cheerfully went to certain and obscure deaths by torture in North American wilds, that their blood might purchase salvation for men they had never seen. But heroic exploit cannot create a people, nor self-sacrifice inspire one, if their hearts or aspirations are turned in another direction. The appetite for gold and its gratification was the curse of the Spanish immigration, which was nothing but an invasion. The love of adventure and gain did

not continue to tempt the Frenchmen from sunny France, when no spiritual force impelled. The ancestor of the pioneer was the Puritan, who left England because he was not permitted to exercise his faith unmolested; the Huguenot, who was not permitted to act in accordance with the dictates of his conscience in France; the Dutchman, who had made the most heroic struggle in history, that he might worship God as he pleased. To them, their country was where the mind could be unfettered, and where natural rights could have the freest exercise. They were not seeking for the gardens of the Hesperides nor sensuous delights; they sought freedom, and behold, they bequeathed an empire.

The result shows that even in material things moral and spiritual forces ultimately prevail. The men at Lexington who fired the shot, "heard round the world," were of this stock; the men who dedicated the northwest eternally to freedom were of this stock; the men who felled the forest and made the wilderness "blossom like the rose," were of this stock; the majority of 300,000 men who died for you and me, my friends, in the war of the great rebellion, were of this stock, and the minority were their moral heirs or converts to their ideas. It would seem that the promise on which these men relied, "First seek the kingdom of God and all else shall be added unto you," has been verified materially to their descendants. Emerson says: "All the great ages have been ages of belief. I mean wherever there has been any extraordinary power of performance, when great movements have begun, when arts appeared, when heroes existed, when poems were made, the human soul was in earnest and had fixed its thoughts on spiritual verities, with as strict a grasp as that of the hands on the sword, the pencil and the trowel."

The stock from which the pioneer sprang was a God-fearing one. They believed in an over-ruling power, in the immortal destiny of man, in rewards and punishments, in the great hereafter. They were men of faith. The pioneer was true to the belief of his ancestors, modified and liberalized by increasing enlightenment. They brought the church with the town meeting and the school house; and religion, with them, has been the mother of morals, and the handmaid of liberty and learning. To those self-sacrificing men who rode the circuit, or who, stationed on the frontier, stayed—I will not say lived—on the scanty stipend, paid by men as poor as themselves, this country owes a debt, not yet appreciated, and which she can never pay. They preached patriotism as well as the gospel; and when the time of trial came, Moses and Abraham Lincoln were indelibly linked together as men chosen of God for their respective times.

The labor done by our pioneers can hardly be realized by us of the present day. The fields cleared, the houses and barns built, the roads made, the school houses and churches erected, the dams and mills built, the fences made, the ditches dug, the stumps pulled, and all those things which convert forests, prairies and marsh into a supporting and exporting country—all this had to be done with insufficient means and personal effort, unaided by machinery. Most of them were poor and none of them were rich. Then came, with all this, the building of the fabric of our state government, the founding and elaboration of the school system, now our pride. This has all been done for us,—for humanity. Surely our fathers left us a goodly heritage. What land could be fairer than the one we enjoy? A fertile soil, a climate almost free from extremes—well watered by rivers from center to circumference—forests once considered illimitable but now doomed to disappear, mines inexhaustible, boundless fisheries, and a population more homogeneous than that of any other western state, imbued with the spirit of law. This is what our fathers found for us and helped to create. This is what humanity has inherited and which we are bound to transmit improved to the future. We have inherited and, whether we will or not, we must bequeath. Society has become so complex and interwoven in its sympathies and interests that no man dies in battle for right or wrong—in heroic struggle with cold and hunger at the portals of the north pole—or with tainted reputation in our midst, canonized for his virtues or imprisoned for his crimes, but what he leaves his legacy to curse or bless mankind.

And now, as the future of our country depends upon the young men, and as they have a career before them and are impressible, what I shall say will apply more particularly to them, and to them I propose to talk.

You claim and have rights. It follows that you have obligations. You have privileges; it follows that you have duties. What is your first obligation and duty? If a man's belief governs his conduct—and I think no man will gainsay it—your first duty is to fix your religious belief, as near as may be, and now I speak not as an exhorter, but as a practical man. I have no fears that mankind will ever be without religion. If a man is low in the scale it will solace him and measurably control him. If he is a demi-god in intellect, his being will demand it. But nowadays there has come upon christendom a suspense of faith, as it is called, and many good men fear that we are breaking away from our traditions. Let their hearts be easy; for a race or a people

to do so for any length of time would belie all history. The spirit of inquiry is rife, and disputation is eager and aggressive; but when the mists clear away, faith will appear more radiant than ever, her robes whiter for the tempest that has beaten upon her, and the waves that have drenched her garments. When faith finally disappears, hope dies. But if every young man would fix in his mind the great cardinal religious points, he would find himself in every way a more forceful, better, and happier man. Every healthy human soul sails on an ocean of doubt and uncertainty, but he who believes in the fatherhood of God, the immortality of the soul, and the great law of compensation, in other words rewards and punishments, has the quadrant, the compass and the log that will direct him in the right course and bring him home; yea, even more—it will make him secure and happy while at sea. When the majority of a people do not recognize these great principles, farewell to all progress; there is nothing ahead to work for, and traditions are but yesterdays which "have lighted fools to dusty death." I have nothing to say about theology or creeds; about them men may disagree. They are needful to some and repellant to others; but a fixed religious belief in the individual is not only essential to his highest happiness, but for the good of the whole. Draper, in his work on the "Intellectual Development of Europe," gives this as the sum of the whole matter:

"There is fairer hope for nations animated by a sincere religious sentiment, who, whatever their political history may have been, have always agreed in this, that they were devout, than for a people who dedicate themselves to a selfish pursuit of material advantages, who have lost all belief in a future, and are living without any God."

And the animus of Mr. Draper's works is hostile to the church, rather than otherwise. His conclusion is the deduction of a natural and social philosopher rather than of a religionist.

To me these great truths are patent, unassisted by revelation. They are unassailable by reason but are rather fortified by it. Pure character may be built up without a belief in them, but to me it seems cheerless and difficult business.

If the Almighty has put us here for any purpose, the building of character seems to me to be the chief object. It is the only thing which is not evanescent. How shall we do it?

The observation and experience of fifty years convinces me that we are all educated either for good or ill more by our associations than by all other influences. It has astonished me, and often does today, how the tone of good men is lowered by impure surroundings, and how that

of bad men, insensibly to themselves, is elevated as they come into purer social atmosphere.

Take fifty of the best men in Michigan and put them for life into communities of low morality and how many of them would stand the test to the end? How many of them would retain their moral integrity?

I tell you, my friends, man is a very fallible creature. If he was not, I doubt whether life would be worth living. The struggle and the effort against his vicious tendencies is the main factor in his growth, but we all need props. "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall," is merely another way of saying—brace up your weak points, look out for your blind side.

Select good men and women for your companions. If innocent games necessarily bring you into bad company, drop the games. Pleasure should not be bought at such a price. A man's moral complexion will become sallow by descending from a high moral plane to a low one as surely as his skin will show the character of the air he breathes, whether the pure air of the mountain side or the malaria of the marshes.

Make your business contribute to your education. Many of us have a mistaken idea that our education is complete when we have done with school, or can only be continued by poring over books. In the far east, many of the wisest and best educated men never read a book. Their education was oral and they sat at the feet of their teachers as St. Paul, the great apostle, democrat and martyr, did at the feet of Gamaliel.

They learned by intercourse with men and from observation and experience. Never consider your education finished. When that time comes your mission on earth might as well be ended.

Look out for your health. As life and health are given you for a purpose, any man who trifles with either is criminally thoughtless or dishonest. Remember that both are a trust. Remember that you are to be the progenitors of other lives, whose happiness depends upon the strength and traits, both moral and physical, which you will transmit. "The sins of the father are visited upon the children, even to the third and fourth generation." This is a physiological and psychological truth, indisputably verified the world over.

> "Though the mills of God grind slowly, they grind exceeding small.
> In patience He stands waiting, with exactness grinds He all."

No man can cheat nature. Retribution can afford to wait, for the future belongs to her. The world may not condemn you. Your violation of law may have passed from your recollection, but Nemesis will

surely come: possibly in some child who has interwoven itself among the tendrils of your heart. Your sin, like an armed man, will then stalk before you, may be in the taint of blood, ensuring sickness and premature death, possibly in some mental trait which will bow your head in shame and suffering.

Marry early, or as soon as you love a woman who will have you. Don't be discouraged at the first rebuff. Remember that women are made to be wooed and won. Heaven knows they should have some privileges, and I must say most of them come before marriage. The principal one is keeping a man on the anxious seat, even if she loves him. Treat your wife with consideration and as your equal. In some things admit that she is your superior, of which there is not the slightest doubt. Make her your confidant and companion. Do not be mean enough to go off and have a good time without inviting her, where the circumstances will permit, and if they will not permit, get her consent. If you can afford it, let her fix up your house tastefully and encourage her to do it. Let her dress as well as your purse will afford. Treat her with deference. Throw in a compliment once in a while and an appreciative word at the right place. My observation and experience tell me that a woman will stand a heap of meanness and hard work if you show by little attentions that you appreciate her. The Lord never intended that she should be treated as we treat men. She is of finer, more sensitive and more self-sacrificing stuff. Bear in mind that she is the mother of your children, and your children's happiness and their success in life depend much upon her happiness and well being.

We hear very often that there is something wrong in the marriage relation; that society has got to be reorganized. Heaven save the mark! where would we be if it were not for the marriage relation and the pure women who guard our homes? My opinion is that the only thing wrong in the marriage relation or the condition of women is this: I believe that, whereas she now gets one-third interest for life in an estate which she has helped to create, and that only after her husband's death, she should own half of the joint estate so earned, in fee, he living or dead. I believe that where she does a man's work in any capacity she should receive a man's pay. I furthermore believe that the only way to ensure all this for her is to give her the right of suffrage.

But some will say, "it will never do to let woman vote, it will degrade her." On the contrary, I say it will improve the men, the character of our elections, and the quality of our public officers; where men are

the coarsest and the roughest, there women are not found; and I appeal to every soldier who has been in the field, every man who has worked in a lumber camp, every sailor in the forecastle, to say if such is not the fact. These restrictions upon women are a relic of barbarism and I cannot see how men with mothers, sisters and wives whom they love can look upon it otherwise.

Matrons and maidens, all I have to say to you is to give the men a fair chance. You have not the strength to enforce your rights and the Almighty intended you should do it by tact and finesse. Keep up the illusion with which your husband has invested you as long as you can. No man ever marries the woman he thinks he does—that is, if he is in love. He thinks he has married Maria, and often till the day of his death does not find out that he has married Jane. He sees a look—an expression—a twist of the wrist—and his imagination commences weaving a web which completely envelops you before you don the bridal veil. Keep up the illusion as long as you can, manage him by tact, that is your province.

And now we come to the children. As I have none of my own, my views have a peculiar value because I am disinterested. A married woman who does not bear children misses her destiny. Welcome them when they come, and if you can transmit to them sound minds in sound bodies pray for their coming. It has been well said "the hope of humanity, the promise of the world to come on this planet, rests in the children." They are to be educated, but they are also to be your educators. To me the strongest evidence of the upward tendency of the race is this: that I have never seen a man so vile that he did not wish his children to be better than himself. Make them your companions if you are good men and women. Don't show irritation at their questions. Think how curious you would be, old as you are, if you were dropped into another world without any preparation, entirely ignorant of the laws controlling there.

Do not send them to school to get them out of the way, and compel their little, restless limbs to remain quiet on hard benches five hours out of the fourteen they are awake. No good farmer puts any of his colts or yearlings in a constrained position to that extent. Don't be too eager to have them excel at school. Precocious children are proverbially short-lived, unless they gig back. You can educate them to better advantage up to ten years of age, teaching them to reason for themselves, by conversation. When you cannot answer their questions honestly tell them so, but tell them you will find out, and then do so.

It is said that vegetation derives from 80 to 90 per cent of its nutrition from the atmosphere. Whether this is true or not, I am convinced that children breathe in over half of their education from the social atmosphere at home. You may inculcate the sermon on the mount by precept, and the ten commandments; you may have family worship and take them to church and Sunday school, but if you are in the habit of overreaching your neighbor or entertaining revengeful feelings or passing uncharitable judgments, or if there is bickering and contention at home, your labor is lost.

Make them happy; you know that a horse kept in good condition, without blemish, until he is eight years old can stand an immense amount of hard work and grief. I believe the same rule applies to children. A boy or a girl who has been properly cherished and cared for, who has had a happy childhood, is in a position to accept adverse fortune, if need be, without detriment or discouragement.

Make their childhood redolent of pleasant memories. These are the treasures which time cannot, and eternity will not, rob us of. A boy or a girl with a happy childhood can say, should their after life be full of disaster, "it is all right; fortune has not been unkind; I have had a fair average." It does not take money to do this; it takes more—it takes self-control, principle and effort.

Teach them the use of money—neither to over-rate it, as most of the world do, nor to under-rate it. Money is a thing we all want a good deal of and of which we need very little. Some one has said, extreme wealth or extreme poverty degrades a man. There is no need of extreme poverty with us if a man has his health, but there is some danger of some of us getting more than is for our good. When a man gets to that point that he loses his identity and regards his fortune as his dearer self, when every hope and fear, every emotion of the heart and brain is exercised or held in check with reference to his estate, then money is a damage to him. But when a man makes money, by honest and intelligent effort, and makes the process educational to himself and helpful to others, we can all bid him God speed.

It is the duty of every man to make all the money he can without the sacrifice of his better nature, but it is also his duty to consider his surplus as a trust to be wisely administered. Whether he so considers it or not, it is nothing else than a trust and the future will so determine. It makes me smile when I see men accumulating amounts far beyond their wants and hanging on to it as if it were theirs irrevocably. Its destination is sure to be contrary to their expectations and hopes.

Be provident, not miserly. Put your shoulder to the wheel of your less fortunate brethren on the road. This is better than to wait till you get to the end of your expected journey, which you may never reach, and then immortalize your name by putting up a retreat for the lame and less fortunate of your friends, which after all they may never reach, and which will comfort only strangers. Help to educate yourselves by giving in accordance with your means.

Beware of animosities, we are all human and there are some things we cannot help but hate; but if you have a feud with anyone, try and do him a good turn unostentatiously and, if it does not conquer him, it will make you a better and happier man. Animosities are like Canada thistles, a curse to the neighborhood as well as to the individual. The only way to extirpate them is for every man to hoe out his own. Get rid of them; every year they use enough motive power to run all your mills and threshing machines and send every family to church in a four-wheeled carriage.

It often happens that we are called upon to suffer obloquy when not in fault. This is the fate of every man of positive character. It will not pay to be continually defending one's self, and there is where purity of previous character stands you in stead. You have judge and jury on your side.

Build your character of sound timber. If there be any defective ones in it, drag them out now. They are bound to be dragged out sometime, and it is better to do it now before the growing structure imposes a greater weight. It can be done now with less effort and sacrifice than hereafter.

I have been asked by young men how best to get on in the world. That seems to be the first thought and question of an American upon entering life, and my answer then and now is, "establish your character." It does not come to every man to be rich or famous, but it is in every man's election to take that course which will assure him the greatest amount of happiness.

Furthermore, with the rapid and vast accumulation of wealth in our country and the vast interests, social and financial, constantly coming to the front, what the present needs and demands, and what the future will need and demand, is men of character.

The pioneers whose deeds we celebrate today were men of character, and in that character the three great qualities were faith, hope and charity; faith in God's providence, hope for man's future, and charity for their fellow man. This combination made our self constituted empire possible.

The pioneers are fast passing away, and while we cherish their memories and garner their traditions, let us not bury the records of their deeds with them as they did of old with the Pharaohs on the bank of the Nile. Let us make them a living vital force which shall color our lives and inspire us to new endeavor. This is the mission of history.

There may be no forests for you young men to fell, no new material empire to extend; but, in the boundless realm of human thought, enterprise and philanthropy the pioneer is still in demand and ever will be, for the theatre is boundless and its duration eternal.

Remember that no man lives for himself alone. Be earnest, be truthful, make faith, hope and charity your constant guests, let them fashion your ideal; and when, an hundred years from now, other men and women shall gather here for jubilee and thanksgiving let it appear that the pioneers have transmitted their virtues to their descendants.

Brief remarks were then made by Hon. A. B. Copley of Van Buren county, who gave recollections and reminiscences of the early settlement of this county; Captain Hendryx of Van Buren county, Delanson Curtis of Pokagon, who came to this county in 1834, and related an amusing incident of being chased by a bear and losing soap grease which he was carrying home, and Judge Cross of St. Joseph county, who gave a vivid picture of the rapid progress this state had made since the pioneers first commenced operations.

The following resolution was presented by Secretary Glover and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we extend our hearty thanks to Hon. Thos. W. Palmer for the able and interesting address that he has given us today.

The meeting was declared adjourned.

THE SELKIRK SETTLEMENT.

BY CHAS. JOHNSON.

(Read before the St. Clair County Pioneer Society, June 25, 1895.)

I need scarcely say I am pleased to be with you, pleased to see so many who take an interest in the perpetuation of the memories of those pioneers who took their lives in their hands and pushed into these dense forests to hew out homes for themselves and us, who followed; who, with their ancient flintlocks, fought the cunning denizens of the forest, both biped and quadruped; who, doctorless, fought the

deadly malaria with a handful of herbs and the bark of trees. We, their gray haired descendants, can never forget the puckery cherry bark or the biting smartweed decoctions, or the mild milk lotions of catnip and peppermint that always relieved our childish ailments, leaving no depressing after effects.

The bold, indomitable spirit that started our forefathers on their long and perilous journey, sustained and cheered them through all the vicissitudes of their pioneer life.

The pioneers or Selkirk settlers of this place arrived in August, 1804. They made a start in 1803, but were driven back by French cruisers to a seaport town in the Island of Mull called Kilkoubright, where they remained until 1804. The land had been spied out previously by that daring traveler-trader-soldier, Lord Selkirk, who decided to plant a settlement on the banks of the channel Ecarte, a branch of the river St. Clair, about seven miles inland from the latter stream and about three miles from this village of Wallaceburg. At this time, the stage of water in the river and lakes was much lower than now. The site selected was a point of land bounded on the westerly by channel Ecarte or Sny, as it is now called, and on the easterly by the river Sydenham, and terminating at the confluence of these two rivers, and comprised an area of 3,000 or 4,000 acres of land and was called Baldoon, after an estate owned by Lord Selkirk in Scotland. The swampy low lands of battened hatched vessel, the Oughton of Bristol. So great was the convalescents from ship or typhoid fever contracted on their long and stormy voyage across the Atlantic on the overcrowded and unsanitary battoned hatched vessel, the Oughton of Bristol. So great was the fatality of the new settlers that the site was soon abandoned a few years later, and those who wished to go were taken on to the Selkirk settlement on the River of the North, near the now thriving city of Winnipeg, Manitoba. A very few went there; the balance, depleted by the death of the heads of their families, remained and settled in this vicinity. One of them, Hugh McCallum, laid out the town site and was the first postmaster of this village of Wallaceburg. His remains now rest in the cemetery. And now, of all those who came out and were the pioneers, there are but two left, a Mrs. Hugh McDonald, now approaching the century mark, and her bachelor brother-in-law, Donald McDonald, who is very old and blind. There was scarcely a family whose heads were left intact, and the shadow of this great and common sorrow softened the hearts of those remaining to sympathize with each other or anyone in trouble. The descendants of these persons today are noted

for their open hospitality and kindliness to strangers, especially if they are Scotch, their latch string is always out and every caller is sure of a welcome and the best the house can afford.

The individual history of many of these families is distressing to a degree. The McCallums, for instance, the father, mother and eldest daughter, died within three weeks after her arrival and within five days of each other, leaving a lad, Hugh, and four little girls. One of these little girls was my mother, who died in 1892 in her 95th year. The folk lore of the early settlers was as an open book to her whose recollection was faultless; to the last we never had to charge our memories with anything, all we had to do was ask mother, her memory was a perfect encyclopedia of past or passing events. With my treacherous memory, the regret of my life is that I did not write up her reminiscences.

But few pioneer settlements in any part of the new world can boast of a better class of citizens. With few exceptions, they were staid, honest, eminently peaceable, God-fearing people, and their descendants have very little cause to feel anything but proud of their ancestors—the McDonalds, the Campbells, the McCallums, the McClures, the McNeills, the McDougalls, the McPhersons, the Morrisons, the Reids, and Stewarts—but by far the most numerous were the McDonalds. Many still live in this vicinity, but others are scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The most notable and most talked of event of this settlement was the Baldoon mystery, or witchcraft, which happened to one branch of this most numerous family of McDonalds, which has been written up and published by a son of John T. McDonald, at whose house this most strange and unaccountable phenomena took place. I have never seen the book, but write my sketch from the numberless traditions and tales told me by my parents and other eye witnesses who either saw themselves what they told of, or heard from trustworthy sources.

One day the young wife, attending to her household duties, was startled by a lead bullet crashing through the window and rolling harmlessly across the floor; this was followed by others until she became thoroughly frightened and caught up a child and ran to her husband in the fields telling him that someone was shooting through the window into the house. He hastened home and found a number of lights of glass broken and the bullets inside on the floor. The house stood on the bank of the Sny about two miles from the river St. Clair, with no hiding place from which human agency might produce these results

unseen in broad daylight, as it was. These visitations occurred again and again, continuing until all the glass in every window was broken, and then would cease until the windows were repaired again.

The neighbors flocked in to watch and, if possible, detect the perpetrators, bringing their guns along with authority to apprehend or shoot anyone caught at this black art; but no one during the years that it continued was ever caught, nor any solution of the mystery ever given. As time progressed there were changes, the mystery workers ran out of bullets and instead large chunks of lead took their place. My father in passing one day called in to ask how they all were and, while sitting, talking to the family, a large square of lead knocked the panel out of the front door, came across the room and struck him on the shoulder inflicting no injury whatever. He immediately ran out but could discover no cause; he returned to the house and assisted Mr. McDonald to tack in the broken panel again when another chunk knocked the other panel out, passed directly across the room, struck the wall and harmlessly fell to the floor. My father measured the distance from where the lead struck the panel to the floor, also where it struck the wall to the floor and the distance was the same, showing that gravitation did not affect in the least. He said a piece of lead the size that struck him on the shoulder would have injured him severely had it been propelled by sufficient force to hold it horizontal that distance.

The family and neighbors being tired out with watching called in aid of the clergy to try by prayer to exorcise the wicked spirits. Some members of our family were there and, upon kneeling down at prayer, the bullets showered down like hail on them and, on rising, found their skirts fairly loaded with them; they appeared to come right through the ceiling. They collected many of these bullets, marked them and threw them into the river which is very deep at this point. My brother was among those who marked and threw them into the river, but did not find any he marked and was doubtful if any of the marked ones ever came back. About this time the Canadian government distributed large quantities of bullets, guns, etc., to the Indians annually, which may, if the art was of human instrumentality, account for the almost unlimited supply of the gruesome visitors, as they were of the same size and mould as those distributed to the Indians, although with all their watching nothing was ever detected.

After the first, lead period, came the second, fire age, and the last, which was still more distressing. Fire would be discovered in all parts of the house, and the premises had to be watched day and night. The

watchers would smell fire and on searching find a coal wrapped up in a bunch of tow, possibly between the sheets in a bed or in a trunk or bureau, or tucked away in the chinks or crannies in the walls. The fire needed so much watching that the whole neighborhood was completely worn out. One day the fire got such a start before being discovered that the house was burned, then followed the barn; hay and grain in the stacks was burned before their eyes in broad day light. After everything was burned the family took shelter with their relatives, but wherever they went fire followed them.

Intersected through these two periods were other manifestations more or less authentic, one story told by a neighbor watcher was that he went to the house in the afternoon and found the family at supper. He took a seat and a moment later a great hungry dog appeared, went directly to the large porridge pot on the hearth of the open fireplace, put his head in and commenced to eat; he flew back with a roar as if burned, the pot followed him out of doors, first dog and then pot on top until they reached the yard, when the dog disappeared as if swallowed up in the ground and a tiny little mouse ran from the pot under the house. My mother used to say that this story was not authentic. These are but a tithe of the stories told and believed by many.

After everything was burned out, the family lived in tents to avoid the fire. Willing hands lent aid to rebuild their houses and barns, into which the family moved when completed, and were never after disturbed.

This family were known and respected by all the early settlers, and suspicion of complicity was never entertained against any of them all their lives after.

Three men from New York state, said to be college professors, came to see the "witchcraft," and after days of watching declared their inability to account for these strange manifestations. It finally ceased as suddenly as it started, these wonderful phenomena, be they the works of man or the devil.

If I remember correctly, it was the Hon. John A. McDonald who said it took a surgical operation to get a joke into the head of a Scotchman. If this be true or only a political quip or retort of that past master of wit and humor, I say if it be true then Donald McPherson was the surgeon to perform this operation for his fellow Scots. He was the musician, sweet singer and the Robert Burns of these Scotch emigrants. He composed his own songs and music, changing and improvising them as the occasion demanded, he was always sure of an appreciative and admiring audience; everyone was delighted except the ones who hap-

pened to be the subject or subjects of his biting wit and sarcasm. All his songs and witticisms died with him; he never reduced them to writing; he seldom sang his songs twice alike or to the same music. He was in the army with my father under General Brock. He was the life, wit and humorist of the whole regiment. My father could repeat the poem he composed on the death of General Brock.

The religion of the emigrants was Presbyterian, and the blue laws of the Puritans were none too deeply dyed for many of them, but having no minister here at first, and other denominations coming in, many of them drifted into other churches, but the old Sabbath observance of their early creed followed them into other communions. And here I will say that I do not believe any man regrets the strictness of his early training, however far he may have drifted away from such training, Bob Ingersoll to the contrary notwithstanding.

EARLY DETROIT.

BY C. M. BURTON.

Early Detroit! Not the history of early Detroit, but something of its people, their vocations, habits, hopes and fates.

The social life of the French who were here from the foundation of the city in 1701, till the coming of the English in 1760, has been usually stated to have been a continual round of pleasure and of merry-making; the lives of the people, a sort of Acadian simplicity, where the rule of the village priest was the law of the land and citizens vied with each other to see who could bear the palm for propriety in living and diligence in work.

It is difficult to determine how these ideas of the early French people came to be so deeply imbedded in our beliefs, but I am sure that they are entirely erroneous.

Detroit, as established by Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, covered only a small tract of land—not more than two acres, but it grew considerably under his management, and was nearly doubled in size before he left.

Personally, Cadillac was agreeable enough with such of his colonists as agreed with him, but he could brook no interference with anyone who attempted to oppose his views, and he was, consequently, almost always in a quarrel with someone. These quarrels affected the entire settlement and put all the people "by the ears." His chief antagonists were

the Jesuit priests. There were no Jesuits stationed at Detroit, but there were some at Mackinac (Michillimackinac), and that was near enough to cause the quarrels to annoy Detroit—for all the French were Catholics and many of them were adherents of the Jesuits.

Then he had lots of trouble with the Company of the Colony of Canada, the great trading company that possessed the exclusive right to the trade of Detroit. The restrictions placed upon the number of beavers and other fur-bearing animals permitted to be killed at the Detroit materially affected every hunter and trapper in the settlement, and necessarily disturbed trade and made the maintenance of a comfortable life uncertain and precarious.

The quarrels of Cadillac with the company extended so far that he was arrested or summoned to Montreal to answer charges preferred against him.

During his absence he, at first, put the charge of the place in the hands of his lieutenant, Alphonse Tonty, and a short time later Tonty was succeeded by a man named Bourgmont, but this man had a bad name to start with, and lived a life that even in those days was considered too immoral to be tolerated, and he was speedily induced to leave the settlement. He did not leave, however, until he had sold out all the powder and lead and firearms he could find to the Indians, and the citizens were afraid the savages would rise and exterminate them, as they were partly unarmed and wholly deficient in materials to properly protect themselves.

Madam Cadillac and Madam Tonty came to Detroit in 1702, and within a short time after their arrival there were a few other women who came here, either as wives of those who were already here or with the expectation of becoming wives. The absence of women, alone, would be sufficient to make the place uninviting to the French, for what would any community be without them? You all know that even Eden without Eve would be intolerable.

There was an effort made by the French government to induce the soldiers to marry Indian women, but the scheme failed. Few Frenchmen would willingly take savages for wives when there might be an opportunity for each to obtain a wife from his own nation by waiting.

Cadillac had his son with him, but there were no other children here during the first two or three years, and not young people enough to make up a social gathering for many years.

The records of Ste. Anne's church previous to 1703 were destroyed by the fire of that year. We know that records were kept, for mention of

them and of their destruction, is noted on the new record, which was commenced immediately after the fire.

From other sources we ascertain that there was a child born to Madam Tonty, the first white child in the west, and that this child died in 1702 or 1703. We also know that there was a child born to Madam Cadillac before the church was burned. It is not probable that there were any other entries in this church record, unless they were connected with the savages. Pierre Roy may possibly have been married during this period, for his wife was an Indian, and his marriage was acknowledged by the priest, in later years, to have been a legal one, according to the forms of the church.

The records in the new church, after 1703, show that of the children of French parents, two died in 1707, four in 1709, and four in 1710; that in 1704 there were three children born, one in 1705, five in 1706, fourteen in 1707, twelve in 1708, nineteen in 1709, and nine in 1710. There were three marriages in 1710, and none before that date.

The people who came with Cadillac, and those who braved the dangers of a trip to this far western country in those early days, had passed the giddiness of youth and came as the working men and women of middle age.

The streets of the little village were extremely narrow, not more than 10 or 15 feet in width, except perhaps Ste. Anne street, which, I believe, was about 20 feet wide throughout most of its length, and about 40 feet wide in front of the church.

The houses were very close together—the lots were only from 16 to 20 feet wide, with a depth of from 20 to 26 feet. The houses were built of logs or young trees, eight or ten inches in diameter, driven into the ground and cut off six or seven feet above the earth. The roof was made of small logs flattened with an adz, put closely together and so arranged that in case of a conflagration the entire dwelling could be quickly covered with skins to hold water and prevent the spread of a fire. The sides and roof were puttied up with mud or mortar.

In one of Cadillac's early letters he states that down the river there is an island of limestone, and that the clay about the post is suitable for making good brick.

In an inventory of goods in one of the houses in the fort, mention is made of a quantity of hair used for making mortar. I draw the inference from these, that they knew how to make brick and mortar, and a few brick of a rude workmanship were made and used for flooring in their cabins or houses. These floors were so expensive and valuable that

they were inventoried in the household effects of their owners, and were especially mentioned in transfers of the properties. It also seems quite probable that they made and used mortar in filling the interstices of their rude log cabins.

I am quite positive that they had no glass utensils of any kind. The mirror that was used for purposes of shaving and of the toilet was of tin, and the windows were of skins scraped as thin as possible. The nearest articles to glass that I can find in any of the early records is a porcelain ring and some glass beads, but in two or three instances I found mention of tin mirrors, and I have two or three contracts to complete dwellings, where the contractor agrees to put in good skins for windows, and in one case of an exchange of properties, one party agreed to remove the old skins that had become thickened by action of the elements, and replace them with new, thin ones.

There were few musical instruments at the place. A few tin horns, 100 tin trumpets, probably brought here to sell to the Indians, for the citizens were too old to be amused by such toys. It is possible, however, that these horns and trumpets were sometimes used by coasters, on the hillside at the water's edge, for we may well believe that even the older people allowed themselves, sometimes, to indulge in this pastime, when the snow and frozen waters of the river and bay just below the post permitted it. I have no evidence that there were any skates here or that skating was indulged in.

I do know that Jerome Martiac dit Sansquartier had a violin, and I presume it was frequently called into requisition in the long winter evenings—but where the people danced I do not know, unless they used the church or storehouse for that purpose—for their dwellings were so miserably small that little room could be found for such a purpose.

Frenchmen, however, are noted for their vivacious temperament, and it is not hard to believe that there being a will they soon found a way, and that on many occasions they "chased the glowing hours with flying feet" to the music of Sansquartier's old violin.

At an early day Cadillac brought three horses to the settlement, but two of them died, and the one remaining horse "Colon" was the only nag of which the settlement could boast when Cadillac left in 1711. The difficulty of getting horses and cattle here at this early day must have been very great, for it was impossible to bring them in the small boats they then possessed, and to bring them from Montreal all the way along the borders of lakes Ontario and Erie, through the pathless forests, the tangled underbrush, the unknown wilderness, and among

unfriendly Indians must have been great indeed, but cattle, swine and domestic fowls were brought here and thrived.

I mentioned that Cadillac was ordered down to Montreal in 1705, to answer charges preferred against him by the officers of the Company of the Colony of Canada. It was not until 1706 that he returned to his home in Detroit, and the official report of the place at that time, as it appears in archives now in Paris, reads as follows:

"The Sr. de la Mothe settled down there (at Detroit) again last summer, 1706, with his whole family. There are now 270 persons there, among which numbers are 25 families. It is stated that more than a hundred other households have written to go up there in the summer on which we are about to enter (1707).

"The Sr. de la Forest serves under him there and makes a good second in command. He has passed the thirty-two years that he has been in Canada either in the explorations of the Sr. de la Salle, or with the Sr. de Tonty, or in trading on his own account, or in the woods or by voyages. He is known and beloved by the savages: No one can manage them better. He is no less beloved by the French people because of his good nature and disinterestedness; but he is beginning to grow old and might be inclined to retire to Quebec. Some favor from Monseigneur might remove this idea.

"The Sr. de la Mothe went through many troubles before he set out for Detroit; they did all they could to draw his men away; they refused him many things and raised many difficulties. The establishment of this post does not please everyone.

"The Sr. de la Mothe surmounted all these obstacles by dint of heavy expenditures and by his steadfastness. The definite orders of Monseigneur received last year by the 'Hero' will encourage him, but similar orders are still required to strengthen this post against those who are evilly disposed towards it.

"Those who come from the place or write about it, speak of it as a fine and fertile country. The hundred families who are to go up there next summer will push forward this affair.

"This year the Sr. de la Mothe had horses and horned cattle taken there overland. There are already a large number of pigs there and a quantity of poultry. Still larger numbers are to be taken there this year, together with some sheep. Forty minots of wheat and other grains will be sown, and in three years at farthest this post will be formed and of some size.

"The trade of Detroit with the Mississippi is beginning to be estab-

lished. Frenchmen go to and fro and bring back piastres. This communication will secure to his majesty the possession of the whole interior of the great mainland of Canada, which will be a matter of some importance some day, in relation to the English and the savages, whom this post will overawe.

"The Sr. de Tonty at Fort Frontenac, the Sr. Jonquaire with the Sonnontouans, and the younger Renaud at Missilimackinac, are great hindrances to the establishment of Detroit. It is pretended that they are at these posts by the order of their superiors; they are really taking the cream of the public and private trade there under false pretences.

"It is for Monseigneur to avert the consequences of such posts.

"The Sr. de la Mothe needs protection at Quebec and Montreal. The deputy's brother transacts the business of the Sr. de la Mothe at Quebec, and the latter left him his general power of attorney on his departure. He did not dare to fill in his name nor act under it before the 'Hero' arrived at Quebec, lest he should get himself into trouble with his superiors.

"It is this deputy's brother who receives all the goods from Detroit at Quebec and sends the Sr. de la Mothe families and convoys with his orders. This agent stands in need of Monseigneur's protection to prevent him from being molested in matters so full of details.

"In order to deter families from wishing to go up to Detroit, the idea is instilled into them that this post will not be kept up long and that it will have to be abandoned at an early date. The best way of undeceiving people on that point would be to raise that post to a permanent governorship, but without pay."

Although Cadillac was unfortunate in the ownership of his horses, with his other live stock he fared better and at the time of his departure, in 1711, he possessed twenty-nine head of horned cattle, and his colonists had numbers of swine which they placed on the island (our Belle Isle Park) for security from depredations of Indians and wolves. Indeed, at a very early day, in 1702 or 1703, the placing of swine on the island had become so common that the island then bore the name of Ile au Cochon (hog island) though it then was known by another name, Ste. Marguerite.

The absence of horses made the sleighriding and horse racing on the ice an impossibility, though if we could believe the modern ideas of these old French habitans, we can scarcely believe that they could have enjoyed life without these pleasures.

Hunting was somewhat of a pleasure, but it was also a mode of getting a livelihood at this early day, and was indulged in by the men who could endure the fatigue of traveling through the woods and living out of doors, thinly clad and exposed to all the elements except warmth. Fishing must have been something of a pastime, for the river was full of fish, and they were only caught to be eaten at once. There was no way of exporting them, and, indeed, it would have been useless to make the attempt, for at Montreal and Quebec the river was as bountifully supplied as at Detroit, and no one would purchase or use salted fish when fresh ones could be had, almost for the asking.

So here, fresh fish could be obtained summer or winter, and it is doubtful if any effort was made to preserve them beyond the needs of the day on which they were caught, for salt was very expensive, almost worth its weight in gold. Everyone fished, if he desired, and in the inventory of the effects of Cadillac's household, there are included 1,050 large barbed fish hooks, showing that his family enjoyed that pleasure on occasions.

It is probable that Cadillac himself, on most occasions was dressed in the military costume of the period, as he was the commandant, and that he usually carried his sword. I do not believe that others in the community dressed in this fashion, unless possibly his lieutenant, Tonty, did so. Sword practice must have been one of the amusements of the better class of the soldiers or civilians I believe, for I find that Cadillac owned eighteen swords, and as he could not have used these for himself alone, he must have loaned them to his friends in their hours of pleasure and relaxation. They did not fight Indians with swords, but with guns.

At a very early day a mill was established at Detroit, propelled by the wind, to grind the corn and wheat of the colonists. It was doubtless a crude affair, but performed the work more satisfactorily than had been done before that time, when only hand work was employed.

A brewery was erected within a short time after the founding of the place, and a professional brewer brought here in Cadillac's employ, but it is not very probable that much beer was manufactured or used, for the natives and the French were more addicted to brandy. The use of this article made its existence one of the curses of the country, and no boat came up from Montreal without a supply which was readily disposed of to the Indians. In the post itself and wherever Cadillac had actual control, its use was limited, for he required that all liquors should be deposited in the general store house in the village,

and that they should be doled out to proper parties and used in limited quantities on the spot. I do not find that in the post itself he was ever annoyed by drunken French or natives. In spite of these restrictions some of the traders would smuggle the intoxicants into the woods and there sell them to the Indians who were always eager to imbibe.

Around the little village, both above and below, were villages of Indians, brought here by invitation of Cadillac in 1701 and 1702. They formed settlements, cultivated a little ground for their Indian corn, and the men spent their time in hunting and getting drunk when opportunity offered. They carried on war sometimes, but usually were quite docile. Individual Indians were troublesome when intoxicated, but the nations were usually friendly. They composed portions of many tribes. The French people always had to be prepared to resist an attack from them for they were treacherous and revengeful. The village priest, Father Constantin De l'Halle, and a soldier, LaRiviere, were killed by them in an uprising on the 6th of June, 1706, and in the summer of 1712 the Fox Indians encamped on the hill, where now stands the Moffat building, and besieged the village for an entire season.

Cadillac was supposed to be the owner of all the territory adjacent to the post and obtained, in 1704, authority to sell and convey such portions as he desired, to his colonists and soldiers.

He made many conveyances—some 75 farms and as many, or more, village lots. He reported to Paris all sales made by himself, but where his grantees sold to other parties he did not undertake to keep a record for the benefit of his home government, as the king could scarcely be interested in such matters.

That these sales might be made a matter of record for the benefit of the parties in interest, he established a registry in 1707, in which all of these conveyances were entered. This record is exceedingly interesting and contains not only the deeds of conveyance, but also the marriage contracts and inventories and many other papers of interest at that time; among other matters the testimony taken on the trial of a soldier for desertion, spoken of hereinafter. This record is only one of the many evidences that the post was progressing and that it was intended to be a permanent establishment.

Cadillac did not exactly sell these lands, for the land itself had no value except as it was occupied and tilled, or as it was protected, if within the palisades. He gave the purchaser such land as might be agreed upon, to hold and use upon payment of certain small annual dues or rents. The purchaser could keep this land as long as he liked, if he

improved it; if he did not improve it, it reverted to Cadillac and was sold by him to some other party who would take better care of it. If an owner sought to transfer his right to a third party this was done by executing the proper deed of conveyance and obtaining the consent of Cadillac. For this consent a "fine upon alienation" was paid, so that, in effect, the feudal system of France was transferred to Detroit.

Garden patches of half an acre each, along the easterly side of the modern Randolph street, were allotted to the soldiers of the garrison, and these they were compelled to cultivate. Such of the citizens as desired could obtain larger tracts of land for farming purposes, a little further from the village limits, in such locations as would not interfere with the lands set apart for the Indians. Farming was precarious business, though, for the farmer did not dare to live on his possessions—he must live in the village for protection of himself and family, and he did not dare to leave exposed to Indian depredations anything that these wild sons of the forest could carry off—for the Indians were notorious thieves.

When it came night all people were required to be within the palisades that surrounded the village, and the gates of the enclosure were shut and barred, and were only opened with the coming of the morning light. A sentry was always on duty at night, and his services were frequently needed.

In the summer time the little houses were as comfortable as their compact condition and the narrow street would permit, but in winter they were more inhospitable and would now be considered almost uninhabitable. Stoves had not been invented, and it is very probable that many houses were utterly without means of making them warm.

An Indian cabin without the fort was a long structure with an opening in the roof near the center of building. The fire was built directly under this opening and the smoke was supposed to ascend through it to the open air. The houses in the village were not large enough for such a crude contrivance, and where there were no fire places, I think there was no way of heating the house in winter. In some of the houses there were fireplaces and in the inventory of Cadillac's household goods I find mention of twenty-six dozen fire beaters, 94 pairs of tongs, one pair of andirons weighing twenty pounds.

There must have been some method devised to allow families to cook the victuals, and it may be that they arranged in communities and lived as one family, using their dwellings as apartments only. They did not bake bread, that is, there were public bake houses established and

no baking was done at the private houses. This system became so fastened upon the French that they have not yet gotten over it in the older French settlements, and I was informed by a French citizen of Quebec, last summer, that only a very few of the French people in that city ever undertake to bake bread for themselves; he said not a loaf of bread had ever been baked in his house to his knowledge.

There was no lack of warm clothing for everyone, for furs and skins were in abundance, and they were probably used for all such household purposes. The interior of their dwellings, the walls were hung with skins, their beds were made of them, and their clothing consisted of them as far as possible, and as much as the season would permit.

The beaver was taken as the unit of value in all their commercial transactions, and the flooding of the markets of the old world with the skins and furs of this and other animals had greatly decreased its value. Social laws were enacted in France to force the greater use of furs—hats were universally made of them, women were clothed in them on the streets of Paris and men wore muffs such as women alone use now, in order to extend the use of a material that was too common.

The French government undertook to regulate the supply by prescribing the number of furs that the Company of the Colony of Canada could purchase and ship to France, but the supply seemed inexhaustible. Thousands and thousands of skins were held in the warehouses and in the dwelling houses in Detroit, and as there was little sale for them the people used them for all sorts of purposes in order to get rid of them as profitably as possible.

If the French woman dressed in the furs of the beaver, the bear, the elk, in western colonist fashion, she imitated her Parisian sister in coiffure of the period, for I find several instances of her use of the headdress, a rolle—I suppose the headdress that subsequently became known to the world by the name of Madam de Pompadour—you will recall that at this time Madam Maintenon ruled the Parisian social world, and that Madam de Pompadour came with the next reign of Louis XV. There were many other things of interest to the ladies of the village—such as caps, bonnets of the latest pattern, laces, etc.

There were three buildings of a public nature in the post and all of them belonged to Cadillac himself. There were the church, the mill and the warehouse.

The first church was erected in 1701 and destroyed by fire two years later. We have no description of this building, but the one erected in its place is thus described in the records of the time, "a building

used as a church, thirty-five feet long, twenty-four and a half feet wide, ten feet high, boarded entirely above with white oak joists in a good ridge, and below of beams with square joists, with its doors, windows, and shutters, and sash frames between, of twenty squares each, the whole closing with a key and surmounted with a heavy bell."

The warehouse was thirty-seven and one-half feet long, twenty-two feet wide and eight feet high, boarded top and bottom with thick planks of oak. It contains a press for pressing furs, a counter, and three shelves for books.

The mill was circular in form, thirty-four feet high and thirty feet eight inches in diameter. Apparently the patronage of the mill was not sufficient to warrant its being kept in order, for in 1711 the sail cloths are represented as worn out and worth nothing, and it ceased to be used a few years later.

There was a large barn fifty feet long and twenty-seven feet wide, an ice house fifteen feet square, the bottom of which was fifteen feet deep in the ground and it extended six feet above the surface.

While no mention of books is made in any inventory that I have so far found, I believe there were a number, for there were three shelves devoted to holding books in the public warehouse, and from Cadillac's writings we know that he was quite familiar with the bible and with some of the French dramas of the period.

Of writing paper they must have had a supply for the use of the commandant and his amanuensis, Grandmesnil, for his letters were very long, covering fifty and sixty and some even as much as one hundred pages, and I have one containing one hundred and sixty pages. The ink used in writing these letters was made of copperas and nutgall, and they had a supply of two and one-quarter pounds—enough, with careful use to last a century. To hold the ink in use, Cadillac had a lead inkstand weighing two and three-quarters pounds. Pens were plucked from the wild geese found everywhere in great abundance.

Tobacco smoking was indulged in very generally by the Indians and Frenchmen. I do not know whether the tobacco was grown here or was grown further south and brought here in exchange for commodities more easily obtained in this region. Cadillac possessed many pipes for sale in his effects, some of them probably quite fancy. In this list I find "four large calumets of red stone, with their stems and plumes and stands to hold them."

There was always one and sometimes two priests attendant at the church, the duty of one of them being particularly to look after the interests of the Indians about the village. There were, in 1711, undis-

posed of at the public storehouse, two and one-half dozen crucifixes and nineteen and one-half dozen rosaries, besides many articles in the nature of church paraphernalia in the church, such as altar cloths, surplices, veils, small hand bells, etc.

The churchyard was quite large for so small a tract of land as was enclosed by the palisades, and the burying ground was near the church within what is now Griswold street, at its intersection with Jefferson avenue. Subsequently, and when the number of the dead had so increased that their dwelling room was too small, and another site had to be chosen, they took the parcel of ground at a later time occupied by Ste. Anne's church, bounded by Bates, Larned, Randolph and Congress streets.

There were no courts in Detroit, and the quarrels of the citizens were either settled by the parties themselves, by arbitration, or by the final reference to Cadillac. The commandant claimed the right of administering higher and lower justice and had, on two occasions, petitioned to be permitted to bear the title of Marquis of Baron of Detroit, with the judicial powers attached to either office. It is uncertain what his exact powers were, but he certainly exercised a controlling influence over the community.

In military affairs the court martial was invoked, and in 1708 several soldiers were tried and one of them shot for desertion. In the more important criminal matters, recourse was had to the sovereign council of Quebec, and there were taken the initial steps for ascertaining and punishing the parties who undertook to burn Detroit in 1703.

When Cadillac first set out from Montreal, early in the spring of 1701, he was accompanied by one hundred Frenchmen, of whom half were soldiers and half civilians, and one hundred Algonquin Indians. They took along sufficient food to last them six months, but immediately upon founding the post, the Indians began to flock to it and settle in the neighborhood, and Cadillac soon concluded that the task of supporting these savages the next winter would fall upon his shoulders. He made haste to send to all parts of the country to collect Indian corn for the winter supply, and the storehouse was filled sufficiently for necessary consumption.

Detroit itself—the country about the post—had been for many years a sort of neutral ground, situated between the Iroquois Indians on the east and south, and the Algonquin tribes on the north. The result was that here the wild animals were permitted to increase and multiply without much danger of being killed by the Indians, and when the

territory was now first occupied by the French, it was well filled with wild game. This offered food for the horde of Indians that came at Cadillac's invitation.

Six thousand Indians settled at Detroit in the winter of 1701-2, and while there might not have been an abundance of food for all, there was so great a supply that no great hardship was experienced. The French had brought some winter wheat with them and this was sown with good success, but the spring wheat which was sown in 1702 was not as profitable. From this time wheat and Indian corn and peas were raised in sufficient quantities for the use of the village, and it is very probable that there were many vegetables, for there were several herb houses in the village.

Fresh meat was obtainable in certain seasons of the year, and salted meats could be had, for there were several barrels of salt in the place, and fish were in abundance always.

All the people lived within the fort or palisade, though some of them had farms quite a distance from the village, which they worked on in the day time, and left them on the approach of nightfall to the tender mercies of the wild animals and savages.

There was little need of any road along the river front, though very likely a pathway was formed which gradually became a road as the colonists needed one, and as the number of horses and cattle increased.

The river was the natural highway and everyone knew how to use it. Boats were in abundance and were owned by everyone, but there were no large vessels. The "Griffon" built by LaSalle at Buffalo in the previous century was the first and last large vessel launched by the French. There were some fairly good sized boats that were equipped with sails, but the largest of these, of which I have any account, could hold only ten men. The boats that carried Cadillac on his first excursion were probably small and light, for they had to be carried on the shoulders of the *voyageurs* over the thirty-five portages on the Ottawa route, so that when his company descended Detroit river in those July days of 1701, their boats must have numbered as many as forty or fifty well filled with French and Indians, and the sight must have been grand, strange and imposing.

In the founding of Detroit, Cadillac was not actuated by that desire so common in his day of converting the Indians and of making them useful members of society for the sake of church and religion, or for the salvation of their souls. He took a matter of fact view of the situation and worked steadily with the one object in view of making

a permanent and useful settlement, that would not only be self sustaining but would help to protect the country of his king from the encroachments of the English.

To be sure his ideas appear to us now to have been very visionary and out of place in some ways, but not in everything.

He desired to start his colony with fifty civilians and fifty soldiers, and he had this company when he first left Montreal in the spring of 1701. The following year he wished twenty-five families to be sent to him, and a portion, at least, of this number came. Then he wanted two hundred young men of different trades to be sent. Some came, but not as many as he desired. Now his desires began to enlarge and he wanted a school or seminary for the education of the Indians and the youths of the village. A house of the Ursuline nuns was to come next, and they were to open a hospital. The lands were to be cleared and cultivated; the Indians to be sent to school and instructed in the arts of husbandry; a standing army to be enlisted from the Indians, officered by the French and paid by the government.

Detroit was soon to outstrip Quebec and Montreal in population.

It has been stated many times by many writers that Cadillac was either irreligious or careless in the observance of his religious duties. I believe this is not a fact. His people were all religiously inclined. They were all catholics, and protestants or huguenots were unknown. From a careful examination of Cadillac's own writings I am inclined to think that he was very liberal in his views, and that most of his people took their religious ideas from him. It would have taken a very little persuasion to have led him from the Church of Rome, and yet, possibly, the idea of leaving the church never entered his head. He despised and feared the Jesuits, and the causes of his dislike are repeated in many of his letters. He believed that they were politicians and not religious teachers, working for the good of their society and caring little for the Indians or for anyone or anything except their society. He would not permit them at Detroit, and no Jesuits were ever established here until very recently.

He was quite as much attached to the religious order of Recollets as he was indisposed towards the Jesuits.

Accompanying the first expedition was a Jesuit priest, Francois Vaillant, and a Recollet, Constantin De l'Halle. The former he drove away from the company as soon as a landing was made on that twenty-fourth day of July, 1701, but the latter remained and ministered to the post until he was murdered by the Indians in 1706.

Cadillac was the friend of Father De l'Halle, and erected a church for him at once, as the palisades were put up, and when this church was destroyed by fire in 1703, he permitted him to use another building which he owned and which was large and suitable for church purposes, and this use was continued as long as Cadillac remained here.

Dominique de la Marche was the next priest, coming July 18, 1706, and remaining until 1709. I believe he came here partly for the purpose of learning the language of the neighboring native tribes, and that he gradually took up the care of some of them and labored in their midst. In November, 1707, Father Cherubin Deniaux came to take charge of affairs at the fort, and both de la Marche and Deniaux officiated here until 1709, when the former left and the latter remained several years.

Between Father Deniaux and Cadillac there sprung up a strong friendship that was not severed by the departure of the latter in 1711.

When Cadillac left the post in 1711, affairs were turned over to Charles Renaud sieur Dubuisson, who came to take charge, pending the arrival of de la Forest who was designated as the successor to Cadillac. The troubles of the post were much increased by the arrival and actions of the new commandant who proceeded to turn things over and twist them about to his own liking, much to the discomfort of the citizens in general, and particularly to the friends of Cadillac.

On the 24th day of August, 1711, Deniaux wrote a letter to Cadillac, who was then at Quebec, giving a description of the situation at Detroit, and in that letter the following paragraph occurs:

"In fact sir, Detroit is all in commotion, both within and without, order and subordination, whether spiritual or civil, no longer exists, nor respect for authority, political or ecclesiastical. M. Dubuisson has had the fort cut into halves; has turned Madam out, and also the church, and consequently me with the six chief families here, namely, de Lorme, Parent, Mallet, Roy, Robert, and Campos. I have forgotten the surgeon, who is not less necessary than the interpreter.

"It seems from the bearing this M. Dubuisson adopts toward us that he is infallible, invulnerable and invincible. I do not say more on this subject for if I were to tell you all, and to sketch the portrait of Detroit for you as it is, it is terrible, it would affright you.

"As for me I no longer live there. I languish and suffer there beyond everything that could be imagined, seeing its desolation and being unable to go away from it. Yet God be praised for all things since nothing happens to us in this life but by the will of adorable providence, and for our sanctification when we do not oppose its designs."

FORT PONTCHARTRAIN DU DETROIT—1701 TO 1710—UNDER CADILLAC.

BY C. M. BURTON.

The story of the first decade of Detroit is a story of romance. It is the story of the first attempt at colonization in the west—of an attempt to build a city in a wilderness and to people it with Indians, bush-rangers, *coureurs de bois*,[1] and farmers; a futile attempt to stem the tide of the advancing and enterprising English. More than all else and stranger than all else it was an attempt, on the part of a good Catholic, acting under the orders and directions of a Catholic government, to establish a post and garrison and colony which should not be under the dominion and control of the followers of Ignatius Loyola.

Antoine de LaMothe Cadillac was a native of Gascony,[2] in the south of France, but the date and place of his birth are at present unknown, though investigations now being made may result in ascertaining both of these matters. He probably came to America in 1683, and in 1687 he was married in Quebec to Marie Therese Guyon.[3] In 1694 he was stationed at Mackinac in command of the post and Jesuit mission there established, and occupied his leisure moments quarreling with his nearest neighbors, the Jesuit priests, and in writing spicy letters to them that have come down through two hundred years to interest us. His official duties at Mackinac consisted in protecting the missionaries, when they needed protection; in keeping the Indians at peace, or attached to the French interest; in preventing the English from encroaching on French territory, and, as far as possible, in keeping the Indians from trading with the English and from taking their furs to the English settlements.

As some of the English had already been caught attempting to trade with the Indians in the neighborhood of Lake Erie, on what the French claimed to be their exclusive territory, fears were aroused lest they

[1] "*Coureurs de bois*, or forest rangers, called bos loopers by the Dutch, spent their lives in the forests; they traded with the Indians in their villages, contrary to the laws of Canada, and became outlaws for this transgression. They sold the furs, thus obtained, to the officials surreptitiously and received protection from the officers to whom they made their sale." Parkman, Frontenac and New France, page 29.

[2] Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York IX, 671.

In "A Sketch of the Life of Antoine de LaMothe Cadillac," a pamphlet issued by the writer hereof, all available details of Cadillac's life have been collected.

[3] Dictionaire Genealogique des Familles Canadiennes, par Tanguay, Vol. 1, p. 169. Too much praise cannot be accorded to the compiler of this grand work.

There are several articles in the Revue Canadienne for the year 1883 (Vol. 19) on Cadillac, pp. 13, 14, and 403 to 410, and in the same volume on page 104 is a copy of the marriage record of Cadillac and Marie Therese Guyon.

should be soon overrun by English traders, and the French fur trade ruined, and strenuous efforts were made to keep the English at a distance and the savages at home. The English were willing to pay the Indians more for the peltries they received from them than the French had ever allowed, or were willing to allow, and as a further inducement to trade, the English charged less for the commodities they exchanged for their peltries.[4] The constant migration of the Indians made these facts known to all the tribes in a short time and the danger of the destruction of the French trade was imminent.

The laws of Canada required every trader, among the Indians, to obtain a *congé*,[5] or license, before setting out on his road to the fur country, and for this license he was compelled to pay a handsome fee, amounting to a large portion of his expected profits. This license prescribed the size of the boat he might fill with goods; the kind, quality, and value of his cargo; the number of men he might employ and the length of time his expedition was to last. Severe punishment was meted out to those who undertook to trade with the Indians without a license, or in violation of the terms of one which might have been obtained. Some of the traders, finding that the English were not hampered with these restrictions, went to Albany and other English trading posts [6] to obtain their supplies rather than go to Montreal and Quebec where higher prices were charged besides the imposition of the license fee.[7]

No one knew the dangers that threatened the French regime in the northwest better than Cadillac, and he early began to lay plans for the secure control by his government of the lands already occupied by the French and other lands which they did not occupy, but claimed to own. He saw the necessity of preventing further encroachments of the English by forming a defensive establishment further south than Mackinac, and more nearly on the dividing line between the British and French possessions. The Detroit river was the logical point for the establishment of such a post, and it was to this point that Cadillac's eyes were turned. He had never personally gone through the straits that connected Lake Huron with Lake Erie, but the topography of that

[4] The English paid one-half more for peltries than the French did, and sold wares much cheaper. N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 154.

[5] This word seems sometimes to have been applied to the person holding the license. A certain number of licenses were given away to worthy purposes, with the understanding that the donees might sell them.

[6] N. Y. His. Doc. IX, 65. "The *Coureurs de bois* not only act openly, but they carry their peltries to the English, and endeavor to drive the Indian trade thither." N. Y. His. Doc. IX, 131.

[7] In 1684 the French were commanded not to go to the English without permission, under pain of death if caught and convicted. N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 225.

country was familiar to the French officials and was not entirely unknown to him.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS.

As early as 1669 two Frenchmen, Francois Dollier, a priest of the Diocese of Nantes in Brittany and Rene de Brehan de Galinee, a deacon of the Diocese of Rennes in Brittany, set out with the explorer LaSalle to visit the regions of the west as missionaries among the Indians.[8] In company with LaSalle they proceeded as far as Niagara. Here LaSalle left them and started on his way southward to the Ohio river. The priests wintered on the shore of Lake Erie and in the spring continued on their western journey. When they had reached the Detroit river and had proceeded up its current to nearly the site of the present city they came across a remarkable place which was a sort of Mecca for the neighboring tribes of Indians, for here was a stone image in the form of a human being which they had painted and to which they offered sacrifices. It would seem that the Indians were not very strongly attached to their stone god for they permitted the two priests and their bargemen to destroy the god without offering any resistance, or at least without making sufficient resistance to be deemed worthy of mention in the minutes of their expedition. The journalist, in narrating the affair says: "Je consacrai une de mes hâches pour casser ce dieu pierre et puis ayant acosté nos canots ensemble, nous portâmes le plus gros morceau au milieu de la rivière, et jetâmes ausitôt le reste à l'eau, afin qu'on n'en entendit jamais parler."[9] The priests then with clear consciences proceeded on their way up the river and lakes to Sault de Ste. Marie. This is the first recorded visit of the white men to the Detroit river. [10] It is not the first visit, however, to Detroit, for Joliet had certainly visited the region on his return from the upper lakes the preceding year, but the record of his travels has never been made public.[11]

It is also certain that some one visited and closely inspected the coast

[8] This was not the first time the two priests had made tours of discovery. In 1669 they had explored the regions of Lake Ontario. N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 66.

Cadillac Papers. Proclamation of Dollier. In the same year they had set up the arms of the King of France on the shores of Lake Erie; accompanied by seven other Frenchmen, "Who, the first of all European nations, have wintered on this lake, of which they have taken possession in the name of their King, as of an unoccupied land."

[9] The Voyage of M. M. Dollier (he signs his name Dolier) and Galinee is published in Vol. 6 of the Mémoires de la Société Historique de Montreal, 1875.

In the "History of the Early Missions of Western Canada," by the Very Rev. W. R. Harris, page 303, is a copy of Galinee's map, showing the location of the Stone image. This map is not drawn according to the original. The original shows the location of the image as lying between the River Rouge and the present City of Detroit.

[10] Parkman's LaSalle, p. 19.

[11] Joliet was overturned in his boat in the rapids above Montreal and the minutes of his journey were there lost, in 1674. He had made a copy of them which was left with the Jesuits at Sault Ste. Marie. N. Y. Doc. IX, 121.

line of Michigan earlier than 1657, and the result of his investigation is to be found in Sanson's atlas published in that year, of which notice will be found in these pages.

Nine years later, in 1679, LaSalle built the Griffon,[12] the first, and for more than half a century, the last, sail vessel on Lake Erie, and sailed over that lake and through the straits about the eleventh of August.[13] Father Louis Hennepin, a Recollet missionary, was of this party and he has left an interesting account of what he saw and his experiences on the journey.[14]

Explorations soon became so common in the west, and the results of the explorations so well known to both the French and English governments that the ownership of the new lands became a matter of international rivalry, and both governments claimed exclusive jurisdiction over the entire country.[15] The English had no posts whatever, in the west, while the French not only had a strong post established at Mackinac, but they also had a small army of the most hardy adherents, the *Coureurs de bois*, scattered among the various Indian tribes. These *Coureurs de bois* were considered to be outlaws, but the exigencies of the situation would not permit France [16] to keep them in rebellion against herself and so she granted them a general amnesty. [17] The leader among them Daniel Dulhud de Greyzolon (commonly called Duluth)[18] and it was he who was now chosen to erect the first barrier to the advance of the English on the Detroit river.[19]

He was instructed by the governor general to proceed to the strait, as the entire river from Lake Huron to Lake Erie was then termed, and there erect a post or fortification, which should serve to protect the traders and friendly Indians and which would act as a barrier

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[12] See Parkman's LaSalle, p. 139, for an account of the Griffon; also a pamphlet, "Shipyard of the Griffon," by Cyrus Kingsbury Remington, Buffalo, 1891; also "The Building and Voyage of the Griffon in 1679," by O. H. Marshall, Buffalo, 1879.

[13] Découvertes et Establissements de LaSalle, par Gabriel Gravier, p. 103.

[14] Hennepin's account is to be found in transaction of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. 1, p. 68. The first English edition of this work was printed in London in 1698.

[15] See N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 263. "The English claim all the vast extent of territory they have depopulated along lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan, as far as the Illinois." Id., pp. 295, 297. Also N. Y. Hist. Doc. III, 459.

[16] "As His Majesty, and you, My Lord, are convinced of the great injury the *Coureurs de bois* inflict on the country, there is no further question except to discover the best means to oblige them to return without prejudice to the absolute obedience due to the King's will." Letter of DuChesneau, November, 1680. N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 140.

[17] In 1680, see N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 145.

[18] "The *Coureurs de bois* not only act openly, but they carry their peltries to the English, and endeavor to drive the Indian trade thither. DuLut is the leader of the refractory." Report of DuChesneau, 1679, N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 131.

DuChesneau thought DuLuth ought not to be pardoned. Id., page 141.

[19] "After having defeated the Senecas it will be necessary to establish a good post at Niagara, and another fort on Lake Erie, for the security of the barks that will have to be built there; and thus the English and the Iroquois will be kept in check." Letter of Denonville, 1685, N. Y. Doc. Hist. IX, 275. See also Id., p. 282, "The importance of the post to be established on Lake Erie is quite clear, since vessels can very easily go from that lake to Missilimakina."

against the advance of the Iroquois and English.[20] That season he was to take only twenty men to the new post, but in the following spring he was to take thirty more, making fifty in all. The place selected by Duluth was on the westerly side of the River St. Clair not far from the present site of the city of Port Huron, the former site of Fort Gratiot. Here the picketed enclosure that was to serve as a fortification[21] was erected and the soldiers passed the winter watching for the foe[22] and harboring such traders and *Coureurs de bois* as chanced to visit the neighborhood. The name that is usually given to this post in the official correspondence of the time is Detroit, but probably the proper name for it, and a name which suggests that it was a mission post, is St. Joseph.

THE IROQUOIS.

In the continual warfare that was being carried on at this time between the French and the Iroquois, the English assisted the Indians, sometimes openly, but more often surreptitiously. The maintenance of the posts at Niagara and Detroit were already matters of great importance to the preservation of the territorial rights of the French. The official report that Governor Denonville made in the fall of 1686 sufficiently indicates the great anxiety he and his countrymen had regarding the encroachments of the English and the necessity of preserving their frontier posts to prevent further encroachments. He reports, "I received advice from Orange [23] that Colonel Dongan sent word to the fifty men who are to winter among the Senecas, not to start until the arrival there of the hundred and fifty men whom he is to dispatch as a reinforcement in the spring. The cause of this order is, that he has learned from some Indians the fact of Sieur DuL'hut being stationed at the Detroit of Lake Erie. If that detachment and the Indians attack that post, you perceive, My Lord, no more terms are to be observed with the English. Please send orders to me on this point,

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[20] See N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 300. The letters of instruction are to be found in Vol. 5, p. 23, and translated in Sheldon's History of Michigan. This latter work contains many documents of importance.

[21] "I have heard of Sieur du Lhu's arrival at the post of the Detroit of Lake Erie with 50 good men well armed with munitions of war and provisions and all other necessaries sufficient to protect them against the severe cold and to render them comfortable during the whole winter wherever they will entrench themselves." N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 302.
See also letter of Denonville of November 11, 1686, N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, p. 306.

[22] There are reports of three detachments of English traders captured by the troops under Duluth and Durantaye in the years 1686 and 1687, either on the Detroit river or Lake Huron. In this connection see N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 309, 313, 318, 319, 320, 332, 345, 347, 348, 349, 363. The English were either taken and held as prisoners for a time, as was Major Patrick MaGregoire, and then sent home, or simply plundered and left in the wilderness.
See a recent brochure on "Morel de la Durantaye, par Benj. Sulte," Ottawa, 1895.

[23] Orange was the original name for Albany.

for I am disposed to go straight to Orange, storm their fort, and burn the whole concern.*

If the English continue their expeditions in this manner, and the king is unwilling that war be waged against them, nothing is to be expected for this colony but its ruin.[24]

Late in the year 1686 the English governor commissioned[25] Major Patrick Magregoire, captain and commander-in-chief of a company to proceed to the Ottawa country to trade among the savages. Magregoire was particularly instructed not to interfere with the French,[26] but the written instructions on this point were doubtless understood to be given for appearance only, and were not to be binding, if the major should find an opportunity for performing a good service for his government, by violating the terms of his commission. In 1687 two parties of Englishmen, of thirty men in each party, set out on the expedition to the Ottawas. The first party was under the leadership of a man named Rosebloom.[27] He was intent on reaching Mackinac, and had, in some manner, evaded the French at St. Joseph and was well on his way into Lake Huron when he was captured by Durantaye. The other party, also consisting of thirty persons, was under the direct charge of Magregoire. The commission issued to Magregoire indicates that he had charge of both detachments. He was captured at the Detroit by the soldiers stationed there, and before he could pass into Lake Huron. Both parties were pillaged, made prisoners, and carried to Montreal where they were detained four months and then liberated on an order from France.[28]

The feeling between the two governors, Denonville and Dongan, ran very high, and although Dongan protested that he had only permitted Magregoire to go to trade among the Ottawas, Denonville thought that the plans were much deeper laid and comprehended the subjugation of New France to British control. In his report to his home government he says, "Colonel Dongan, governor of New York, has pushed this usurpation to the point of sending Englishmen to take possession in the king of England's name of the post of Mislimackinac, which is a strait

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* Doc. Hist. N. Y. 1, 224.

[24] N. Y. Doc. Hist. IX, 309, 313. "If you do not wish to lose the entire trade of the Upper Country, we must maintain Niagara, as also the post of Dulhu at the Detroit, and the possession of the lakes." Id. 349.

[25] The commission is given in full in N. Y. His. Doc. IX, 314, and there is a biographical sketch of Magregoire in N. Y. His. Doc. IV, 395 (note). See also 1 Doc. Hist. N. Y., 156.

[26] N. Y. Hist. Doc. III, 473.

[27] N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 345. Campbell's Outline of the Political Hist. of Mich., 44; and The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days, p. 66. The name of Rosebloom was quite common, at this time, among the Dutch of New York.

[28] N. Y. Hist. Doc. IV, 468, 520, and IX, 332, 337.

communicating between Lake Huron and the Lake of the Illinois, and has even declared that all those lakes including the River Saint Lawrence, which serves as an outlet to them, and on which our colony is settled, belong to the British."[29]

Although the action of Denonville in arresting and detaining the Englishmen was approved by the king of France, their liberation was also sanctioned by him. There seemed to be a good prospect of a prolonged quarrel with England over the affair, and formal complaints were made to the court against the actions of Dongan and he was recalled and his successor Andros instructed to live in harmony with his French neighbors. In order that the title of the French to this territory might be made incontestable in the future, Denonville was directed to send capable persons to take possession anew of the posts already occupied or which had been occupied by French subjects. This taking possession was to be observed "with all formality by setting up posts with his majesty's arms affixed thereto, and observing all the forms usual and customary on similar occasions, so as to repair any defects that might exist in the original taking of possession."[30]

The theory of the French government was that France owned, not only the country to the northward of the great lakes, but also the northern part of New York, except the eastern portion occupied by the Dutch.

The Ohio lands were all French possessions. The Iroquois, with a diplomacy not usually found among savages, refused to submit to either English or French mastery, and so wavered between the two as to keep both parties in suspense and uncertainty. Denonville was eager to make peace with them but could not succeed. They demanded that the French should destroy their posts at Niagara and Cataracouy (Fort Frontenac, now Kingston) and these posts were destroyed and the garrisons removed to Montreal and Quebec. The same year, 1688, Baron LaHontan was dispatched by Denonville to take possession of Fort St. Joseph with the intention of remaining in charge of it. He was accompanied by Duluth, Tonty and eight soldiers. The record of his trip on this occasion is very interesting as showing the state of the country at this time. On the 6th of September they entered the Detroit river, passed through its length and landed at the fort on the 14th. "You cannot imagine," he writes, "the pleasant prospect of this strait, and of the little Lake St. Clair, for their banks are covered with all sorts

[29] N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 320.
[30] Letter from deSeignelay to Denonville, N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 372.

of wild fruit trees. 'Tis true the want of agriculture sinks the agreeableness of the fruit, but their plenty is very surprising. We spied no other animals upon the shores but herds of harts and roebucks, and when we came to little islands we scoured them, in order to oblige these beasts to cross over to the continent, upon which they, offering to swim over, were knocked on the head by our canoe men that were planted all round the island."[31] He remained in the fort during the winter, and in the spring went to Mackinac to purchase provisions, leaving some of his soldiers in charge during his absence. He returned to Fort St. Joseph on the 25th of August, 1689, when he first learned of the evacuation of the fort at Niagara.[32] Upon a consultation with the people then assembled at St. Joseph it was decided to be useless to undertake to retain possession of the post for another winter; so on the 27th of August he set fire to the fort and on the same day embarked for Mackinac.[23] It does not appear that LaHontan had any express directions to evacuate and burn the post though it appears to have been generally understood among the Canadian officials that it would be inexpedient, if not impossible, to maintain it longer.

In "the defences required in Canada"[24] for the year 1689 it was reported that "if the Iroquois be in the English interest, it will be almost impossible to maintain the establishment at the Detroit without very considerable expense; to garrison it, two or three hundred picked men, at least, would have to be sent thither so as to be safe from attack, and to open a communication by the river of the Ottawas, for I consider the route by Niagara too hazardous, being too nigh the Iroquois." The establishment of a frontier post was too expensive, and was useless unless well garrisoned, and it was proposed to establish a post among the Ottawas with only forty soldiers, relying upon the voy-

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[31] LaHontan, Vol. 1, p. 89.

[32] The order for the abandonment of Fort Niagara was issued by Denonville July 6, 1688, in expectation that by so doing he could save Fort Frontenac. As it turned out, he lost that also, soon after. A brief History of Old Fort Niagara by Peter A. Porter, p. 19.

[23] LaHontan, Vol. 1, p. 101.

The works of LaHontan have been published a number of times in French and once at least in English. The English edition is not a translation of the French, but is the same story in different language. Attempts have been made to discredit some portions of his narrative, but so far as it concerns the relation of Detroit there is no reason to doubt its correctness.

Concerning Baron LaHontan, Bryce says:

He was a young Gascon of good family, born about the year 1667. In the year of his majority he came to Canada and was an observer and critic of all that went on there. He was caustic and skeptical. He had little respect for religion and might be called the Voltaire of New France. He was merciless upon the Jesuits, scoffing and sneering at their work, and rather delighted in the vices and waywardness of the Indians. He was a favorite of Governor Frontenac. Short Hist. of the Canadian People, 187.

[24] N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 399.

ageurs, sent out by the Montreal merchants, to make up the deficiency, in case a force was necessary.[25]

If the Indians in the west could be kept quiet, or could be kept from interfering with the establishments the French had made, that would be all that was necessary at the present time, and the war between France and England would be carried on, so far as America was involved, on the seaboard.

At this time, 1689, the outbreak of war between France and England put a stop to all hopes of negotiating a peace between the French and Iroquois which would in any way depend on the assistance of the English in bringing it to pass. French troops were all needed at home and none could be spared to assist the Canadians. In this emergency the only thing the Canadians could do was to follow the instructions given by Louis XIV to Governor Denonville, "It is highly important that Sieur Denonville do all that is proper to protect the trade of the French in the distant posts, particularly at Missilimakinac, in order to prevent the execution of the plan entertained for a long time by the English to establish themselves there; and as he cannot preserve that post except by means of the Indian allies, it is important that he encourage, by all means in his power, the hopes they may entertain of not being abandoned, and that he foster, in every way, their animosity against the Iroquois." His plan was to join all the Indian allies into one confederacy to oppose the Iroquois. The pitting of one Indian nation against another was not a new thing, and was resorted to by both English and French whenever the opportunity offered, and it was thought that the death of a few savages would tend to preserve the life of even a single European.

The matter of religion, also, came to form a part in the proposed management of American affairs.[26] The French were strong Roman Catholics, while the Dutch inhabiting New York and the English there were Protestant.[27]

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[25] Voyageurs were the employes of the traders and they differed from the *Coureurs de bois*, in that they were employed for a trip to the Indian country for one, two or three years and then returned to their homes while the *Coureurs de bois* remained with the Indians and returned to civilization only when it suited their fancy so to do. N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 401.

[26] If he find among the inhabitants of New York any inhabitants—whether English or Dutch—any Catholics on whose fidelity he can rely, he may leave them in their habitations after making them take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, provided there be not too many of them and that they do not excite any suspicion, having regard, herein, only to what will be best to promote the preservation and advantage of the colony and his security at the same time as well as that of the French." N. Y. Doc. His. IX, 425, instructions to Frontenac for the invasion of New York.

[27] There were, in 1696, ten Roman Catholics in New York. The list is to be found in Am. Cath. Hist. researches for 1888, p. 93.

DeCallieres, Governor of Montreal, proposed to capture New York at once. He was to make the capture under the plea that he was only intending to hold it from falling into the English rebel hands and that he would return it to King James immediately upon his restoration, but at such restoration he was to insist upon a boundary line being fixed which would determine the rights of both parties in the western lands. If the plan had succeeded and the French had become masters of New York it can hardly be imagined that they would have surrendered it without a definite treaty which would have given them an undisputed title to the entire Indian territory. The expedition of DeCallieres, which seems to have been well planned, was entirely unsuccessful. The project was to have a force march over land to Albany and thence to New York and there meet another detachment sent in vessels. The vessels apeared in due time in New York harbor, but the land forces did not put in an appearance, and after waiting some time, the vessels returned the way they came, without accomplishing anything. Parenthetically it might be stated that Cadillac was on one of the vessels on this expedition, he having been taken as a sort of pilot, being familiar with the entire Atlantic coast line.

LOUIS DE BAUDE, COUNT DE PALAUN AND DE FRONTENAC.

Frontenac had been governor of Canada in 1672 and had been succeeded by LaBarre in 1682 and he, in turn, by Denonville in 1685. Both LaBarre and Denonville found themselves unable to cope successfully with the Iroquois, assisted by the English, as they were, at this time. The strong hand that Frontenac had displayed was missing, and the Indians and English were quick to take advantage of its loss, and the hordes of savages overran the French possessions and murdered the farmers and their families almost at their will. The profligacy of the French court and the European wars in which Louis XIV was embroiled had impoverished France so much that she could send little assistance to Canada. No hope could be entertained that a permanent peace could be had with the Iroquois by treaty, unless the savages could be made to understand that the French were powerful enough to punish them for infractions of the treaty, and the course pursued by the French at this time led the Indians to despise rather than to fear them.

The destruction of the frontier posts was the result of the great fear in which the French held their savage enemies, and yet this abandonment was officially hailed as an evidence of future prosperity for

France.[28] Denonville was a good man to make plans, but seemed incapable of carrying them to a satisfactory conclusion.[29] He was now removed and Frontenac appointed governor in 1689. "I again send you to Canada," said the king, "where I reckon that you will serve me as well as you did before; I will expect nothing more from you."[30] Nevertheless it was the expectation of the king that Frontenac would bring Canada back to that position of prosperity and power among the savages that it had occupied at the time of his recall in 1682. Frontenac wanted to re-establish the upper posts,[31] particularly Fort Frontenac, but the want of means and the opposition that he encountered, both in Canada and in France, prevented his carrying this project into immediate effect. He did, however, prevent the total destruction of this fort, though it had been dismantled and partly destroyed by Denonville.

Mackinac was to be maintained,[32] "with a view of keeping the Ottawas in good understanding, and to engage them to wage war against the Iroquois by making them some trifling presents." The English places along the seaboard were to be bombarded and the inhabitants kept in turmoil so that they would be inclined rather to seek repose than to incite the Iroquois to further depredations. Carrying on war against these Indians was expensive and dangerous, and it would be ruinous to trade to have the other Indian tribes join the Iroquois in their opposition to the French. Every effort was to be made by the French to keep their allies from joining the Iroquois and from carrying their peltries to the English. "To avoid such a misfortune, it is well to preserve the posts we occupy in their country, namely, Fort St. Louis of Louisiana, Detroit,[33] and Michillimacquina" was the advice sent in 1691. There

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[28] In "Observations on the state of affairs in Canada" in the fall of 1680 a short time after the arrival of Frontenac, it is stated that "the extraordinary expenses for carrying the war into the enemy's country, and maintaining the already abandoned posts of Niagara and Cataracouy, having ceased, it is to be hoped that M. de Frontenac, by a more economical and better management of the ordinary funds than has hitherto existed, will, in the extremity he has found matters, have employed the several means still at his disposal, with more success." IX N. Y. Doc. His., 432.

[29] Parkman's Frontenac and New France, 183.

[30] Le Comte de Frontenac, Etude sur le Canada Français à la fin du XVII. Siècle par Henri Lorin, page 357.

[31] Margry Memoires et Documents V. 45. First formation of a chain of posts from the St. Lawrence river to the Gulf of Mexico.

[32] N. Y. His. Doc. IX, 434.

[33] I am unable to reconcile all the references to Detroit that I have found in the different and original works. It will be remembered that the post called St. Joseph, on the St. Clair river, nearly at its outlet from Lake Huron, was frequently called "Detroit." It bore this name from its location on what was then universally referred to as the detroit, or strait, connecting Lake Huron with Lake Erie. This post was destroyed, burned, by Baron LaHontan in 1689. I have never found any direct evidence that it was rebuilt or that there was ever any other post established on the banks of the Detroit river until the founding of Detroit in 1701.

The late Judge Campbell in several places in his "Outlines of the Political History of Michigan" makes reference to Detroit as existing between 1689 and 1701 (see pp. 36, 45 and 49). There are expressions in the letters of Cadillac that give us clearly to understand that there were no French people residing here, nor were their any evidences of civilization in the neighborhood of Detroit. I find, however, references in other places that lead me to a

can be kept up at a very trifling expense which will be of not less utility to us than if it were more considerable. By this means we render ourselves masters of those Indians who are much better adapted than we to the war to be waged against our enemies."[34]

CADILLAC AT MACKINAC.

Having thus rapidly passed over the period that precedes the time of Cadillac we come to the year 1694 and find him in command at Mackinac, appointed to that place as one of the moves of Frontenac in his efforts to restore the name of France as a powerful friend of her Indian allies and as a terror to her savage enemies. Already Cadillac had earned and obtained the friendship of the great Frontenac and of the Minister Pontchartrain, a friendship which ended only with their lives. Cadillac felt that the new place which he had been called upon to fill was an exceedingly difficult one, and while it was not with eagerness that he went to occupy it, it was with a determination that he would fearlessly perform his duties, and that the interests of the country should be protected as fully as he was able to protect them. The great esteem in which he was already held by Frontenac is shown in the "Narrative of the remarkable occurrences in Canada, 1694, 1695." The narrative states that Cadillac had been appointed to replace Sieur la Louvigny as commandant at Mackinac and had set out to go to that

somewhat contrary opinion. In a memoir entitled "Measures recommended for the better defense of Canada" 1691 (vol. IX N. Y. Doc., 510) is a reference to Fort St. Louis, *Detroit* and Michilimacquina. In the same volume, at an Indian conclave held in 1694, an Indian, Changoussi, says "Go, scratch yourselves there, you base minded fellows; Detroit is a fine rendezvous." This was in answer to an invitation to the Lake Indians to repair with the French to the neighborhood of Detroit, in the fall. In 1695, an Indian, Onaske, joined Mikinak, Big Head's son, at Detroit (Id., p. 646).

In 1700 Longueil, Commandant at Detroit, held a council with the four nations belonging to this post, on the subject of war with the English, (Id., p. 704) Schuyler's Colonial N. Y. 1, 483.

The four nations that met here were the Ottawas, Hurons, Pottewatemies and the Mississagues.

In Rameau (Notes Historiques sur la Colonie Canadienne de Detroit) occurs the following passage (page 6) "some of the *Coureurs de bois* were established, without doubt, in the country, for when Cadillac came to take possession of the old fort and of his domain, it seems that already many Frenchmen were established on the Detroit, amoung others Pierre Roy and Francois Pelletier."

Other writers, (R. R. Elliott's Genesis of the First Outline Chapter of the French History of Detroit; U. S. Catholic Hist. Mag. 1887, p. 362) relate the same story of Pelletier and Roy, but I have entered into this question in another publication (Cadillac's Village) and have there pointed out the inconsistency and absurdity of the claim that there were any persons at Detroit before Cadillac came. In my contention, in this matter I am confirmed by a letter of Rev. Christian Denissen, pastor of St. Charles church, Detroit, who has made an especial study of the Early French families of Detroit, and further, by a passage in Potherie's Histoire de l'Amerique Steptentrionale, vol. 4, p. 133, stating that the strait (I suppose this means the land between Lake Erie and Lake Huron) had been abandoned for the past ten years (1690-1700) and that no nation had dared to go there to hunt, and that by reason thereof the quantity of wild animals had increased greatly.

[34] At the time this report was written the post at Detroit (St. Joseph) has been destroyed, and it would seem either that the writer had forgotten that fact, or else that the post had been rebuilt. As I am unable to find any evidence that the post was rebuilt I think that the writer forgot or did not know that the post had been destroyed by LaHontan. N. Y. Hist. Docs. IX, 511.

place in the fall of 1694 with a numerous company; that the weather became very cold and severe and most of the company refused to proceed, and passed the winter with Indians near Montreal, but that Cadillac with nine Frenchmen pushed on to the post. "And as he considered" the report continues "only the service of the king and the colony, to which he was willing to sacrifice his interest, his labors and even his life, he made such diligence that (after difficulties insurmountable perhaps to all others but him) he, finally arrived as we have learned since, very safely at Missilimakinac."[35]

The next few years were eventful ones for Cadillac. One would think that in his remote situation and in his home in the wilderness and among savages he would find little to create excitement, and that his life would be exceedingly quiet and uneventful. Such, however, was not the case. His first duties were to conciliate the Indians in that neighborhood. This, under ordinary circumstances, would not have been very difficult, but just now the Iroquois were defiant and warlike and had nearly ceased to fear the French. Their own successes in their horrible butcheries in the east, and the inability of the French to punish them, had led them to make a greater effort than ever before to unite all the Indian tribes in opposition to the French. The task of keeping the Ottawas friendly to the French cause, and from joining the Iroquois alliance, was a difficult one. Calling together, at different times, these friendly Indians he pointed out to them the love the French bore them, and the design of the Iroquois to ultimately destroy them, if they assisted in the present war against the French, when that war would be ended. Thus by cajoling, by promises, by threats, by presents, by creating jealousies between the different nations, and by occasionally lending assistance to the Ottawas in their quarrels with the Iroquois, he managed to keep the different tribes from uniting against the French as a common foe. This was the work he was employed to do, and this he did faithfully; but there were other matters that he turned his attention to, sometimes from necessity and sometimes from a desire to add a spice to the life of himself and the garrison under his charge.

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[35] N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 594.

CADILLAC AND THE JESUITS,

Cadillac was a Catholic, but he abhorred the Jesuits and loved to display his ability as a conversationalist in writing bitter letters to them, and about them, which drew forth bitter replies and charges and counter charges that doubtless made interesting reading matter then and certainly are interesting now. He omitted no opportunity to charge the Jesuits with corruption and dishonesty and to annoy them seemed to fill his heart with pleasure. With it all, he stood in fear of them, and well he might, for they were the most powerful political body that the world then knew. While it is undoubtedly true that there were very many good men in the brotherhood, the order had been gradually changed from a religious to a political organization, and the officers filling the most important places within the body were working to increase its political power, and to them the religious aspect was of secondary importance.[36]

The troubles that he would have with the Jesuits, seemed to have been expected by Cadillac before he set out from Montreal, for, in a memoir written by him in the fall of 1694 he says "These poisoned memoirs cannot go down and cross the ocean except by means of the missionaries who wish to be masters wherever they are, who cannot tolerate anyone above themselves, much less inspectors over their interests." When he came to Mackinac as the commandant there, his proposal to be a master over these missionaries made them rebel at once. They did everything in their power to annoy him and make

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[36] If the reader is curious to know in what esteem the Jesuit Fathers were held by every one at this time, he has only to read the reports that the Canadian officials made to the home governments and the instructions which they received for dealing with them.

The Jesuits were fault finding, prying into private affairs of every one, attempting to control all affairs, and to suppress everything that did not work for their interests. They have been held up as a sort of benefactors of the Indian race, but their efforts at conversions were confined to the baptism of a few dying savages, and after baptism they prayed for the death of the convert rather than for his recovery.

The French officials feared the order, and at the same time despised its members. Communications of an official nature regarding them were made in cypher that the prying eyes of secret spies might not know they were being written about. See the following in cypher, from a letter of Frontenac in 1672, "I expressed forcibly to them (the Jesuits) my astonishment at seeing that, of all the Indians that are with them at Notre Dame de Foi, which is only a league and a half from Quebec, not one spoke French, though associated with us, and told them that they ought, in their missions, bethink themselves, when rendering the savages subjects of Jesus Christ, of making them subjects of the King also." "But whatever pretense they manifest, they do not extend that (French) language, and to speak frankly to you, they think as much about the conversion of the beaver as of souls, for the majority of their missions are pure mockeries, and I should not think they ought to be permitted to extend them further until we see somewhere a better formed church of those savages." 9 N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 93.

In 1673 Colbert replied "I shall also take care to send some (Recollets) over every year in order to be able thereby to counterbalance the excessive authority the Jesuits have assumed in that country."

All through the letters of Cadillac, the reports of Ramezay and the reports concerning LaSalle and every other enterprising man of New France, who would not place himself under their control, complaints regarding their mismanagements may be found.

him odious with the government and powerless with the savages. Their desire was not particularly to have Cadillac removed unless they could name his successor. They probably had no personal ill feeling against him, except that he would not permit them to have their own way in conducting their mission, in dealing with the Indians and selling goods to them as they wished and as they had before this time been permitted as Cadillac asserts.

Cadillac[37] remained at Mackinac until 1697 and he then returned to Montreal. During this time he had done more than perform the duties assigned to him. He had inspected the surrounding country, and although it seems that he had not visited the Detroit river he had received descriptions of it from Indians and Frenchmen, and from their accounts he ascertained that the climate was much more mild than at Mackinac, that the woods were full of game and the streams full of fish; that the soil was good and the fruit trees abundant, and more than all this he believed that a powerful post established on the river would protect their Indian allies and prevent the English and Iroquois from further encroachments on French territory.

CADILLAC'S FIRST EXPEDITION.

He now solicited from his government permission to visit the Detroit and there establish a military post with a colonial attachment. The proposition was a novel one, and at first did not meet with the approval of the officials. At this time there were no colonies or permanent agricultural settlements west of Montreal. The merchants at Montreal and Quebec had a monopoly of the traffic with the Indian traders. Of course the proposal of Cadillac to found a new establishment in the west could not have become known to these monopolists at once, for, if it had, a more determined opposition would have been raised. As it was, there seems to have been no complaint on the part of these merchants until after the post was formed, and then they undertook to suppress the new colony. It was almost an unheard of attempt to locate a

[37] The Revue Canadienne for 1882, page 681, contained an article by T. P. Bedard relating to Cadillac, his birth place, the dates of his birth and death, and the place of burial. The Revue article is largely taken from one written by Silas Farmer of Detroit, and which appeared in the Detroit Evening News of Oct. 28, 1882. The Revue article brought out two more on the same subject in the same magazine for 1883, the one by Mr. E. Rameau, on page 15, and the other by Mr. Bedard, on page 104. Shortly after these publications and as a result of them, there was issued a small pamphlet, "Quelques Notes sur Antoine de La Mothe de Cadillac" by the Abbe H. A. Verreau, president of the Historical Society of Montreal, though it only bears the initials "H. A. V." and even the place of publication is omitted.

While the pamphlet consists largely of notes, they are the notes of a student and are very interesting. The author terminates his paper with the statement "I believe, nevertheless, that we do not possess yet, the elements necessary to form a definite judgment on his character and on his acts, any more than on those of Frontenac."

post among the Indians without the assistance of one or more Jesuit priests as missionaries. In this instance Cadillac certainly held out to the officials that he intended to have the Jesuits with him. It certainly was expected by all parties, the officials, Cadillac, the Recollet Fathers and the Jesuits, that the post would be under the control of the latter order for missionary purposes. This, however, was not Cadillac's intention and the Jesuits were not compelled to wait long to find it out.

It was not the intention of the English to abandon their claim to the western country at this time. It seems now to have occurred to them that they owned the Detroit, and, the trade among the Indians in its neighborhood was worth cultivating and preserving. In 1699 Robert Livingston, secretary for Indian affairs, reported to the Earle of Bellemont, that a profitable trade might be carried on with these western Indians if a peace could be arranged between them and the Five Nations (Iroquois). His proposition was that 200 christian inhabitants (probably meaning Dutch and English) should join 300 or 400 Iroquois, and, taking such Indian prisoners as the Iroquois possessed, should together proceed to the Detroit and there build a fort. Here the christians should remain while the Iroquois proceeded among the various tribes that would receive them. He said the French pretended a sort of possession "by a laying a Jesuit and some few men in a fort for wherever a Frenchman hath once set his foot he claims a right and title to the country." After a peace had thus been concluded a trade would follow as a matter of course. In the following year (1700) Livingston made another report, urging the expediency of a peace between the farther Indians and the Iroquois, in which he says "the best way to effect this is to build a fort at Wawijachtenok,[38] called by the French De Troett,[39] the most pleasant and plentiful inland place in America by all relations, where there is available lands for thousands of people, the only place of beaver hunting, for which our Indians have fought so long, and at last forced the natives to fly." "The fort to be between Sweege lake (Lake Erie) and Ottawa Lake (lake Huron)." In the fort to be there erected it would be necessary to station sixty men. This would preserve, for the English, all the lands and Indian tribes south of the great lakes and the St. Lawrence and leave to the French those upon the northerly sides. It would be entirely unneces-

[38] N. Y. Hist. Doc. 3fp, 501. The English gave the Indian name of Wawijachtenok to the Detroit.
[39] N. Y. Hist. Doc. 3, p. 650.

sary to settle the country farther up than the proposed fort on the Detroit, for this place was not more than ten days' journey for any Indians that the English claimed to govern in this region.

It does not appear that Cadillac, or the French, knew of these proposals of the English to settle at Detroit, but Cadillac expressed a desire to hasten his own settlement as he was afraid the English would precede him, and at one time he thought he was too late and that the English were already there.

Frontenac died on Nov. 28, 1698, and he was succeeded by Louis Hector de Calliere. The new governor did not look upon the project of Cadillac with all the favor that Frontenac had, and Cadillac betook himself to France to urge his cause before the king and ministers, in person. He was successful in his mission and came back to the new world empowered to proceed at the opening of spring to the Detroit. It was on the 2d day of June, 1701, that Cadillac, with an escort of fifty soldiers, and accompanied by fifty civilians and 100 Algonquin Indians, set out upon his journey. There were two roads by which the upper country could be reached, one by proceeding up the Ottawa river, across the Georgian bay and thence into Lake Huron; the other way but, more dangerous at this time on account of the quarrels with the Iroquois, was up the St. Lawrence, across lake Ontario to the Niagara river, over the single portage at this point and then along lake Erie to the Detroit river and the destination.

Cadillac took the first of these routes, as he had been instructed to do by the minister. The ice in the northern streams had given way to the June sun, the snow had long since disappeared, the grass was green, the foliage on the trees[40] was beginning to assert itself, but the nights were cold and uncomfortable. To the soldiers, enured to exposure, the state of the weather was of little consequence, but to the artisans the inclemency of the season was a great hardship. This early season of the year had been purposely chosen as the cold nights assisted greatly in preventing the swarming of those flies, gnats and mosquitoes that make life almost unbearable in the woods and along the streams. Slowly ascending the Ottawa river, laboriously carrying their canoes and contents over the many portages on this route, thence by a long and final portage to the lake of the Sorcerers, through this lake and down the Frenchman's river to the Georgian bay, then coast-

[40] The Canadian spring is beautifully described by Smith in his "Frontenac."

ing along the shores of the bay and of lake Huron, they reached the strait, which, in the French writings of that day, bore the name of Detroit throughout its entire length. After passing on their downward course through lake Ste. Claire careful examination was made of every foot of the ground for the purpose of selecting the most available position for the permanent location of the new fort.

The party proceeded all the way to lake Erie and then retraced their steps. At one time it was planned to make the settlement at Grosse Ile, but the project was abandoned because it was thought the supply of wood would soon be exhausted and it would be inconvenient to bring more from the mainland.

THE JESUITS, ENEMIES OF FRONTENAC AND CADILLAC.

Looking at Cadillac's actions as evinced by his letters and reports, after a lapse of 200 years, there need be no hesitancy in declaring that it was his determination not to have or permit any Jesuits at the new post. It is possible that one of the objects he had in founding it was to injure that order, the "Great Machine" as he called it.

At first, and before Cadillac became prominent, Frontenac[41] had made the Jesuits his eternal enemies, and later Cadillac took up the quarrel and the two continued to work together in opposing the plans of the order until Frontenac died and then Cadillac was left to fight the battle alone.

When he first obtained permission to found Detroit, Count Pontchartrain distinctly told him that the Jesuits must be employed to carry on the missionary work there.[42] This was contrary to his desires, but he submitted with as good grace as possible and Father Vaillant was sent with him on his first trip to establish the mission.

There had, in times past, been considerable rivalry between the Jesuits and the Franciscans or Recollets but the Jesuits obtained the mastery, and, although the Recollets were still employed in Canada, the missions were in the hands of the Jesuits. Cadillac had obtained

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[41] "On the arrival of Frontenac as governor (the first time) La Salle and he at once fraternized. They were of kindred spirit, they were both men of marked ability, their combination might be of material benefit to both, and in common they disliked the Jesuits." Bryce's Short Hist. of the Canadian People, 189.
Lorin, "Le Compte de Frontenac," p. 42.
Parkman's Frontenac and New France, 25 and 68.
Historie des Canadiens Francais V, 39.
"Frontenac had no favor for the Jesuits, nor for Bishop Laval and his clergy, being jealous of their influence on the colony." Miles Hist. Can., 88.
But this fact is so well known that the reference to authorities is probably unnecessary.

[42] Margry V, 169.
Francois Vaillant de Guenlis, Jesuit, was ordained December 1, 1675, at Quebec; came to Albany as ambassador to Governor Dongan in 1688. Upon leaving Detroit in 1701 he went to Mackinac. In 1702 he was sent on a mission to the Senecas and acted in behalf of the Iroquois in several important matters. N. Y. Col. Doc. IX, 762. Repertoire General du Clergi Canadien, 63.

permission to have a Recollet priest as almoner or chaplain to the soldiers of Detroit[43] and this Recollet, Father Constantin de l'Halle,* also accompanied the expedition. The ostensible plan was, that, as soon as the new post should be established, a church should be erected for the garrison and colony, and of this congregation the Recollet priest would have charge, and that the Indians that might collect around the fort should be organized into a mission with one or more Jesuit priests in charge. This was the plan, but Cadillac did not propose to have it carried out in its entirety. He pretended to be, and probably was, afraid of the "Great Machine" and kept constantly telling Pontchartrain and the other officials to whom he had occasion to write, of his fear, and of the constant wrong-doing of the Jesuits. The wordy war which had been carried on between himself and the priests when he was at Mackinac was continued after he left there, by correspondence, and the letters with his comments and an abstract of his replies are on file in the department of marine in the City of Paris.[44]

The Jesuits were as decidedly opposed to the establishment of Detroit as Pontchartrain and Cadillac were in favor of it. Its establishment meant the destruction of Mackinac and of the mission which had flourished there for many years; for if Detroit was a success, the Indians would at once collect there and the old posts would be deserted. Both parties comprehended what the result would be, and both acted according to their own interests.

The wheels of the "Great Machine" worked in unison. We believe that no member of the order performed an act that was not authorized or sanctioned by the order itself, and hence that the act of every member was the act of the order. It is well to bear this in mind in examining the works of these fathers for, on many occasions, they perform acts that, for the good name of the order, we would like to charge to the individual responsibility of the father and not to that order of which he was merely a wheel.

Shortly after Cadillac left Montreal, on his first expedition, in 1701, Vaillant, who was one of the party, went among the soldiers and stirred them up to desert, or to leave Cadillac as soon as the location for

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[43] Cadillac Papers: Dialogue with Pontchartrain. "I set out from Quebec to go to Detroit on the 8th of May, 1701; on the 12th I arrived at Montreal, where a change was made, the Franciscans having obtained permission for one of their fathers to accompany me and to remain at Detroit as almoner of the troops, with the Jesuit as missionary. This outrage, as it were, against the society in that country, set it in commotion, for it was persuaded that I had done it this bad turn."

*Nicolas Barnardin Constantin de l'Halle, Recollet, come to America in June, 1696; he was killed at Detroit on June 1, 1706. Repertoire General, etc., 78; also a Traverse des Registres, 117.

[44] Margry V. 204.

the new post was reached. Cadillac knew of the disaffection of the troops, but did not know the reason of it. When the site for the post had been determined upon, but before a stake had been driven or a shovelful of earth had been thrown, Cadillac called all of his people together and began to question them regarding their disaffection. The situation was a serious one. Here was a hundred Frenchmen, half soldiers and half civilians, who had traveled 600 miles, had borne their heavy canoes, their arms and their goods over thirty portages, had endured exposure and suffering, in the hope of founding an outpost of New France in the far west. Now that their destination was reached, they were on the verge of losing the results of all their toil because they were discontented and mutinous.

The question of the hour was, whether the orders of the "Great Machine" should then prevail; whether Cadillac's great project would fail at the very beginning, whether the power of the Jesuits was greater than that of the king.

Cadillac thoroughly understood the gravity of the situation and was not long in locating the cause of all the trouble—the Jesuit, Vaillant. No words can better explain what happened than those of Cadillac's official report, and here it is: "This is how the matter took place: We were still encamped. On leaving the dinner table I had the soldiers and Canadians assembled. Father Vaillant was present, but did not know my intention, nor that I had discovered his. I asked the Canadians what reasons they had for wishing to go back to Montreal, and I begged them to tell me who had imbued them with sentiments so opposed to the service of the king, and addressing myself to an officer, I requested him to tell me what he knew about it. Father Vaillant clearly saw by this speech that the mine was discovered, and that the moment was at hand when he would be covered with shame and confusion. He took the course of rising from his seat, placing himself immediately behind my tent, whence he went through the woods running his hardest, which gave the soldiers and Canadians, who saw him, reason to laugh their fill at it. My tent prevented me from seeing him; having asked what cause they had to laugh so, one of them said he did not know what I had made Father Vaillant eat, that he was in such a great hurry to get to the woods, and that by the gait he was going, we should apparently not see him again very soon. I knew from these remarks what the matter was; I contented myself with explaining to these people the king's intentions and the good of his service, after which

they explained to me, unreservedly, the cause of their discouragement which arose from the instigation of this Father."[45]

Father Vaillant immediately started for Mackinac and never returned to Detroit. At various times Cadillac undertook to pacify the priest. He invited the order to send Vaillant or some other Jesuit to his post, and on one occasion he sent a canoe to Mackinac to bring the father, but the Jesuits believed that he was attempting to deceive them and they would not accept the invitation.

It is, perhaps, needless to enter into any discussion here in regard to the want of candor displayed by the Jesuits in their actions regarding, and their letters to Cadillac. There were several of these priests—half a dozen, or more—some of them were very friendly to Cadillac. One of these, Enjalran, would have been welcomed to this city, but it was apparent to him that the friendship, which any priest bore to him, would act as a bar against any further advancement of the friendly priest in the Jesuit order.

The letters of these Jesuits,[46] when collected together, contained statements that are so contradictory that one is compelled to believe that the writers were attempting to deceive Cadillac and the authorities, and while they expressed a willingness to advance the interests of the king by encouraging the settlement at Detroit, they were in fact working as hard as they could for its destruction and for the prosperity of Mackinac, which was entirely under their control.

DETROIT IS FOUNDED.

It was on the 24th day of July, 1701, that the location of the settlement was decided upon and the limits of the fort were staked off. The palisades were to enclose an arpent of land, as that was thought sufficient to hold all the people that were then at the place, and it was deemed best not to enclose more land than was necessary, as it might be difficult to properly garrison it, in case of trouble with the Indians, if it was too large.

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[45] Cadillac Papers: Report of Cadillac, Nov. 19, 1704.

[46] These Jesuit letters were deposited in the archives in the Department of Marine in the city of Paris. A copy of them was obtained by Lewis Cass when he was minister to France and were translated and published by Mrs. Sheldon in her history of Michigan. They are also printed in their original language in the 5th Vol. of Margry. I had another copy made from the original in my effort to make a complete collection of Cadillac's writings from the Paris archives, and I was surprised to receive another copy from a writer who was employed, by me, to search the archives in the Department of Justice in the city of Montreal for papers relating to Detroit.

The authors of these letters were the priests named as follows: Cl. Aveneau, M. Bouvart, Superior of the Order, Estienne de Carheil, Jean Enjalran, Joseph Germain, Joseph J. Marest, Jean Mermet, and Francois Vaillant.

Jean Enjalran (or Anjalran), Jesuit, came to Canada May 30, 1675. He was wounded by the Tsonnontonans July 13, 1687. Cadillac requested him, as his particular friend, perhaps the only one he had in the order, to accompany Madam Cadillac to Detroit in the winter of 1701-2. The priest was not able to comply. He died February 18, 1718. Repertoire General, etc., 62.

Work on the palisades was begun at once and on the 26th of July was laid the foundation of a church, called, after the saint in whose honor that day was celebrated, Ste. Anne.[47] The palisades were made of small trees six or eight inches in diameter, driven into the ground three or four feet, or at least far enough to be perfectly secure against removal, and extending above the ground some twelve or fifteen feet. These posts were put as closely together as possible.[48]

The houses were constructed of stakes driven into the ground and extending above the surface a sufficient distance to make the interior high enough for living purposes. These stakes were driven as closely together as possible and the interstices were filled with mud or mortar.[49] There was no stone in the immediate vicinity of the settlement and consequently there were no stone buildings. Cadillac ascertained, during the first year after his arrival, that there was plenty of limestone a few miles down the river and that the clay at Detroit was well suited for making brick; but he made no use of either of these important discoveries, other than to record the facts for the benefit of others, who might follow him in building up the city which he had started. At the end of the first year he made an exhaustive report[50] of the country and of what he had done, and he marked out his plans for the future.

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[47] Detroit is one of the few cities—perhaps the only city—in the United States that has always been under the Gregorian calendar. It was under the rule of Catholic France, and consequently under the operation of the Pope's method of reckoning time, until the year 1760. Great Britain accepted the new calendar in the year 1751, consequently when the English took possession of Detroit, nine years later, it was unnecessary to change the method of computing time.

The Iroquois Indians had, in some manner, become acquainted with the plans of Cadillac to locate a fort on the Detroit. There was a conference of Indians with the Dutch and English held at Albany, commencing on the 10th day of July, 1701. Reckoning the different methods of computing time then employed by the French and English; this was but a few days before Cadillac had determined the location of his fort.

On the 19th of July (English computation), at this conference, the Indians made a request that the secretary, Robert Livingston, might be sent to acquaint the English king "how the French of Canada encroach upon our territories by building a fort at Tjughsaghrondie (Detroit), and to pray that our great king may use all means to prevent it." N. Y. Hist. Doc. III, 908.

The site was well chosen, and the settlement has more than realized the expectation of its founder.

Hodgkins' Hist. Can., 83.

The Iroquois complained to de Calliere of the proposed establishment on the Detroit, but the governor claimed that the Detroit was French territory, and that neither the Iroquois nor the English had any right to interfere.

Kingsford's Hist. Canada, 2-399.

McMullin's Hist. Can., 84.

[48] Margry, V. 189. "The Sieur Chacornacle has just arrived from Detroit with five men, who bring us letters from Sieurs LaMothe and Tonty. The former notifies us that he arrived with his detachment in good safety, July 24, at the mouth (embouchure) of this river, and that, after having sought out a proper place, they made a fort with four bastions of good stakes of oak fifteen feet long, of which three are in the earth, each curtain being thirty toises," 192 feet.

[49] I am aware that this is not the log house of our early Yankee ancestors, but I am very certain, from many remarks throughout the Cadillac papers, that this was the manner in which nearly all the French log houses were constructed at this time, and the houses constructed of logs laid upon each other lengthwise, with morticed corners, were an innovation of a later date.

[50] Cadillac Papers. Report of Cadillac, dated September 25, 1702.

He had assembled the various Indian tribes around his fort, placing one tribe immediately below the fort and two other large tribes on the upper side, one a short distance from the village and the other about a mile and half further up the stream. Each of the tribes erected for itself a barricade which Cadillac calls a fort, and each had about 400 warriors. These tribes all served as protections to the French as long as they were on friendly terms; but they became a constant menace as soon as they became disaffected and discontented.

There were many smaller detachments of Indians to whom no lands were granted. They came partly from curiosity and partly for the presents that the French gave them on their meeting. The greatest number that ever assembled together was during the first winter at the post.[51] Cadillac reports that during the winter of 1701-2 there were 6,000 persons here. This sounds as if Cadillac was inclined to exaggerate, but his further report that there were three Indian forts with 400 warriors to each fort, and that there were many fractions of tribes without any forts, and that there were 100 French people within the palisades, incline one to think he told the truth.

The party had arrived too late in the summer to raise any food for their winter consumption and they were compelled to rely upon their hunters and what could be purchased from the savages. They had taken only three months' provision with them when they had set out from Montreal, and when these were exhausted they were compelled to fall back on their savage friends for assistance.[52] The men that could be spared from the labor within the palisades were set at work cultivating by hand a little land in which to sow some winter wheat. Cadillac had brought with him some French wheat, and on the 7th of October he sowed twenty arpents, the first attempt to raise this cereal in the west. The result was fairly successful.

In the spring of 1702 there was some spring wheat sown, but success did not attend this undertaking and it was thought best not to try it again. To each soldier was now allotted a small garden of half an arpent of land, a short distance east of the village, and each one was required to cultivate and care for his parcel. To the citizens who

[51] Cadillac Papers. Report Sept. 25, 1702, "Nearly six thousand mouths of different tribes wintered here, as everyone knows."

[52] Cadillac Papers. Remarks of M. de la Mothe concerning the board of directors, "It should be borne in mind that M. de la Mothe, in going to Detroit, found himself in a district where there were no inhabitants; that he was obliged to provide food there for the garrison and the voyageurs for a whole year by means of hunting."

understood farming, larger tracts of land, generally three arpents[53] in width by twenty to forty in depth were set off, and they were required to cultivate them as one of the conditions of ownership. While at this time Cadillac had no power to grant these lands in fee to the colonists, he expected to have the necessary authority at some time, and his oral grants were now made with the tacit understanding that at some future day the titles would be confirmed.

All the work that was done was performed with an infinite amount of labor that under ordinary circumstances would have been greatly lessened. There was no need of a plow, for there were no beasts of burden to help turn the furrows, and all tilling was done by hand with the use of spade and hoe.

Early in the year 1702 Cadillac's wife and the wife of his lieutenant, Alphonse de Tonty, arrived in Detroit, the first white women in the west.[54]

These two ladies had started from Quebec on the 10th day of September, 1701, but stopped at Three Rivers for the winter and finished their trip by the Niagara route early the next spring.

There was a sort of peace now existing between the French and Iroquois, and the coming of these women with their families at this time seems to have given the Iroquois encouragement that the peace would be a lasting one so far as the French were concerned. "It is certain that nothing ever astonished the Iroquois so greatly," writes Cadillac, "as when they saw them. You could not believe how many caresses they offered them, and particularly the Iroquois, who kissed their hands and wept for joy, saying that the French women had never been seen coming willingly to their country. It is that which made the Iroquois also say that they well knew that the general peace which the Chevalier de Calliere had just made was indeed sincere, and that they could no longer doubt it since women of this rank came amongst them with so much confidence. If these ladies gave favorable impressions regarding us to the Iroquois, those our allies received from them were no less so. They received them at Detroit under arms, with many discharges of musketry. They looked upon this move as the most impor-

[53] An arpent, or French acre, as generally used, indicates a parcel of land with a frontage of 192 feet 3 inches, and if the depth of the parcel is not given, it indicates a square of 192 feet 3 inches on either side

The dimensions of the farms on the Detroit river, throughout its entire length, are still indicated by the original French measurements, the farms being from two to five arpents in width with a depth of eighty arpents, nearly 3 miles.

[54] In 1701 Cadillac and Tonty brought their French wives to Detroit. "In all probability they were the first white women bold enough to take up their residence west of Cataraquay." Lake St. Louis and LaSalle, by Desire Girourd, 213.

Cadillac Papers. Report of Sept. 25, 1702.

tant that could be made, to prove to them that we wished to settle there in earnest, and that we wished to make it a post to dwell in, and a flourishing settlement."[55]

During the winter some progress was made in clearing the ground surrounding the fort of the trees and underbrush, for, however friendly the savages were at this time, there was no telling when they might become discontented and hostile, and it was certainly concluded best to have the fort in a situation to defend itself against an attack, and one way to do this was to clear off the ground surrounding the fort so that the Indians could find no cover there from which an attack could be made.

With the coming of spring the soldiers and civilians were urged to cultivate and plant as much land as possible, so that the colony would be independent of the Indians from this time. Supplies of all necessary tools and articles used in the Indian trade were brought up from Montreal, and the colony was in a fair state of prosperity when the winter closed in again. More men had come up from below, but there were no more women in the community. In the fall, when Cadillac went to Montreal, he prevailed upon de Calliere[56] to permit him to send six men with their families, and these people made the journey in the spring and summer of 1703.

In the fall of 1702 Cadillac went to Quebec, and it is from that place that his report was made which shows the progress of the settlement to this date. This report also shows his plans for the future, and points out the changes and advancements that Cadillac would like to see brought to pass.

He proposed to educate the Indians. "How can these barbarians" he asks, "be made christians unless they are made men first? How can they be made men unless they are humanized and made docile? And how can they be tamed and humanized except by their companionship with a civilized people? How bring them into subjection and make them subjects of the king if they have neither docility nor religion nor moral intercourse?" He wanted a seminary established in order to educate the

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[55] In the Department of Marine, in the city of Paris, are the official letters and reports of Cadillac and of the other officers and commandants of Detroit. With some few exceptions these papers have never been printed. I have had a complete transcript made of such as pertained to Detroit and Mackinac.

In the Palais de Justice in Montreal are to be found the old Notarial records, and I have had a complete transcript made of such as pertained to this part of the country between the years 1680 and 1760. I have also a full copy of the records of St. Anne's church, from its foundation at Detroit by Cadillac in 1703, and a copy of the records of the church of L'Assumption, in Canada, opposite Detroit. These copies fill about sixty large volumes of closely written manuscript and are, with the exception of a few papers printed by Margry and a few in the New York Colonial Documents, entirely unpublished. From these sources I have drawn most of the material for this paper, and in making reference I have termed the Paris manuscript, "The Cadillac Papers;" the notarial records, "The Montreal Papers," and the church records by the name of the church.

[56] Cadillac Papers. Report of Sept. 25, 1702, written in Quebec.

savages in the French language. He had constantly complained that the Jesuits would never instruct the Indians in the French tongue, but preferred to learn the Indian language themeslves, so that they could become the sole authorized interpreters for the savages. Cadillac proposed that the Recollets should be formally installed as the order in charge of the religious work in the post. He wanted permission to make presents to the Indians at government expense that they might be induced to be faithful to their engagements and enticed to collect around the settlement.

France, and indeed Europe, had been overrun with the superabundance of beaver skins and the price had fallen so low that it no longer paid to employ hunters to gather the furs. The matter became of importance, and the agents of the great trading company were instructed to discourage this part of the hunting trade. Cadillac undertook to employ the Indians and hunters in the pursuit of the larger animals, such as bear, elk, stags, and hinds, and he even proposed the transportation of the skins of the bison, though there were none within a hundred leagues of Detroit.*

Complaint had been made that the establishment of Detroit would work the ruin of Montreal and Quebec. To this Cadillac replied that the same complaint was made at Quebec, when it was first undertaken to establish Montreal, but that as Montreal was now necessary to the proper support of Quebec, so Detroit would soon become a necessity to both places, for as without the assistance of Montreal, Quebec would have been destroyed by famine, so, shortly, without Detroit's trade, the business of Montreal and Quebec would be ruined. "Can it be shown that Rouen had destroyed Paris, or Paris, Rouen? Or that Bordeaux has injured Tolose, or Tolose, Bordeaux? Quebec, Montreal and Detroit are in the same position as regards their respective trade as these posts are to one another. What there is not in one country, is found in another."

Complaint concerning the brandy trade had been made to court, and Cadillac, in this report, gives some details connected with that trade and some of the reasons, which actuated the king in establishing the new post. The trade in brandy, in the extreme settlements, especially at Mackinac, had for some years given every one occasion to believe that all traders were engaged in this traffic. The missionaries maintained that this was an insuperable obstacle to the propagation of the faith among the savages because it made them incapable of being taught. The mis-

* There were no bison or buffalo at Detroit or in its immediate vicinity. In his first official report, Cadillac mentions the fact of their existence in the south—so far south from Detroit that there is perpetual summer.

sionaries had also complained against the system of granting licenses (congés) to trade among the savages, and had even maintained that the governor and his officers were interested in the avails of these traders. They persisted so obstinately in these complaints that the court finally listened to them and, in order to put an end to these disorders, the officers were all recalled from these frontier posts and the posts themselves destroyed. "The close connection which exists between the upper colony and the lower (which gives a framework to New France) did not allow of leaving it in this melancholy condition, to which the combined circumstances of the time had reduced it, with ruinous results." In order to remedy this evil, it was found most expedient to establish Detroit. Cadillac refers to this piece of history to show what the result will be if these missionaries again have their way, and if they succeed, as they are attempting, in having Detroit destroyed and its officers recalled. His report ends with a strong plea for the continued assistance of the minister and a promise to do all that he is able to make Detroit worthy of the person for whom it is named (Pontchartrain).[57]

We have another letter of nearly the same date as the one of Cadillac's just referred to, written by Alphonse de Tonty, one of Cadillac's lieutenants, which throws some light on the founding of the post and its surroundings. The letter does not bear any date, but it refers to Detroit as not yet established, though in progress of construction, and it is probable that this letter was written in 1702.

It must have been written after the truce was established between the Iroquois and French, for he plans to have merchandise carried over Niagara Falls, and this was not done until 1702. The first portion of the letter is devoted to the plan for establishing a fort at Niagara Falls and the manner of bringing goods to that point over lake Ontario and by carters to this post and then, again, by boat to Detroit. "Whence we shall be able to send them to the Miamis, at Chicago[58] and to the bay,[59] to carry on the trade with the tribes which are in large numbers there." From this he turns his attention to local matters of the post of Detroit and thus describes the place, "Our fort is one arpent square without

[57] "To maintain their grasp of the great west, the French sent M. de Cadillac with a hundred men to build a fort at Detroit, the key of the upper lakes. The wise choice of position is vindicated today by the stately City of the Straits, which occupies the site of the rude fortress of 1701.

Withrow's Pop. Hist. Canada, 171.

See letter of Father Carheil to Callieres in Jesuit Relations and Allies Documents, vol. 65, p. 193, in which he deplores the establishment of garrison posts and particularly (page 252) with the founding of Detroit, which the Indians "no longer look upon in any other light than that of an enemy's country."

Cadillac Papers. Report of Sept. 25, 1702.

[58] On the Chicago river, the present site of Chicago.

[59] Green Bay.

the bastions, very advantageously situated on an eminence, separated from the river by a gentle slope of about forty paces, which forms a very desirable glacis. We took care to put it at the narrowest part of the river, which is one gunshot across, being everywhere else a good half quarter of a league, and if the post is hereafter inhabited, the ground is very good there for building eventually a large town." Tonty also sets forth one of the principal reasons for establishing a post—the effort to stop further progress of the English. "If this settlement is continued it will be the means of preventing the English from coming and seizing on it in order to take from us the trade with the tribes of the further districts; of curbing the Iroquois and of holding our allies to their duty."[60]

In the spring of 1703 Cadillac returned to Detroit and proceeded with his work of improving the village and making a permanent colony. On the 31st of August of this year he made an official report of the progress to that time. The old quarrel with the Jesuits still interfered with his plans. They had obtained an order from the court permitting them to maintain the missions among the Indians; but it is very evident that Cadillac did not want them here and was determined to annoy them if they came, and one need not be surprised to find that they never came. The only matter of surprise is that Cadillac, in his letters, shows an anxiety to have them here, but his dislike to them is easily read between the lines. The truth is, he was afraid of them. "Can it be believed," he writes, "that I should have been willing, without powerful reasons, to thwart any Jesuit, or that I should have taken it into my head to attack that formidable society? I have not lived so long without knowing full well how dangerous it is to cross its path. It is true that I have attacked, to no small degree, but far rather as animated by zeal for the king's service, the whole society in this country only, and I have ever been well justified in all the contests I have had with it." "I am doing my utmost sufficiently to make them my friends, truly wishing to be theirs, but, if I dare say so, all impiety apart, it would be better to sin against God, than against them, for on the one hand pardon is received for it, while on the other, even a pretended offence is never forgiven in this world and would, perhaps, never be so in the other if their influence there were as great as it is in this country."

Count Pontchartrain had requested Cadillac to make friends with the Jesuits in the furtherance of the faith among the Indians. "I have only found three ways of succeeding in that," Cadillac responded. "The first is

[60] Cadillac Papers, not dated.

to let them do as they like, the second to do every thing they wish; the third to say nothing about what they do." Thus in order to live in peace with them, Detroit would have to be destroyed and the Indians driven back to Mackinac, the Jesuit mission.

Being unable to get along with the Jesuits, he undertook to get along without them. A number of the Huron Indians from Mackinac came in June to join those already at Detroit, leaving only twenty-five of their number with the missionary, Father Carheil. The few remaining there were expected to come to Detroit in the fall.[61] Some of the Miamis also came, as well as other tribes, and settled at the post.

Specimens of copper ore were found on the shores of lake Huron and sent to France for examination, and a request was made for men and means to push the explorations for discovery of mines of this and other metals. Mulberry trees were found in abundance on the Grand river,[62] and Cadillac thought a silk industry could be started at that point.

Feeling that because of the explorations so far carried on and the establishment of the colony he was the author of all the good work as yet accomplished, he asked, as a sufficient reward, that the king grant him a tract of land of six leagues frontage on both sides of the Detroit river, with the same depth, with the title of Marquis, and with higher, middle and lower jurisdiction, with hunting, fishing and trading rights.

The harvest for the year 1703 was plentiful, and there was an abundance to maintain a garrison of 150 soldiers, but Cadillac[63] wrote that he would probably not be burdened to maintain so many, for though he desired that number in order properly to defend the fort and impress the savages with his power, he had only dared to ask for fifty soldiers and had only in fact received twenty-five, and he did not know whether he would be able to retain even that small number. He requested an addition of a number from France in the coming spring, so that he might have at least one hundred well disciplined troops in the garrison.

Two of the Indian tribes proposed to form companies of soldiers from their tribes, with chiefs for captains and officers, on condition that they should be paid by the French government, at the same rate as the French soldiers. Cadillac recommended the plan and suggested that some of the principal Indian chiefs be invited to visit France and wait upon the

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[61] "This autumn I hope finally to tear his last feather from his wing, and I am convinced that this obstinate vicar (Fr. Carheil) will die in his parish without having a parishioner to bury him."

[62] In Canada.

[63] Cadillac Papers. Rept. of Aug. 31, 1703. Cadillac made two reports bearing the same date. They were probably made to different officers, but they now lie side by side in the French Archives.

king. A dwelling was put up for the Huron chief at the request of De Calliere, and some of the other chiefs asked for similar evidences of French bounty. "You may think," Cadillac writes, "from this beginning that the things I have planned are getting on fast. My opinion is that this is the most certain way to make these people subjects of the king and afterwards to make them christians. That would have a better effect than a hundred missionaries, for it is certain, that since they have been preaching the gospel to these people they have made no progress, and that all the good resulting from it may be reduced to the baptism of infants who die after having received it."[64] "If these memorials had been put forward by some one who had the assistance of the Jesuits, they would have been found of excellent quality and nothing could have seemed easier to put into practice. But because I have not consulted them, or rather because I have not been inclined to allow myself to be treated like a slave, as some of my predecessors who have commanded in this country, have done, they make everything impossible that I put forward or propose."

Much progress had been made in the way of agriculture, and some of the soldiers desired to abandon their military life and marry and settle on the lands near the village. Many of the civilians, Canadians, Cadillac calls them, also desired farms, and Cadillac requested the home government to give him authority to comply with these two requests. He advises the court that the attempt, in this manner, to make a permanent colony will be resisted by both Quebec and Montreal, as it will tend to draw people from those places to the new settlement, but the colony cannot become a success unless stability of tenure of land is held out as an inducement to make permanent improvements.

During the year (1703) the fort was set on fire and the church and the house of the Recollet were destroyed.[65] Like all his other troubles at this time, Cadillac laid this also to the Jesuits. The fire was set by an Indian who was shot, but the identity of the incendiary could not even then be determined, and it was supposed that he came from the Jesuit mission at Mackinac. With the destruction of the church, the church records that had been made since the founding of the post were

[64] Cadillac Papers. Report of November 19, 1704, in form of a dialogue with Pontchartrain. "M. Vincelot made the Ottawas take oaths, and has made they swear, by the share they claim in Paradise, to speak the truth. There has never been any precedent for this among the Ottawas tribes, and I will stake my life on it they cannot produce one. They would have raised their feet as readily as their hands, and they would have themselves baptised a hundred times for a hundred drinks of brandy; you can infer from that what their oath is. It is a fact which no one can dispute, that there is not a hut but has its own private divinity, as the serpent, the bear, the eagle, and so of the other animals, to which they sacrifice in their need, and especially on occasions of war or sickness."

[65] Cadillac Papers. Report of November 19, 1704.

destroyed; a new record was begun at once and has been continued to this day.

From the examination so far made of the reports and memorials of Cadillac, it would seem that he thought the only bad men in Canada were the Jesuits, but from other memorials of his and other official reports, and the well authenticated history of the times, we know that the Canadian government, from top to bottom, was honeycombed with corruption. The higher officials were all related to each other, and while one stole, the others turned their heads in order to avoid seeing the thieving, and after swearing to the innocence of the thief, divided the spoils.

When the establishment of Detroit was first proposed it was understood that Cadillac should have a monopoly of the trade at the post. This was a concession that had been granted to LaSalle in the Illinois country, and was not an unfair return for the time and money spent in founding and maintaining the post. The company that had the trade of Canada had failed a few years before this, and the entire expense of maintaining the government had to be borne by France, at this time. This company had never been required to make any direct return to France for the exclusive privileges of trade which it enjoyed, but it was compelled to keep the wheels of the colonial government moving at its own charge. The salaries of the governor and intendant, the judges and other officers, the priests, and the soldiers, all were to be paid by the company. The corruption of the times and the efforts of every official to feather his own nest at the expense of the company caused its ruin.[66]

In the year 1700, some of the most influential men of Montreal got together and drew up a petition to the king for permission to organize a new company to have the same exclusive privileges of trading that the old company had possessed. Cadillac was one of the signers of this petition.[67] It seems that the petition was granted, and that a corporation called The Company of the Colony of Canada was formed under the license so obtained. It does not appear that Cadillac ever became a member of the corporation, nor does it appear that he ever thought that the company would undertake to deprive him of his exclusive right to the trade of Detroit. It was not until the 18th of July, 1702, that

[66] The rights and duties of the West India Co. are set forth in Martin's Hist. of Upper and Lower Canada, p. 14.

[67] This original petition is now on exhibition and for sale by M. Dufossé in Paris. It consists of a single sheet of paper, and the price, 500 fr., has put it beyond my desire to purchase.

Cadillac first learned that the trade of Detroit belonged to the new company.[68] He complained to Count Pontchartrain of the injustice done to himself and to the colony, by turning this trade to the company, which was in no manner interested in the progress of the settlement, as it preferred rather to have the inhabitants hunters and traders than farmers.

"If you had known what its power was," he wrote to Pontchartrain, "you would have hoped for nothing from it; it is the most beggarly and chimerical company that ever existed. I would as soon see Harlequin emperor of the moon. It was this company that entirely upset my scheme by consistently opposing your intentions in an underhand manner, the whole being cunningly managed by the Jesuits of that country."[69]

The board of directors of the company was composed of the higher colonial officials and they were all, more or less, intimately related to each other.

The income of the company was almost exclusively derived from the fur trade and the sale of congés or licenses to trade with the Indians. The building of the fort at Detroit was not, in itself, objectionable to the company; but when Cadillac undertook to found a colony there, the company raised serious objections, for no revenue would come to the coffers of the company from farmers. It was not long before the company insisted on its right to the trade of Detroit and under directions of the governor, placed the clerks of the company in charge of the storehouse. Not only did the clerks refuse to obey the orders of Cadillac, but they had the effrontery to charge him with violating the law in directing the imprisonment, for a few hours, of one of these clerks, and Cadillac was ordered down to Montreal, where he was placed under arrest and detained from returning to his colony.

Believing that he could not obtain justice, as justice was at this time administered in Canada, he took steps to place his case, at once, before the minister, Pontchartrain. In this long recital of November 14, 1704, he narrated to the minister the plans upon which the post was first established, the object in commencing it, the promises of support which had been made by the minister, the corruption then existing in the company of the colony, the many instances in which he had detected officers of that company pilfering, and his utter inability to

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[68] Cadillac Papers. Report of November 19, 1704. This report covers 118 closely written pages and sets out at full length the trouble of the colony.
The company applied in 1700 for the exclusive right of trading at the post, Margry, V. 172.

[69] Cadillac Papers. Report of Nov. 14, 1704. This report was made by Cadillac at Quebec, and is in the form of a dialogue, in which Count Pontchartrain is represented as asking questions which are answered by Cadillac. The scene of the dialogue is laid in Quebec.

prevail upon the authorities to punish the thieves, because these very authorities shared in the plunder. He then recited his own quarrels with them and asked the assistance of the minister in protecting the infant colony.[70]

Cadillac had already pleaded his cause well, and the decision in his favor had been rendered some months before the writing of this report, but Count Pontchartrain's determination had not yet been made known to Cadillac. The method of communication between France and America was so slow that the things Cadillac was praying for in his letter of November 14, 1704, had already been granted to him on the 14th of the preceding June. The decision is based upon the letters of August, 1703. The reply of Pontchartrain is dated at Versailles June 14, 1704,[71] and in it the minister says: "I have received the letters you wrote me on the 30th and 31st of August last, with the papers which were thereto annexed. I have received, at the same time, the complaints of the directors of the Company of the Colony, as to the pretended losses it is making at Detroit, and as you anticipate it by the offer you make to undertake this post at your own risk, if that company will appoint you to its rights, I have proposed it to the king. His Majesty has agreed to it, and I am writing to these directors that he desires them to give it to you on your paying them for the goods which they now have there and reimbursing them for the useful erections they have put up there. The will of the king is that you should have the management, as well as the command, of this post, and that you should transact its trade for your profit as the company could have done. His majesty is issuing orders to M. M. Vaudreuil and de Beauharnois to give you all the help and protection which may be in their power. With all this assistance and any other just and reasonable request you may make, which his majesty will grant you, he hopes you will succeed in realizing the outline you have given us of this post. From this you may expect favors from his majesty proportioned to the service you render, and you may count on my contributing on my part to procuring them for you as far as I can. I am explaining the intentions of his majesty, on this subject to M. M. Vaudreuil and de Beauharnois, and to the directors of the company so that in future you may find no more obstacles at this post. Matters being thus ordered, you will have no more contests with the Jesuits nor with any other." On the 28th of September, 1705, and while still detained

[70] Concerning the surroundings of Detroit, he writes, "In all New France there is no land so good; finer grains cannot be seen nor larger crops. As regards the number of inhabitants, there is room to place Asia and Persia there by spreading them out to the right and left in the depth of the land."

[71] Cadillac Papers. Letter of Pontchartrain to Cadillac.

at Quebec, he entered into an agreement with the Company of the Colony to take Detroit off its hands. Temporarily triumphant over his enemies, Cadillac returned to Detroit and at once set about the formation of the colony on a permanent basis.

On his return to Detroit he took two Recollet priests with him, one of whom, Dominique la Marche intended to learn at once the Huron language. He invited Canadians to take up permanent residences in the post and held out inducements to them to remove there with their families. A great many accepted the invitation, and the first grand immigration towards the west took place in the summer, 1706. Many came simply to look over the ground and then returned to Montreal to report and possibly to remove there permanently.[72]

Cadillac understood that he had the right, under the above mentioned letter of Pontchartrain, to make permanent grants of lands to actual settlers, and he made many of these conveyances of village lots, garden plats, and farms, in the years 1707, 1708 and 1709. Nearly 150 of these grants were made by him,[73] and the cultivated farms so conveyed stretched six miles along the river front.

Artisans skilled in all kinds of trade that a frontier city could employ were brought here, and they were licensed to engage in their several trades, but no person was permitted to carry on any business save that for which he had a license.

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[72] "The large number of people that the Sieur de la Mothe has taken from this country, with another fifty soldiers that I must give him, in accordance with your orders, has greatly reduced the troops here, and I have had some cadets accepted in order to relieve the old soldiers."

Cadillac Papers. Report of Vaudreuil, Quebec, Nov. 4, 1706.

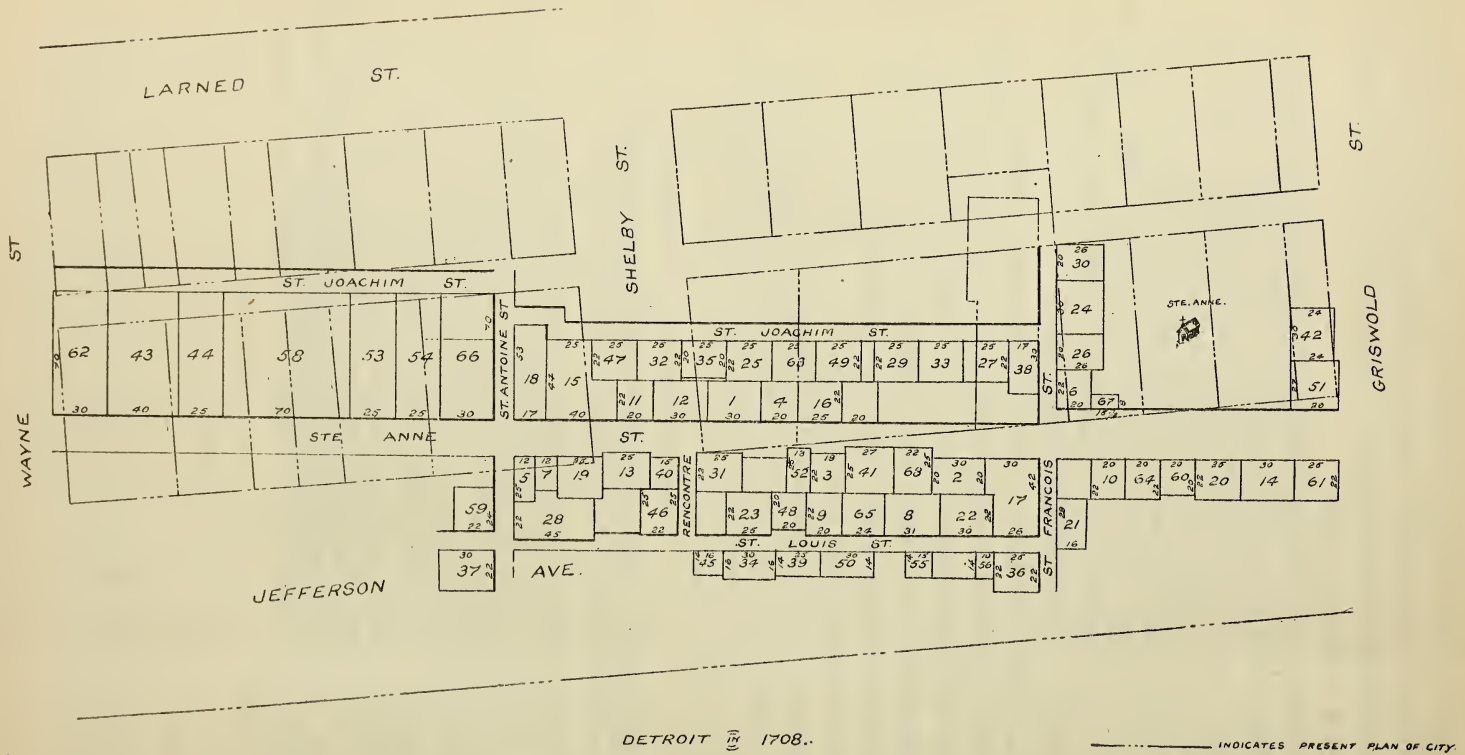
A complete list of every person that came to Detroit before 1710, together with the dates of their first arrival, where it could be ascertained, is given in "Cadillac's Village," a pamphlet published by myself in 1896. Reprinted in "Landmarks of Detroit," pp. 56 to 100.

[73] I have copies of nearly one hundred and fifty of these grants, and from those conveying village lots have undertaken to construct the village plat of Detroit as it was in 1708, a copy of which is given herewith.

The lands were sold upon payment of a small sum each year as rent, and an additional sum each year, usually 10 livres, paid to Cadillac himself in satisfaction for rights owned by him and surrendered to the purchaser, such as, the right to repair guns, the right to carry on the trade of blacksmithing, etc.

The explanation made of this tax was that he had the exclusive right of trading at the post, and that he believed that for the advancement of this post it would be expedient that he should give up his right to everybody; and as he was thus deprived of a certain revenue he thought that he would impose a tax on all those whom he permitted to carry on this trade, to take the place of the favor which was granted to him by His Majesty.

M. d'Aigremont notes that this tax was established at 10 livres a head. (Cadillac Papers. Report Sept. 15, 1708.)



DETROIT IN 1708..

INDICATES PRESENT PLAN OF CITY

THIS MAP AND A LARGE PORTION OF "CADILLAC'S VILLAGE" WERE REPRINTED IN LANDMARKS OF DETROIT, PAGES 56 TO 106.

Lands were not sold outright, as we understand such sales at the present day. The owner was compelled to cultivate his land, if a farm or garden, and improve it, if a village lot,[74] and his neglect to perform this obligation worked a forfeiture of his rights, for the new lands were only given to those who would use them.[75]

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[74] In the Montreal Papers is a protest of Louis Gastineau which throws some light on the way of conducting affairs at Detroit. The protest is dated Sept. 28, 1709, and was made before the notary at Montreal. Gastineau owned two lots in Detroit, one of which he had purchased of Anthonie Dupuy dit Beauregard, and the other he had purchased directly from Cadillac, and held his conveyance for it, made by Cadillac and his secretary, Grandmesnil, dated March 10, 1708. Gastineau had paid all the taxes and rents due for both lots and had built a house, in the spring of 1709, according to the order of Cadillac affixed to the church door. He left Detroit and went down to Montreal and remained until the fall of 1709. In the meantime there occurred one of those social catastrophies that, it seems, even our early colonists were not exempt from. There lived in Detroit a widow, Marie LePage, and this Grandmesnil (whose name was Etienne Veron de Grandmesnil) was accused by the priest of being the father of Marie Therese LePage, a daughter of the widow. Grandmesnil found it convenient to leave Detroit before the entry of the baptism of this child, July 24, 1709, and went to Montreal, where he was appointed the confidential attorney of Cadillac by letter of attorney, dated July 26, 1709.

It became necessary for Gastineau, in order to return to Detroit, to obtain permission to do so, from Grandmesnil. None of the records disclose the reason Grandmesnil had for refusing this permission, but he did refuse it, and the protest is against this refusal and sets out very clearly the great losses that the refusal will entail on Gastineau—the loss of debts due him from citizens and from the Indians, and the loss of his two houses. Gastineau afterwards returned to Detroit. He was engaged in business in Quebec in 1710 and married Jeanne LeMoyne at Batiscan, January 22, 1710. Grandmesnil died at Three Rivers May 18, 1721. As long as he remained in Montreal he acted as the agent for Cadillac.

[75] Cadillac Papers. In the Paris archives is a document which fully explains the conditions contained in the conveyances made by Cadillac. This paper was not written until 1721, but it is an extract from a deed made by Cadillac in 1707, and his conveyances were all made at nearly the same time. The translation of this document is as follows: "Clauses and conditions expressed in the concessions granted by M. de la Motte Cadillac at the fort of Detroit on Lake Erie to several inhabitants of that colony, namely:

	livres	denier
To Michel Campos, a site of fifty-three feet in length on St. Antoine street and seventeen feet on St. Anne street at a charge, namely of five livres six sols quit rent and rent, this (amounts to)	5	6
And moreover for other rights which M. de la Mothe has given up, which consist of permission for all trading	10	
	15	6

The whole payable on the twentieth of March in each year in good, valuable and saleable skins, and at first in coined money which there may be at the said place.

To take their corn to the mill to grind and to pay out of it, as the price for grinding, eight livres, full weight, per minot.

The preference in case of sale.

Not to be able to sell in mortmain without the consent of the said M. de la Motte.

Liable for the public taxes and services and for the fines of alienation.

Not to be able to carry on any trade as a blacksmith, an edge tool maker, a locksmith, armorer, or a brewer of beer, directly or indirectly, for ten years, without holding a permit for it from M. de la Motte.

Of sending to Montreal or other places in the lower colony, all the effects he may have, or of taking them there himself, and bringing back any merchandise he pleases, and also as large a quantity as he likes, on the condition that he shall sell his said effects or merchandise at Detroit with his own hands and himself only, or by other inhabitants of the said place, and not by foreigners or strangers, nor by his hired men so styling themselves, nor by people not settled and not residing at the said place with their families, on the penalty of confiscation of the said effects and merchandise.

And in case of the sale of part of the said site to a foreigner, the purchaser in whatever manner he may be, or become such, shall be bound to pay to the said M. de la Motte, his heirs and assigns, in perpetuity, *pro rata* of the said rent and quit rent, and moreover and in addition for the right of trading which he says he has given up, the sum of ten livres on the twentieth of March in each year.

Those who hold several sites are only obliged to pay ten livres for the free transaction of all trade.

In the other concessions, besides the conditions above, the inhabitants are to set up the Maypole before the door of the manor house on the first day of May and in default of carrying it out are to pay three livres in money or skins."

THE CHURCH.

One of the first duties attended to by Cadillac, after the location for the fort was determined upon, was the erection of a church building. It was dedicated on the feast of Ste. Anne, July 26, 1701, and was named Ste. Anne's Church. The various church buildings that have from that time until the present day been occupied by this church society have been destroyed by fire, torn down and others rebuilt, but the name still remains to its successors, the Ste. Anne's church of the present Detroit.

The church records began in 1701 with the erection of the first church, but in 1703[76] whatever records were then in existence, were destroyed by the fire that burned the church and some other buildings in the fort. A new building was at once erected and a new record was commenced, which is still in existence. The parish records are very full and contain a great many items of historical interest. Occasional mistakes or omissions may be found, owing probably to the carelessness of the priest, either, in not making the necessary entries or in making them on pieces of paper that have been lost.

The first priest was Nicolas Benoit Constantin de l'Halle and he generally signs his name to the parish records "Frere Constantin" or "Frere Constantin Delhalle, Recollet aumonier." He was not a missionary among the Indians, but the aumonier or chaplain to the troops and garrison.

Of course there is no way of finding out what the records before the fire of 1703 were. It is pretty certain that they contained the record of the baptism of Therese, a daughter of Alphonse de Tonty, and of another child of Tonty that died shortly after birth; also a child of Cadillac born in 1702.[77]

It is possible that here was also recorded the marriage of Pierre Roy and Marguerite Onabanikoue (a Miami Indian) for they were termed legal husband and wife in 1703[78] and there is no record extant of their marriage.

The fort was set on fire in 1703. The intention of the incendiary was not, probably, to burn the church but to destroy the warehouse filled with furs and goods. The result of the fire is thus reported by Cadillac: "The fire having been put in a barn which was flanked by the two bastions and was full of corn and other crops, the

[76] The fire took place Oct. 5, 1703. See Ste. Anne's church record, page 1.
[77] Sketch of the life of Cadillac, p. 22.
[78] "Cadillac's Village," p. 33.

flame by a strong wind burnt down the church, the house of the Recollet, that of M. Tonty and mine, which cost me a loss of four hundred pistols, which I could have saved if I had been willing to let the company's warehouse burn, and the king's ammunition. I had even one hand burnt and I lost, for the most part, all my papers in it."[79]

"The savage who set fire to the barn was shot; we have never been able to learn who it was; we may be able to obtain some information about it hereafter. All the tribes settled at Detroit assert that it was a strange savage who did this deed, or rather—they say—some Frenchman who has been paid for doing this wicked act; God alone knows."

Cadillac thought, and stated, that the Jesuits at Mackinac were to blame for the burning; that they either planned it or assented to it.

In 1706 the Marquis de Vaudreuil made the following report regarding the fire,[80] "I have believed, in common with the whole country, that it was a savage who set fire to the barn at Detroit in 1703, but M. de Ramezay has just sent me word that an inhabitant of Montreal named Campau[81] has told him that it was a soldier named LaVille[82] of Tonty's company who set fire to it. I am going to have the inhabitant and the soldier sent down, and I shall hand over this matter to the Intendant, to whom I have already given notice of it so that he could have the prosecution prepared."

The first entry in the present church record is the baptism of Marie Therese De la Mothe Cadillac, daughter of the commandant, February 2, 1704. As the church record certifies that it was opened February 14, 1704, it follows that this entry was made some days later than the baptism. Perhaps this was because there was no paper in Detroit on which the record could be made until the 14th of February.

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[79] Cadillac Papers. Dialogue with Pontchartrain, Nov. 19, 1704.
The church building and contents belonged to Cadillac. "Cadillac's Village," page 13, where a full description of all of his buildings are given.

[80] Cadillac Papers. This portion of the report is not printed in N. Y. Hist. Doc.

[81] There were, at this time, two Campaus in Detroit, Jacques and Jean. "Cadillac's Village," 21.
Jacques Campot (Campau) accused Pierre Rocquant dit LaVille, a soldier (a drummer) in the company of Tonty, of setting this fire, and LaVille was arrested and detained in prison some time at Quebec. Campau claimed to have obtained his information from Madam Tonty, and said that it was at the instance of Tonty, and to injure Cadillac, that the fire had been set.
On the trial in 1706 it appeared that at the time of the alleged statement by Madam Tonty, she was sick and delirious; that at the time of the fire, an Indian of the Loup nation, who was running away from the fort and was supposed to have been the incendiary, was shot at and probably wounded, for he was seen to fall, and where he fell blood stains were found, but the Indian escaped.
LaVille was acquitted and set at liberty, but his accuser, Campau, was condemned to pay a fine of 300 livres for his false accusation and to stand committed to prison until the fine was paid. Jugements et Deliberations du Conseil Superieur de Quebec, vol. 5, page 457.

[82] The only LaVille I find who would correspond with this individual is Pierre Roquan dit LaVille, born in 1676, a shoemaker. He married Marie Louise Aigron, at Montreal, Nov. 10, 1709. (Tanguay, vol. 7, p. 38.)

The last act of Fr. Constantin records the burial of Rafael Bienvenue April 24, 1706. On the 6th of June, 1706, the priest was killed by the Ottawa Indians. There was no martyrdom about the manner of his taking off, as has been maintained by some writers.[84] There are two accounts of the manner of his death, and from both we learn that it resulted from his carelessly and needlessly exposing himself to the fury of the savage Ottawas on the war path. The report from Cadillac[85] states that the Ottawas bore ill will against the French and Miamis; that they attacked the Miamis at the fort and killed Father Constantin and the soldier named La Riviere. If they had not had an ill feeling against the French they could have avoided killing these two men, but the ill feeling is very apparent "for they went and bound the priest in his garden, where he was stabbed with a knife, which he could not ward off, and afterwards shot him three or four times while he was escaping and approaching very slowly to the door of the fort."

The other account is that of the Indian, Misconky, who was a chief among the Ottawas. His statement was made to Vaudreuil September 26, 1706, is very long and goes into the details of the quarrel between the two Indian nations. He says that he was with the Ottawas when they attacked and killed a number of the Miamis in the woods not far from the fort, and that the Ottawas immediately started on a run to attack the Miami fort which was near the French fort. The Miamis killed a young Ottawa chief and then they withdrew into the French fort, which was opened for their reception. The Ottawas, in despair at the loss of their young chief, determined to burn the fort. Misconky prevented this by taking from the Indians their burning arrows, which they were about to shoot into the village to set fire to the buildings, "showing them that they must not do harm to the French who were not at all included in the quarrels we had with the Miamis. While this was going on I heard a voice shouting that the yellow robe had been seized. I ran there and saw my brother (Jean le Blanc) who was sending the Recollet Father back to the fort, having unbound him and begged him to tell the Sieur de Bourgmont not to fire on us and not to give the Miamis any ammunition, but to put them out of his fort and let us alone. We did not know until the next day that the Recollet Father and the soldier had been killed, for those who had fired at them did not boast of it." There was no priest to perform the services of the church over the remains of the dead priest and soldier, and

[84] Letter of R. R. Elliott in Sunday News-Tribune of Detroit, July, 1895.
[85] Cadillac Papers. Letter to Vaudreuil Aug. 27, 1706.

the church contains no record of their burial. Many years afterwards (1723) the body of the priest was exhumed, identified by the vestments in which it had been buried, transported and reburied with appropriate ceremonies in the church.[86]

When Cadillac returned to Detroit in the fall of 1706 he brought with him two Recollet priests, Dominique de la Marche and Cherubin Deniau. The former came with intention of studying the Indian language, but he at once took upon himself the task of keeping the parish records.

The first record of De la Marche is that of the baptism of Antoine Malet, the son of Pierre Malet, August 16, 1706. On the 27th of April, 1707, he records the baptism of Louis Antoine Cheanonvouzon, surname Quarante Sols, a very powerful Huron chief who died the same day, aged 48 years.

Deniau's name first appears on the record in connection with the baptism of Jacques de Marsac de Cobtrion on the 7th of November, 1707, and he continued in charge of the church until after Cadillac left Detroit.

There was no mission established at Detroit, and whatever missionary work was done was performed by the curate. Marriages among the Indians[87] are not of very common occurrence in these records, but a large number of baptisms are noted, many of them of Indians well advanced in life. The priests were evidently diligent workers in the vineyard, and if they had kept a private record of the social ills and family quarrels of the day that they were called upon to settle, it would make interesting reading now.

THE NAME OF THE POST.

Louis Phelypeaux, Count de Pontchartrain, Chancellor of France, was born 1643 and died in 1727. He was a counsellor of parliament and the first president of the parliament of Bretagne (1677); intendant of finance and controller general.[88] He became secretary of state, and on

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[86] Ste. Anne's records of this date, also "Cadillac's Village," 25. A full copy of this acte of translation is printed in Tanguay's "A Travers les Registers," p. 117.

[87] At the request of Cadillac permission was given to the French to marry the Indian women, but there are very few of these marriages recorded. Father Christian Denissen, in a letter on this subject printed in "Cadillac's Village," page 37, undertakes to explain this on the supposition that the Canadians loved their own country women more than they did the Indian maidens, and therefore would not ally themselves with the latter. This is probably not the true explanation, and a much more logical one is furnished in a communication from Mr. T. P. Hall, of Detroit. "In speaking of Indian marriages," he says "it is a fact, as Tanguay shows, that they were much fewer than supposed, and for a good reason; the *coureurs de bois*, who lived with the Indians through the hunting season, found no difficulty in buying a squaw wife, while the interpreters and those of influence often had a chief's daughter offered them which it would have been discourteous to refuse."
Letter of Valliant in Jesuit Relations.

[88] Grande Dictionaire Universel, Art. Pontchartrain.

the death of Seignelay, minister of marine, in 1699, Louis XIV appointed him chancellor. Here he defended the liberties of the Gallican church against the attacks of the Jesuits and attracted the aversion of Madam de Maintenon.

He is described by St. Simon as a very small (meagre) man, with a remarkably bright countenance, quick to comprehend, agreeable in conversation, and prompt at repartee. He was, nevertheless, quiet in his demeanor, simple in his habits and generally liked. It was to him that the first proposals for the establishment of Detroit were made, and while the plans were still before him, and undecided upon, he was appointed chancellor and his son Jerome Phelypeaux became minister of marine as his successor. The plan for the establishment was determined by Jerome, and the new place was named after him, Fort Pontchartrain.

Jerome Phelypeaux, Count de Pontchartrain, the son, was born in 1674 and died in 1747. Saint Simon says he was in many respects very unlike his father. He was active, a hard worker, clever; but in spite of all this, he was disagreeable and excessively vain, displaying coarseness on all occasions; base minded in the highest degree, he loved depravity (mal) simply because it was depravity; jealous even of his father, who bitterly complained of him to his most intimate friends; a cruel tyrant even to his wife, who, although she was a woman of spirit, was agreeable, sweet tempered and compliant, and the idol of the court; barbarous even to his mother; a monster, in a word, who only retained his position near the king by reason of his knowledge of the secrets of affairs in Paris, which was in his department.[89] This is the man after whom Cadillac's settlement was first named.

After the death of Louis XIV, Phelypeaux was attached to the council of the regency, where he served some time, his sole function being to snuff the candle. Accused of having ruined the marine and of having enriched himself at the expense of the state, he did not even undertake to make answer, and at the suggestion of St. Simon, the regent ordered him dismissed from his offices, which were given to his son, the Count de Maurepas (1715).[90]

Notwithstanding the bitter words of St. Simon, Pontchartrain must have been an able man to have attained and retained the position which he held under Louis XIV, for the management of colonial affairs were entirely under his control. He must have been an industrious worker,

[89] Memoires de Saint Simon, IV, 378. It is well to remember that this was written by an enemy.

[90] Grand Dictionaire Universel, Art. Pontchartrain.

for all of the official correspondence was carefully examined and annotated by him, and many of the replies are in his handwriting. If he had been as bad a man as St. Simon paints him, it is scarcely to be comprehended that he could have retained his position during fifteen years of the reign of Louis XIV and the regency.

Taking from this man, then, its official name, the founder called the new post Fort Pontchartrain, but from its location on the strait it was generally called Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit. Sometimes even in the commencement of its history it was referred to as Detroit, and subsequently the name of Pontchartrain was dropped altogether. The change of name was not accomplished without a prolonged struggle, however.

There are many early maps showing the location of the Detroit river, on which the different posts are laid down. I have not had access to many of them, but of a few I possess I will give a short statement.

The map of Galinee has no place laid down; it was made before St. Joseph was built. This map is found in Harris and in Winsor's Cartier to Frontenac.

In LaHontan's map, Fort St. Joseph is located at the present site of Port Huron. Detroit had not been established at the time of LaHontan's visit; his map is dated 1689.

The map in LaPothier's Voyage is quite small and it is not unaccountable that Detroit is omitted altogether.

The same can be said of the map in "Histoire des Colonies Européennes."

In Moll's atlas, plate 46, there is no mention of Detroit, or of any place on the river.

There are several maps in Mill's report on the boundaries of Ontario, designated as follows:

1st. Senex map, Paris, 1710, does not indicate any place on the strait.

2d. Jeffer's map of Canada, 1762, locates Fort Pontchartrain.

3d. Bell's map, 1772, gives Fort Pontchartrain.

4th. D'Anville's map, improved by English surveys, since the peace (1763), gives Fort Pontchartrain.

5th. Map showing French possessions in 1756, gives Fort Pontchartrain.

None of the Mill's maps show Detroit or St. Joseph by those names.

In the Nieuwe Kaart Van Kanada, 1769, Staat Van Amerika, III, 427, Fort Pontchartrain is located.

Hennepin's "Carte d'un Nouveau Monde" gives no place on the strait. The map was published in 1698.

Sayer and Jeffery's reproduction of D'Anville's North America (Winsor's Mississippi basin, 116) gives Fort Pontchartrain.

General map of British middle colonies, 1776, (Id., p. 118) gives Fort Detroit.

Fort Pontchartrain, only, is indicated on Bellins' map of 1774, reproduced in Shea's Charlevoix, vol. 6.

In Bellins' atlas of 1764, vol. 1, on plate 4, the fort and village of Detroit are located and Fort DuLuth is also located on the easterly side of the St. Clair river nearly at Lake Huron; on plate 6 is given "Ville du Detroit." Plate 12 is entirely devoted to the Detroit river from Lake St. Clair to Lake Erie, showing the village of Detroit, and there is annexed a "Plan du Fort du Detroit," accurately drawn, showing the location of all the streets and houses at that time. There is no mention in these maps of Fort Pontchartrain.

In 1763 was issued "A new map of North America from the latest discoveries," and gives the location of Fort Pontchartrain on "The Strait."

A French map showing the English colonies in 1783, prepared by R. Phelipeau, gives both names, Detroit and Pontchartrain. At this time, however, the new fort, Fort Lernoult, had been erected, so that it was hardly proper to refer to Detroit as a fort under any circumstances.

Bonne's map gives the name as Fort du Detroit and also locates Fort du Luth, as in Bellins' map of 1764.

It is possible that after the destruction of Fort St. Joseph by Baron LaHontan, there was another post established on the opposite side of the river, as is indicated on Bellins' map, and that this was called Fort Duluth or perhaps Detroit, sometimes, and is the place over which Longueil was commandant in 1700. This may be possible, but it is hardly probable, for the expedition of Cadillac passed by this place on its descent in 1701, and it would be highly improbable that no mention would be made of the visit, especially as his troops were on the verge of desertion at that time, and the priest, Vaillant, would not have permitted such an opportunity of succeeding in his discontent to have escaped him.

By far the most interesting and important map that I have seen

LE CANADA, ou
VELLE FRANCE, &c.
de diverses Relations des
acois, Anglois, Hollandois, &c
Par N. SANSON d'Abbeville
Geographe ordre du Roy.
avecq Privilege pour Vingt Ans.
A Paris Chez l'Auteur.
1657.
FRANCE
NORT
GOLFE DE
St LAURENS
ISLE
DE
TERRE NEUVE
Cap Breton
Isle de Sable
le Grand Bancq
Brest
Belle Isle
Cap de Grace
Cap Rouge
Baye d'Orge
Baye Blanche
ou de Ste Claire
Baye de la Conception
Gr. Golfe
Isles d'Espoir
Hollandsche Bay
Bay Sauvage
Port de S Nicolas
Port de Quartier
Lage Hoeck
Twen Huysers Hoeck
Zugd Oost Hoeck
Anthonis oste Cameels Hoeck
Xuala
Guaxule
Aminoia
Guacacoia
Guancane
Uraaunque
325
330
320
325
55
50
45
40
35

In the Nieuwe Kaart Van Kanada, 1769, Staat Van Amerika, III, 427, Fort Pontchartrain is located.

Hennepin's "Carte d'un Nouveau Monde" gives no place on the strait. The map was published in 1698.

Sayer and Jeffery's reproduction of D'Anville's North America (Winsor's Mississippi basin, 116) gives Fort Pontchartrain.

General map of British middle colonies, 1776, (Id., p. 118) gives Fort Detroit.

Fort Pontchartrain, only, is indicated on Bellins' map of 1774, reproduced in Shea's Charlevoix, vol. 6.

In Bellins' atlas of 1764, vol. 1, on plate 4, the fort and village of Detroit are located and Fort DuLuth is also located on the easterly side of the St. Clair river nearly at Lake Huron; on plate 6 is given "Ville du Detroit." Plate 12 is entirely devoted to the Detroit river from Lake St. Clair to Lake Erie, showing the village of Detroit, and there is annexed a "Plan du Fort du Detroit," accurately drawn, showing the location of all the streets and houses at that time. There is no mention in these maps of Fort Pontchartrain.

In 1763 was issued "A new map of North America from the latest discoveries," and gives the location of Fort Pontchartrain on "The Strait."

A French map showing the English colonies in 1783, prepared by R. Phelipeau, gives both names, Detroit and Pontchartrain. At this time, however, the new fort, Fort Lernoult, had been erected, so that it was hardly proper to refer to Detroit as a fort under any circumstances.

Bonne's map gives the name as Fort du Detroit and also locates Fort du Luth, as in Bellins' map of 1764.

It is possible that after the destruction of Fort St. Joseph by Baron LaHontan, there was another post established on the opposite side of the river, as is indicated on Bellins' map, and that this was called Fort Duluth or perhaps Detroit, sometimes, and is the place over which Longueil was commandant in 1700. This may be possible, but it is hardly probable, for the expedition of Cadillac passed by this place on its descent in 1701, and it would be highly improbable that no mention would be made of the visit, especially as his troops were on the verge of desertion at that time, and the priest, Vaillant, would not have permitted such an opportunity of succeeding in his discontent to have escaped him.

By far the most interesting and important map that I have seen

LE CANADA, ou
NOUVELLE FRANCE, &c
Tiree de diverses Relations des
Francois, Anglois, Hollandois, &c
Par N SANSON d'Abbeville
Geographe ordre du Roy
Avecq Privilege pour Vingt Ans.
A Paris Chez l'Auteur
1657
Septentrion
ESTOTILANDE ou TERRE DE LABRADOR et NOUVELLE BRETAGNE
LE CANADA ou NOUVELLE FRANCE
MER DE CANADA ou DE
MER DE NORT
Golfe de Hudson
la Grande Baye
Lac Superieur
Lac des Puans
Lac Ontario ou de S Louys
Lac Erie ou du Chat
Lac des Eaux de Mer
LE SAGUENAY
Quouatouata
Oupapinachouet
Oumouquidda, ou Bersiamites
Cacouchaqui
Port Neuf
Esquimaus
Port de S Nicolas
Port de Quarsous
Port aux Quilles
Port aux Coudres
Port aux Anglois
Port aux Oyseaux
Port aux Basques
Port de Roche
Port de Grave
Port de Miscou
Port de Pierre
Port de Rat
Port Royal
Port de Canceau
Port de Toutes Isles
Port de Trespassez
GOLFE DE S LAURENS
ISLE DE S Iean
ACADIE
TERRE NEUVE
Cap Breton
Cap de Grace
Cap de Canceau
Cap de Sable
Cap de Rat
Cap de Raze
Cap de S Clare
Cap de la Conception
Cap de S Francois
Cap Rouge
Cap Fichet
Cap de la Splus
Isle de Sable
Isles d'Espon
Isles Percées
Isles Margomode
Isles Mingan
Isles Scatori
Isles Bacalaos
Isles Mamelles
Isles Rossignol
Isles Loups Marins
Isles Monts Deserts
Isles Pastay
Isles Mataconi
Isles Mataconi
Isles Mataconi

is that contained in "L'Amerique en Plusieurs Cartes" etc., par N. Sanson d'Abbeville. This atlas was first printed in 1657 and contains a very good map of the rivers Detroit and St. Clair and of lakes Erie, St. Clair and Huron. The date of publication (1657) precedes by some twelve years the advent of the white man in this part of the country, showing conclusively that travelers were here long before the date of the first record of their visits. The map, moreover, contains the names and locations of various Indian missions established by the Jesuits. The existence of this atlas has been known to historical writers, for there is a copy of it in Winsor's history of America, but its historical importance appears never to have been recognized by one who has written on the subject of the early western explorers.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE OTTAWAS AND MIAMIS.

The quarrel between the Ottawas and Miamis, which broke out in 1705, was the outgrowth of jealousies and rivalries that had been growing for several years, and needed but the opportunity to display itself.

Before the founding of Detroit the Ottawas had a settlement at Mackinac and were under the spiritual guidance of Father Joseph J. Marest, S. J.[1] The entire western country was termed "The country of the Ottawas," and is thus constantly referred to in communications prior to the year 1701, the founding of Detroit. When the fort at Detroit was established the Indians that had congregated there with Cadillac were located in their forts at short distances from the village, as follows: The Hurons below the fort at a good distance; the Oppenagos or Wolves, a short distance above the fort; and at a short distance further up the stream four tribes of the Ottawas.[2]

At this time not all of the Ottawas had come to Detroit nor were there a sufficient number of Miamis to form an establishment. Apparently none of the Miamis came to settle until the fall of 1702, and then eighteen came to examine the situation and make report to their tribe, which was expected to come in the following year. Efforts were made to induce the remainder of the Ottawas to remove from Mackinac, but the Jesuits were using all of their influence to prevent the emigration.

A strong friendship existed, at this time, between the Hurons and Miamis. For Quarant Sols, an important Huron chief, there was erected a house of oak of ten feet frontage, with a depth of twenty-four feet, situated on the edge of the river overlooking his tribe. and here

[1] Cadillac Papers. Jesuit Letters No. 2. Father Anjaltan, "who is one of the most able Jesuits and the only one who has mastered the Ottawas and Algonquin tongues," had been with this tribe before the coming of Marest. See Jesuit Letters No. 3.

[2] Cadillac Papers. Cadillac's report of Sept. 25, 1702.

he lived in a splendor unknown to his savage friends; but in spite of this attention shown to him by the French, it was rumored that he was undertaking to get his own nation and the Miamis to go to trade with the English.[1]

In 1703 two other tribes, the Sauteaurs and Mississaquez, came and formed a settlement on the river, or near lake Ste. Claire. The tribes were united and formed one settlement.[2] Thirty Hurons also came from Mackinac to join those already at Detroit, thus leaving only twenty-five at the Mackinac mission, and even this small remnant was expected to come to Detroit in the fall.

Several families of the Miamis came and incorporated themselves with the Hurons and some families of the Nepissiriniens joined the Ottawas and Oppenagos. The Sinago Ottawas remained at Mackinac, but reported that they would soon visit Detroit, and six large huts of Kiskakouns also sent word that they wished to come. The Iroquois, with whom the other nations had, for years, been quarreling, were represented by thirty families in 1704. There were not enough of them to form a separate settlement and fort, but they were sufficient to show that, temporarily, at least, peace existed between the tribes.

The influx of Indians was so great that there were permanently located here, in 1704, 2,000 people, of whom there were 400 good men bearing arms.[3] When asked how he had induced all these people to locate at the post without expense to the king, Cadillac replied "I do not know how I did it; what I do know is that I have not spent a farthing, and that the governor general and intendant would not grant me even the value of one pistole to make use of on the occasion; that on the contrary, both of them, and above all, the Jesuits, have employed every means and exhausted all their strength and their ingenuity to prevent the savages from coming to settle here, but all their efforts have been fruitless."

This was the state of affairs when Cadillac was called from his post in 1704 to go to Quebec to answer the charges preferred against him by the company. There was an evident disposition on the part of the company to abandon Detroit, at this time, and it is only by the fortunate turn of circumstances that its ruin was averted. The company did not want it to prosper. They were losing money in maintaining it. Its garrison had been so depleted that only fourteen soldiers were

[1] N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 752, 743.
[2] Cadillac Papers. Report August 31, 1703.
[3] Cadillac Papers. Dialogue with Pontchartrain.

left, and no wages or clothes had been given to them for three years.[1] There were thirty employes of the company in Detroit, far outnumbering the garrison, and they frequently showed a disposition to take affairs into their own hands and ignore the orders of Cadillac.

The quarrel between the Ottawas and Miamis had not as yet broken out, but hard feelings existed among those portions of these tribes remaining in the neighborhood of Mackinac; and de la Covert was sent with two boats loaded with merchandise to the Miamis to arrange the disputes between these Indians. DeMauthet was also sent among the Ottawas on the same errand, though Cadillac charged that both of these emissaries were sent for the sole purpose of trying to prevent the savages from coming to Detroit. M. de Vincennes was sent to the Miamis Aouyatanouns, with the pretended purpose of putting an end to the war begun by them against the tribes settled at Detroit, and the Iroquois.* As a matter of fact, however, this war had been ended before Vincennes set out on his expedition, and its termination was known to the officials at Quebec, so that the sending of Vincennes had a deeper meaning than appeared on the surface.

It was the duty of Cadillac as commandant to take charge of these Indian quarrels and to settle them, or protect his allies; and putting these affairs in the hands of men belonging to the company was a slight to Cadillac, and an evidence that his manner of conducting the post was not to their liking.[2]

Before the Aouyatanouns made the attack on the Indians at Detroit, the Miamis on the St. Joseph river started to come to Detroit to settle. At the same time fifteen savages of the Illinois tribe started on the war path. But all of the latter were taken prisoners, brought to Detroit and publicly whipped with birch rods at the fort; four of them were then permitted to return to their tribe with directions to have a delegation of important men come to Detroit to explain their actions. The Illinois said that Elouaousse, an Ottawas chief at Mackinac, had been among them to arrange a war against those of his own tribe, who had settled at

[1] Cadillac Papers. Dialogue with Pontchartrain.

*Cadillac Papers. Dialogue—In this war, which seems to have been of short duration, the Aouyatanouns, one of the Miami tribes, killed one Ottawas, two Hurons, and one Pattawatami, at Detroit. Cadillac made them make amends to the injured tribes, in Indian fashion, and they sent chiefs to Detroit with promises of better conduct in the future. All this was before Cadillac left in 1704.

[2] Cadillac Papers. Dialogue with Pontchartrain. "Father Marest, Superior of Mackinac, and of the Missions of the Ottawas, Tonty, the captain of Detroit, and Manthet, were together at Quebec. It was there and then that the ruin of Detroit was arranged with the Superior of the Jesuits of Quebec, and with the general in command and the intendant, and with the board of directors, having planned to re-establish the conges and the mission of Mackinac. And so that the business might not fail, Father Marest went up again with a boat load of merchandise, M. de Manthet with him in two other boats, and M. de Tonty, to Detroit, and by the same means they induced the savages to ask for M. Boudor, who took to the Ottawas more than twenty thousand francs worth of goods and brandy."

Detroit, and that he had gained over to the scheme the fifteen Illinois who had been made prisoners, but that the remainder of the Illinois had nothing to do with the affair.

Father Gravier, a Jesuit, was among the Illinois, as was also M. Deliete, a relative of Tonty, and the aims they had in permitting the plans to attack Detroit to be carried out, even in part, was for the purpose of inducing the Indians at Detroit to return to Mackinac for protection and to avoid war. Elouaousse did not set out to go to the Illinois until some time after Father Marest and Manthet had arrived at Mackinac, and they were thus beginning to put their plans in working order.

The affairs did not turn out to their satisfaction, however, for all of the Hurons left Mackinac and settled at Detroit, and all of the Ottawas came except some 60 or 80. "This migration," reports Cadillac, "has surprised the whole body of the Jesuits in this country, who were not expecting it any more than the governor general and the intendant, who had trusted Manthet and de la Couvert, and above all Fathers Maret and de Carheil."[1]

The sixty Ottawas that remained at Mackinac (in 1704) went to Fort Frontenac and took prisoners all the Iroquois stationed there. One of the Iroquois was killed and a Huron tomahawk was placed with the dead Indian in order to induce the Iroquois tribes to suppose the Hurons were the aggressors. This would likely lead to an attack of the Iroquois on the other Hurons at Detroit. In this, also, Cadillac saw the subtle hand of the Jesuits in their efforts to destroy Detroit, for he would not credit the Ottawas with shrewdness enough to devise such a scheme, and thought they were directed by the Jesuits or some one in their interest.*

Lieutenant Lacorne was in command of Fort Frontenac and he had encouraged the Iroquois to go to war against the Indians at Detroit. Here, again, Cadillac saw the hand of an enemy of his. Lacorne,[2] he says, is a good officer and understands the service. He has not caused war to be declared on the savages at Detroit without an order from the governor general. "This latest attempt against Detroit is a gross one, and proves only too evidently that the war, which the Illinois and the Aoyatanouns began against the savages at Detroit, proceeds from

[1] Cadillac Papers. Dialogue with Pontchartrain.
*This is also reported in N. Y. Col. Doc. IX, 761.
[2] Jean Louis de la Corne, Sieur de Chapt, was born in 1666, town Major of Three Rivers, town Major of Montreal; his wife was Marie Pecaudy de Contrecouer, to whom he was married in 1695. He probably died in 1734. See Tanguay and N. Y. Col. Doc. IX, 1042.

the same source; the blow struck by the sixty Ottawas at Mackinac, in declaring war on the Iroquois who were at Fort Frontenac, comes and also proceeds only from the same quarter."

When Cadillac was called to Quebec in 1704, he left the fort in charge of Tonty, but some time afterwards Tonty was called to take charge of Fort Frontenac, and Detroit was left in charge of Bourgmont, and it was during the time Bourgmont was in command that the trouble between the Indians developed itself in an open war.

There are several accounts of the war between the Ottawas and Miamis, which so nearly resulted in the destruction of Detroit.[1] An attempt will be made to follow all the stories except where they conflict, and here the differences will be pointed out.

The ill feeling that existed between the two tribes begun at a much earlier date than the war which broke out in Cadillac's absence. In 1704 the Miamis killed an Ottawa, who was a man of importance in his tribe, and when complained of, the Miamis made the same reply that they had made before about six others whom they had killed, that it was by mistake. The Ottawas were not satisfied, and complained to Cadillac, and he said that he would look into the matter, but before he had time to make the investigation he was called to Montreal. He told the Indians that his enemies had made charges against him, but that he would overthrow them—intimating, at the same time, that the enemies he referred to were Tonty and the Recollet Father Constantin.

"Although I am going away," he said, "have no fear so long as my wife remains here; but if you see her go down, then you have reason to fear."

Cadillac's wife followed her husband two months later, and the Indians were greatly frightened. Tonty was left in charge in Cadillac's absence, but the Indians did not like him as he would not do justice to them. Tonty remained in charge until 1706, when Bourgmont was sent by Cadillac to relieve him, and Bourgmont gave the Ottawas no assurances regarding the Miamis and they did not like him any better than Tonty.[2]

The portion of the Ottawa tribe at Detroit set out to make war on the Sioux Indians, to avenge their allies, the Sakes. Quarant Sols set off pretending that he was going to gather his tribes and the Miamis together to go with the Ottawas against the Sioux, but he privately

[1] Cadillac Papers. There are at least four different stories in these papers, and many other references. Words of the Ottawas, June 18, 1707; Narration of Jean LeBlanc; Aigremont's report made in 1708.

[2] Cadillac Papers. Aigremont's report, 1708. Bourgmont had an Indian woman, LeChenette, who informed him of the feelings of the Indians towards him.

The principal chief of the Ottawas was LePezant, though Jean LeBlanc, another chief, was an important actor in the affair.

told his people not to leave Detroit, for Bourgmont and LaChenette had informed him that the destruction of the Ottawas was sought, and they were being sent against the Sioux for that purpose.

The Ottawas learned of these schemes and tried to obtain relief by again applying to Tonty, who was still at Detroit. They told him they proposed to attack the Miamis at once. Tonty implored them not to. "Do nothing of the kind," he said, "you will have enough to do in protecting your village in a little while," giving them no explanation of his language.* Tonty had been appointed to command Fort Frontenac and now left for his new post.

The Ottawas were greatly excited at this time, but to add to the excitement a Sonnontouan woman, whose life had been saved by the Ottawas, came to them and told them that Joncaire[2] had arrived among her people the previous autumn and had told them that the tribes were being lured on to their destruction, and that the French were to go to Mackinac to kill the Indians there. Joncaire said that Tonty knew all this and ought to have told them of it before.

The Ottawas now resolved to attack the Miamis at once, though some of their chiefs were in favor of warning the French and asking them not to interfere. Many of the Indians were inclined to make the attack without saying anything to the French. "Recall everything to your mind," they said, "do you not remember what Joncaire said at Sonnontouan, that the French would never forgive us for the death of the soldier who was killed on Hog island;[1] that M. de la Mothe told us when he embarked that if we saw his wife leave we should have reason to fear?" They resolved, therefore, to hide their intentions and to act as if they wished to go against the Sioux. In the evening they called on Bourgmont, but he would not talk with them, and when one of their number struck a dog that had bitten him, Bourgmont beat the Indian so that he died. They were exasperated by this treatment, but they still continued to dissemble and decided to set out the next day, saying that they were going against the Sioux.

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*Cadillac Papers. Bourgmont understood that the Miamis and other Indians would accompany the Ottawas on this expedition.
Cadillac Papers. Report of Aigremont. 1708.

[2] Louis Thomas de Joncaire, sieur de Chabert, was born in 1670, and married Madeleine LeGuay de Beaubien in 1708. He lived for many years among the Iroquois and was a very important man in the French interests. He was an interpreter and one of the very few Frenchmen who were termed noblemen (noble-homme). One of his descendants was the first representative from Detroit to the legislative council, and many of his descendants still live in and around Detroit. His name is frequently found in connection with the Six Nations, Niagara, Fort Frontenac and Detroit.

[1] This is the first mention of the present Belle Isle Park by the name it bore so long, Ile au Cochon.
Hogs were the first animals brought to Detroit by Cadillac and they were put on the island to protect them from wolves and Indians and to preserve them for their owners.

They started, and when they had reached the woods, a little below the fort, the chiefs disclosed their plan to their young men, which was to return with all possible speed and attack the Miamis. The savages anticipated that they would at some later time be called upon to explain their actions to the governor general, and they concocted a story to the effect that after they had proceeded some distance past the French fort and near the fort of the Hurons, an Indian came and told them in the figurative language of the forest that the children of the Ottawas were dead and that after their warriors had proceeded three days on their march the Oyatonous would come and devour their wives and children.

Misconky, a brother of LeBlanc, made a report in 1706, and laid the entire blame upon the Miamis.[3] He says "all the tribes of the Ottawas that were at Detroit, the Kikakou, the Sinagault, and the Sand tribe have been attacked; and the remnant which has got to Mackinac has returned there in the last stage of wretchedness. It is the Miamis who have fallen upon us." He said that the Ottawas informed Bourgmont that they were about to go to war against the Sioux and set off for that purpose when a Poutouetami, who was encamped near the fort of the Hurons, informed them that the Miamis had resolved to attack the village of the Ottawas and destroy the women and children after the warriors had been gone three days. Quarant Sols, the Huron chief and friend of Cadillac, was one of the originators of this scheme.

When the Ottawas were called together in council below the fort it was concluded not to do anything without the consent of LePezant and Jean LeBlanc, who had not yet arrived, but when these chiefs arrived a short time later and learned the situation they advised an attack on the Miamis without delay. The Ottawas were not all present at this meeting, nor were they all then in the vicinity of Detroit. A part were at Montreal and another portion were at war with the Hurons, and a portion of those present at this council were afraid that, in their present weakened condition they would be unsuccessful and would be punished by the French, but LePezant was very insistent, and as he was too powerful a chief to brook control the immediate attack was resolved upon.[1] The Indians started to retrace their steps to their own fort, but when they neared the fort of the Hurons, which they had to pass on their return, they encountered eight Miami chiefs who

[3] This report is referred to in the N. Y. Hist. Doc., but is not there given.
Jean LeBlanc is the Indian who told Frontenac that the latter was a poor, sickly creature, because he had to have a horse to carry him. Aigremont's report, 1708.
Bourgmont deserted (Vol. 6, p. 1069).
[1] Cadillac Papers. Words of Misconky, Sept. 26, 1706.

were going to a feast with the Hurons. The Ottawas attacked the Miamis, LePezant leading with a war cry. The Ottawas formed two lines, on either sides of the beaten path, and fired at the Miamis who were in the road, midway between them. The Miami chief, Pecamakona, alone, escaped; the others were instantly killed. Pecamakona hastened to the French fort for protection.[2] The Miamis were encamped near the French fort and immediately withdrew into the fort and the gates were closed.

The young Ottawas were now eager for war and determined to attack and burn the French fort and drive off or exterminate the French. They prepared arrows to shoot fire into the dwellings to burn them, but Misconky says he took these arrows away from the Indians and would not let them use them. The priest, Father Constantin, was outside the fort walking or working in his garden and knew nothing of what was going on, when the Ottawas came up, and they seized and bound him and stabbed him a number of times. LePezant ordered his release and told him to go to the fort; this he was doing when some Indian shot and killed him. A Frenchman (LaRiviere) was also killed in the fray.

The next day LeBlanc came to the fort with a flag of truce and asked to speak to Bourgmont, who was in charge. He requested that both sides lay down their arms and come to some explanation, but Bourgmont would not listen to him. Bourgmont said that LaForest was expected in a few days and the entire matter must be put before him for settlement. This enraged the young Ottawas and they once more resolved to burn the fort, but cooler counsel prevailed and they were prevented from doing it. A three days' council of the Ottawas followed. Bourgmont had resolved to protect the Miamis as well as the French. He had the roofs of the houses[1] in the fort taken off so that they could not be set fire to and he fixed swords on the ends of poles which greatly alarmed the attacking Indians.

The Ottawas and Hurons up to this hour had, apparently, remained upon friendly terms, but the latter would not engage in the war against the Miamis and French. The Hurons now proposed that the next day a feast should be held in the meadow near the French fort, probably not far from the site of the present city hall, and that here all the Indian tribes would assemble under a flag of truce. The invitation was,

[2] Cadillac Papers. Misconky said that Pecamakona was a great friend of his and that he signalled to him to run and thus saved his life.

[1] He had the roofs of the chapel, Recollet's house and the warehouse taken off, and they were covered with skins. It rained nearly the whole time of the siege and the skins were ruined.

ostensibly, issued by the Hurons on behalf of the French. The Ottawas suspected something was wrong and sent out their scouts to see what was going on. The flag was erected not far from their encampment. Early in the morning came some Frenchmen with Indian corn which they spread out on sail cloths stretched on the meadow; the Huron women were helping them at this work. This appeared all right, but an investigation of the woods disclosed that small parties of Hurons and Miamis were forming a circle around the meadow so as to attack the houses of the Ottawas when they were at the feast. Their suspicions were aroused to such a degree that they refused to attend the feast and remained in their fort. The Miamis were misled by the actions of the Ottawas and attacked the fort of the latter, expecting that the warriors were at the feast. They fired at each other all day long and in the evening the Miamis retired, after first casting adrift the boats belonging to the Ottawas, that were drawn up on the shore.

The next day the Hurons openly joined the Miamis in their attack on the Ottawas, which was renewed for several days. They taunted the Ottawas with cowardice and shouted to them that they were evidently out of powder as they no longer kept up their firing. This kind of taunting so exasperated the young men that they made a sortie and fought the two tribes hand to hand for some time, until the Miamis fled and the Ottawas were left masters of the field.

That day an Ottawa, who had been on the warpath with the Hurons against the Flatheads, returned and reported that his companions, who had started with him, were bound prisoners in the French fort. The next day the Hurons and Miamis again attacked the Ottawas but lost a man of importance and in revenge shot an Ottawa prisoner. The Hurons sent word to the Ottawas that they could redeem the remaining prisoners if they would do so at once. A place was fixed up to which the Ottawas could bring their ransom, and the next day they brought ten beautiful porcelain necklaces, twenty kettles, two parcels of beaver skins, and even the necklaces from their children, to complete the ransom. The party was suddenly fired upon by the French, and Jean LaBlanc was shot, just as he was about to give his hand to Quarant Sols. Consternation ensued and the Ottawas took to flight. The warriors who had remained in their fort sallied out to protect them and the rest of the day was passed in fighting. Two men of the Ottawas were killed and five wounded. An Ottawa woman, taken prisoner by the Miamis, was burned in the French fort.

Like Indian wars of later dates, this quarrel did not come to an end

through a settlement of the difficulties, but because the participants became tired and hungry, and went off to seek food and other diversions. They would come back some day and renew the battle. The prisoners were divided among the various tribes, to be thenceforth slaves or adopted as members. The Miamis lost fifty in killed and wounded and the Ottawas lost twenty-six.[1]

The story told by Misconky to Vaudreuil was related for the purpose of reconciling the French to the Ottawas, but the effect was not a sudden forgiveness. A missionary and a soldier had been killed and it would not do to make haste in forgiving such a crime. "The blood of Frenchmen is not to be paid for by beaverskins," Vaudreuil told him,[2] and the chiefs of the tribe were directed to come to Quebec in 1707 to make atonement and receive pardon.

CADILLAC'S RETURN.

When Cadillac obtained permission to return to Detroit in 1705 the governor and intendant were much displeased, for he had won a great diplomatic victory over them and they were sore at their defeat. They attempted to delay his return, alleging one excuse and another and putting obstacles in his way. It was not until 1706 that he finally got started.

He was directed to apprehend and punish the Indians who had begun the war at Detroit, and who were responsible for the death of the priest and soldier. When these Ottawas had visited Vaudreuil to seek reconciliation the governor had told them that they must all come down the following year and he would deal with them all together, but on looking over the ground he found the matter was of a good deal of importance; he wanted to punish LePezants anyway and possibly some of the other chiefs, but he feared to be too harsh lest the other Indians should become allied against the French. If trouble was to grow out of the affair he proposed to shoulder the trouble on Cadillac and let him bear the blame. He directed Cadillac to get the Indians together and reconcile them, but to punish LePezants if possible. When the Indians visited Quebec in 1707, according to agreement, Vaudreuil told them he had referred the matter to Cadillac and they must go to Detroit and see him.*

When Cadillac had reached Detroit he notified the Ottawas to visit him in a body and to bring LePezants to be punished. They came, at

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[1] This is the Ottawa versions.
[2] Cadillac Papers. Vaudreuil's reply to Misconky.
*Cadillac Papers. Vaudreuil report, Sept. 15, 1707.

first without LePezants, stating that he was too powerful for them to bring along as a prisoner and that he would not come voluntarily as he would be pretty certain to lose his life. Cadillac would not listen to them without LePezants and they returned to Mackinac to get him,* or to shoot him if they could not bring him alive. In a short time they returned with the chief and he was brought within the picket lines and confined as a prisoner. Without any unnecessary delay the agile Indian had escaped from his keepers, scaled the pickets and roamed the woods a free man. The escape was probably the connivance of Cadillac as he thought it poor policy to put the Indian to death. The tribe was still at Detroit and Cadillac held a council with them on the subject of their quarrel and tried to patch up a peace. He told them that Le Pezants was foolish to escape as he intended to pardon him any way, and advised the tribe to have him return. This advice was taken and Le Pezants returned to the post and was pardoned on condition of future good behavior—let off on suspended sentence as it were.

The Miamis did not like this manner of settling the quarrel and threatened to open war with the French on their own account. There were three Jesuit priests, Father D'Heu among the Annontagnes, Father Marest at Mackinac, and Father Chardon among the Pottawattomies,[2] who were, as Cadillac thought, working against the establishment of Detroit, and striving to stir up a quarrel between these tribes and the French. Father D'Aveneau had been among the Miamis but having left them Cadillac would not permit him to return,[3] as he also was working for the destruction of Detroit, and a Recollet priest was sent by Cadillac to take his place.

In the month of April, 1708,[1] the Miamis killed three Frenchmen a short distance from Detroit. Cadillac sent for the Ottawas, to the number of 1,450, of whom 550 were warriors, to assist him in a contemplated attack on the Miamis. Before the Ottawas had arrived Cadillac had made peace with the Miamis on four conditions.

1. That they should deliver up the murderers within forty days.

2. That within fifteen days they should deliver up a young Ottawa they had taken.

3. That they should pay for an ox and cow they had killed.

4. That they should return whatever they had stolen from the French.

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*Cadillac Papers. Report of Vaudreuil, Sept. 15, 1707. LePezants was given up to St. Pierre and he surrendered him to D'Argenteuil, who brought him to Detroit.

[2] Cadillac Papers. Letter of Vaudreuil, Nov. 5, 1708.

[3] Cadillac Papers. Letter of Vandreuil, Nov. 5, 1708.

[1] Cadillac Papers. Report of Aigremont of November, 1708.

The young Ottawa was not returned within the specified time and Cadillac resolved to attack the Miamis in their fort, without waiting for the expiration of the forty days. At the end of three days he set out on the march, and as the Ottawas were unable to go with him, he left Sieur d'Argenteuil to take charge of them and follow as soon as possible. At the end of the second day he stopped about two leagues from the entrance to the enemy's river,[2] and his Indians overtook him. Contrary to the advice of the Indians and of his companions he ordered the party to proceed all night on their way, but as the Indians could not or did not wish to keep up with him he abandoned them and proceeded alone. In the morning they were at the foot of the rapids, but Cadillac was not to be found, he had gone on and left them. They determined to follow the course of the river and after a time came up with him. When they neared the enemy, Cadillac went as far forward as he dared and placed himself behind a tree of enormous girth and never left this place till late in the afternoon, when he moved back out of cannon shot range from the fort of the Miamis, although they had no cannon.[3] The battle began in the morning and lasted until one o'clock. Argenteuil wanted to storm the fort, which was a miserable affair, being a simple square inclosed with crossed stakes without bastions or other works flanking it, but Cadillac would not permit this, and stated that he wished to blow up the works. After Cadillac had retired a short distance the Miamis issued from their fort with a flag which Cadillac had given them in the spring, and asked for a parley. A Frenchman and a savage who spoke their language were sent to confer with them, and 200 men were concealed in ambush on their flank in case of treachery.

It was agreed that the chief of the Miamis should go to Cadillac, and he was brought into camp in a short time. He upbraided Cadillac for not waiting the forty days according to his first conditions, but it was replied that he had not complied with the first requirement to return the young Ottawa in fifteen days. However, it was finally arranged by Argenteuil's going to the Miami fort and returning with the young Ottawa. The Miamis gave fifty bundles of furs for distribution among the French and Indians.[1] As an assurance of future good behavior the Miamis sent three of their chiefs to Detroit as hostages.

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[2] The geography of the country is not very clearly indicated, but this is probably the Miami (Maumee) river.

[3] This is Aigremont's report and was made to make Cadillac appear ridiculous.

[1] Aigremont says these furs were not evenly distributed, but that Chauvin, a relative of Cadillac, got much more than his share.

There were 400 French and Indians engaged on one side against sixty Miamis in a miserable hovel, called a fort, in which there were already two breaches, that Cadillac had not seen.

Seven Frenchmen were wounded, four of whom were soldiers, and there were four savages killed and two wounded.

CONGES AND THE SALE OF BRANDY TO THE INDIANS.

European civilization has sent but one god across the ocean that has received the entire homage and devotion of savage America—Bacchus—the god of drink—of degradation and of debauchery—his disciples were the Dutch, French and English traders of the earlier days—the money loving and disreputable liquor dealers of today. His followers were as numerous as the original inhabitants, and their pathway towards the setting sun is strewn with the wrecks of a people naturally noble but, under his influence, degraded and lost to all shame for their degradation.

The early missionaries tried hard to block the path of the advancing and triumphant deity; but their strength was weakness when striving to cope with the Indian's love for brandy and the white man's cupidity.

The trader with his eau de vie preceded the explorer and the missionary in their travels toward the west, and before the words of the missionary were heard calling the savages to an eternal life, the trader had made them acquainted with the road that leads to eternal death.

Too great credit cannot be given to the missionaries for their persistence in trying to prevent the issue of congés, and the sale of brandy to the Indians by the traders in the woods. They not only made themselves obnoxious to the wholesale dealers in Quebec and Montreal, but they were frequently charged with disobeying the orders of the king in their efforts to protect the Indians by preventing the sale of brandy to them.

The word congé, in the Canadian French of the 17th and 18th centuries, had two meanings. It was employed to designate the license which was granted by the authorities at Quebec to a trader to carry goods into the Indian country to sell to the savages. It was also used to designate the owner of such a license. These licenses were granted, sometimes, to persons who were not expected to make personal use of them, as marks of esteem or of charity. The Jesuit fathers, at Mackinac, held a license on various occasions and they were sometimes granted to the nuns at Quebec and Montreal, and they were also sometimes granted to some widow or family of a deceased soldier as a pension. In these

cases it was not supposed that the owner of the congé would accompany the expedition, and consequently, in these cases, the owner would not be called a congé, but where the owner did undertake the trading trip, for which he had a permission, he was termed a congé.

These licenses were limited in number, rarely exceeding twenty-five or thirty in any one year.[1]

When a trader started into the Indian country he took a load of such things as he thought he could trade off to the Indians to the best advantage in exchange for their furs. Some beads and trinkets were taken and a good deal of ammunition, for the Indians had early learned the use of the fusil, and they knew that without a good quantity of powder and lead, little could be expected in the way of getting peltries, and furs were about the only commodity they could exchange with the French. One of the articles which the traders took to the Indian country, in abundance, was eau de vie—brandy—because it was easy to carry, and profitable to sell and, moreover, it was always in good demand.

No greater curse exists in the world than liquor misused—and it is always misused when used—and the introduction of it among the North American Indians has only resulted, as might have been anticipated, in the utter ruin of one of the brightest of the uncivilized nations of the world.

The missionaries always looked with great disfavor upon the sale of liquor among the Indians, and did all within their power to stop the traffic. The officials, both French and English, desired to control the sale, but did not undertake to abolish it altogether.

The remonstrance of Father Lifitau, a Jesuit missionary, printed in the New York Colonial Manuscripts, give a little of the history of the work of the ecclesiastics in this matter. In 1668 Father Lovelace, governor of New York, in answer to a petition to abolish the sale of brandy to the Indians, said that he had adopted every precaution, and should continue to do so in order to prevent the sale to any excess, giving the petitioners to understand that while he appreciated their work from a moral standpoint, the policy he should pursue would be rather to control than to abolish the trade. At a later date, the priest notes that from the letters of Vaudreuil, Begon and Ramezay, it appears that they all agree as to the inconveniences in the trade in brandy, but at the same time they believed that it was necessary.

[1] In 1716 there were 25 congés granted at Quebec.
In 1721 they had increased to 56 licenses.
N. Y. Col. Mss. IX, 882.

This was the feeling in official circles at the time Cadillac was first appointed commandant at Mackinac. Here he was the military commandant, and consequently did not have any direct interest in any kind of trade, and the complaints against him were that he permitted the trade to be carried on, and not that he personally reaped any benefit from it.

The Indians expected to have brandy served to them as a part of the reward for acceptable service performed for the French. An instance is detailed in the Paris Documents[1] where Onnaske had presented some scalps and prisoners to Cadillac at Mackinac in 1696. He asked Cadillac for some brandy for the warriors, saying "I pledged myself that they should have some; I will not taste any of it, I promised it to them. They did as you desired; they told you no lies; they have killed the warriors and made no prisoners. Do not lie to them. Give them to drink." So Cadillac gave them ten pots of brandy.[2] This was but little among 200 men who were very dry and unused to drink. They got more from the traders, however, and continued singing through the night. The missionaries found fault with Cadillac, and, with his usual bitterness, he replied to them "If a little hilarity grieves you so much, how will you be able to endure the daily exposure of these neophytes, for whom you feel so much affection, to the excessive use of English rum and to the imbibing of heresy?"

The cities of Quebec and Montreal were making loud complaints against the issuing of any licenses whatever, for the Indians could trade with the holders of these licenses in the woods, and it never became necessary for them to visit either of these places. The result was that the Indian trade soon fell into the hands of about twenty-five persons, who were fortunate enough to obtain congés, and the retail trade at Montreal and Quebec was nearly ruined. The merchants and missionaries, having a common object to work for, united their forces in petitioning for the entire repeal of the licenses. They were at first successful, though it took some time to make the orders of the king known to all of the traders in the woods. Champigny, in his report of the 13th Oct., 1697,[1] says that it will not be his fault if the decree revoking the licenses and permissions to trade among the Ottawas and other Indians is not strictly enforced. He had it registered in the supreme council and published throughout the colony and copies sent to the most distant posts. Efforts were made by Frontenac and himself to prevent all trading in

[1] N. Y. Col. Mss. IX, 646.
[2] A pot of brandy holds two quarts.
[1] Cadillac Papers. Letters of Champigny, Oct. 13, 1697.

the woods and to make all the French return by the year 1698. Frontenac gave directions to Cadillac, in the spring of 1697, to send down the French traders that came to Mackinac, and he came down in August with only a few, expecting the remainder to come the next year.

A meeting of Frontenac, Vaudreuil, Provost, the marquis de Crisafy, Galifet, Sabercase and Cadillac was held at the house of Frontenac September 11, 1697, to determine what was best to do regarding the officers in the further country, and the advisability of abandoning Mackinac, and the other posts, was discussed and it was decided not to do so at present. They were of the opinion that as long as there were garrisons at Mackinac, among the Miamis, and at Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, trade would be carried on there in spite of all precautions. Another pretended settlement, where there was no garrison, but which was equally as objectionable as the forts as a trading place, writes Champigny, was that "formed by a man named LeSeur on the Mississippi river, at a place where he says there are copper and lead mines. I believe the mines he is after in these parts are of beaver skins only." Tonty and LaForest had been permitted to keep Fort St. Louis of the Illinois on condition that they would do no trading there. Unless the king bore the expense of the post himself, it was useless to suppose that it could be maintained without the Indian trade. These two men had already established a warehouse at Chicago and another at Mackinac and had sent several boat loads of goods among the Indians in other directions. This did not look as if their trading was at an end. If the French were entirely withdrawn from trading in the woods it would fall upon the missionaries to keep the Indians in good humor; to carefully and continually explain to them the reasons the French government had in withdrawing the trade, and prevent them, if possible, from trading with the English.

The pay of the officers and soldiers in these far-off garrisons was not sufficient for their subsistence. "We contented ourselves" Frontenac says[2] "with simply allowing them to load their boats with merchandise and all that they thought fit, in order to provide for the proper expenses both of their journey and of their stay. It is quite true that some brandy has been taken there, for it is the only drink capable of aiding them to digest the fish and the bad food on which they are compelled to live, for they do not know what it is to use wine, bread or salt, in those places; even the missionaries are obliged to use a little Spanish wine, which is sent to them for saying mass."

[2] Cadillac Papers. Letters of Frontenac, Oct. 10, 1698.

Cadillac was now on his way to Versailles to obtain permission to establish Detroit, and he bore this letter with him to Count Pontchartrain.

If Cadillac had any idea, when he went to Europe to obtain permission to establish Detroit, that he could establish and maintain a post in the west without engaging in trade with the Indians, he changed his mind before he had accomplished his purpose. In his very earliest letters after Detroit was founded he complains that the Company of the Colony claimed the exclusive right of trading, although he had supposed that this right belonged to himself. It did not necessarily follow that the traders should sell brandy because they had the right to trade in other commodities, but the practice was so universally followed, that when a trader is spoken of it is meant a trader in brandy.

When Cadillac set out from Montreal, in the spring of 1701, to go to Detroit, he had determined that the sale of brandy should be carried on at the new post under his supervision. He proposed that no member of the expedition, except himself, should have anything to do with this business.*

When Detroit was established, the trade belonged to the Company of the Colony, and neither Cadillac nor any of his people were permitted to trade. Cadillac was in the employ of the company and received a salary of 2,000 livres. The soldiers of the garrison were in the pay of the company, and the civilians were supposed to exist from the income of the land they tilled and such hunting as they could do when not engaged with their farming.

The company had the exclusive right of trading everywhere, and if any licenses had been granted it would have interfered with their rights; but the company failed, and in the fall of 1703, the governor general and intendant requested the minister to permit congés to be issued again.[1] In reply to the request Pontchartrain said, "Could all licenses be dispensed with, it would be best, but the evil has reached a point in this respect that it appears impossible to dispense with granting the fifteen licenses which, with the employment the colony will afford the growth of the country, will avert the disobedience of these *coureurs de bois.*"

In none of these discussions was the moral side of the question touched upon. Little, or no attention was paid to the welfare of the Indians except as their well being would add to the success of the

*Note—A story is told in Les Adventures de Monsieur Robert Chevalier, Vol 1, page 25, of a quarrel which Cadillac had with the canoe men because he had discovered some of them taking brandy in their canoes on the first trip to Detroit in 1701.

[1] N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 756.

colony. The suppression of licenses was decreed in order to compel the French to return to the settlement to aid in protecting them against the English or hostile Indians, and it is probable that no strong inducements were held out to invite the return of such Frenchmen as were domiciled among the Indians, for their presence among the Indians was of more importance for the security of the colony than would be their return to civilization.

In the "Resources of Canada"[1] for 1703 the immorality of selling brandy to the savages is slightly dwelt upon by the writer, who says "The spirit in which our kings have founded and sustained Canada is, in the words of their majesties' edicts, the desire to propagate the faith; the zeal and painful labors of the reverend Jesuit fathers and other missionaries have perfectly responded thereunto, and would have borne more fruit were it not for the frightful disorder caused by the sale of brandy to the Indians, which they have ever opposed, despite the efforts of the governors and intendants, who sedulously protected it, through the hope of gain.

"It is certainly a great misfortune that so abundant a harvest in the vineyard of the Lord, cultivated up to the present hour with so much affection, should be abandoned, or delivered a prey to the heretics.

"It is to be hoped that the king's piety will never consent to such a proceeding."

Charges were continually made that the higher officials, even the governor himself, was interested in the brandy trade and pocketed a portion of the gains made by the traders. The congés were granted to the relatives and favorites of the officials, and very little attention was paid to see that they obeyed the edicts governing the colony.

It was at this time that Cadillac was summoned to Quebec to answer the charges of Denoyer and the officers of the company. The company failed and Detroit was turned over to Cadillac, but he was not permitted to return to it until 1706. When he did return he had the exclusive right of trading and could no longer be interfered with by the company or by the officials.

When Detroit became the exclusive property of Cadillac he was vested with the power of making grants of lands to his colonists, and he exercised this privilege by giving each person a dwelling lot within the fort and, to such as desired, a farm on the river bank.

With these grants each purchaser was also permitted to engage in all kinds of trade within the village and among the neighboring

[1] N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 758.

Indians. For the privilege each citizen was compelled to pay a license fee of ten livres per year to the commandant, but Cadillac did not, thenceforth, himself, engage in trading with the Indians, but was contented with the income from these licenses, the yearly rents paid by his colonists, the tolls from his mill, and what he derived from the use of the cattle owned by him.

The enmity borne towards him by Vaudreuil induced the latter to complain to Pontchartrain of excesses resulting from the brandy trade at Detroit, and it was one of the grounds upon which Aigremont was sent to visit the post in 1707. Vaudreuil had reported that Cadillac took fifteen barrels of brandy to Detroit and that the canoes coming there each carried 300 pounds weight more for Cadillac.[1] When Aigremont was sent to the upper posts to investigate, the instructions he received were as follows: "As his majesty wishes absolutely to enforce the prohibitions he has issued again against carrying on any trade in brandy with the Indians, he orders Sieur d'Aigremont to verify very precisely the quantity of liquor Sieur de la Motte has carried up, and inform himself what use he made of it. This is the principal motive that induced his majesty to send to Detroit. Therefore he must direct all his attention to thoroughly clear up the fact and report fully thereupon."

The immediate result of the effort to entirely suppress the licenses was that great numbers went into the business. There were no longer any fees charged by government and the penalty inflicted was not severe enough—or certain enough—to prevent the more dishonest traders from engaging surreptitiously, and a greater inducement was now held out, for greater profits could be obtained. The threat to send culprits to the galleys could have little effect on a man who was living in the woods among the Indians a thousand miles from court, for he never expected to be caught, and if he could not dispose of the peltries he obtained to the French, there was always a road open to the English.[1]

The preservation of the post and its prosperity depended upon keeping at peace with the Indians and keeping the inhabitants employed and contented. It was to the interest of Cadillac to see that neither French nor Indians became so addicted to drink as to be quarrelsome or incapacitated. For the better protection of all interested parties, therefore, he exacted that all of his people should bring their liquor to one place and put it in charge of one man, who disposed of it

[1] N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 807; also Cadillac Papers, report of Vaudreuil, Sept. 15, 1707.
[1] Cadillac Papers. Letter of DeCalliere, Oct. 5, 1701, "There are more traders than ever, in the further districts, without any profit accruing to the colony therefrom."

in proper quantities to applicants and divided the proceeds of sales among the owners of the brandy.[2]

This method of regulating the brandy trade would seem to have merited commendation, but, on the contrary, it is one of the offenses charged against Cadillac and reported to his detriment by Aigremont in his report in 1708.[1] This portion of his report gives some idea of the methods of regulating the sale, and is quite interesting. He says, "M. de la Mothe has had all the brandy put into a store and has it sold in rotation by a private individual at the rate of 20 livres a pot. The man who used to sell it is one Robert La Chapelle who accounted for it so badly that many a man has lost a third of his quantity by leakage. Those who want to get any are obliged to go and drink it in this warehouse, whether Frenchmen or savages, and, to prevent intoxication, each person is only given the third of a demi-ard[2] on each occasion, that is, the 24th part of a pot. It is true that, in this way, the savages do not get intoxicated, but nevertheless much harm arises from this trade, for they waste the greater part of their furs on brandy and they have almost nothing left for buying clothes, kettles, arms, powder or lead, and this is the reason why very often some of them die of want. I left in this storehouse more than a dozen barrels of brandy; ten boats have gone up this year to Detroit, which have also taken a good deal there. As this brandy is sold in rotation, and there are some who have a larger quantity of it than others, it has happened that the brandy of many of these traders (St. Germain, Jacques Philipe, Beaubien, Dubois) could not be sold by the time at which they were obliged to go down, which compelled them to sell 104 pots to M. de la Mothe at the rate of four livres a pot. He is accused of having bought some from other persons besides those above named, but I have no complete assurance of it. In this way he makes a gain of four-fifths on the brandy he puts into this office, which makes 16 livres a pot or 1,664 livres on 104 pots."

It would be difficult to find an instance where a fault could be more unjustly imputed.

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[2] Cadillac Papers. It seems strange that this very custom should have been followed at a later period in the history of Detroit, but with another object in view.

The traders here, in order to regulate the trade in rum and to prevent competition, agreed to place the entire supply in one place under charge of one man who was to sell for the benefit of the whole. The price was only to vary in case some outsider undertook to bring in a supply, and then he was to be undersold and thus driven out of the business. This agreement was made June 13, 1775, and is recorded in the old records commenced by the British when they first took Detroit in 1760.

[1] Aigremont's report is printed in N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 822, but the portion relating to Detroit was omitted and is still in manuscript in the Cadillac Papers.

[2] This word is obsolete and is not in the dictionary, though of frequent use in these old writings.

Brandy was frequently given to the Indians by the government, or at government expense, as an inducement to them to keep the peace.

Perhaps for the benefit of the students of the history of these early days, it is fortunate that Vaudreuil and Cadillac were continually quarreling, for in their letters and reports they make mention of transactions that would ordinarily have been passed over in silence.

One of the charges preferred by Vaudreuil against Cadillac, in 1707, was that the latter had made excessive charges for brandy furnished the Indians, to pacify them at the end of the Ottawa and Miami war. He says, "Among the presents which the Sieur de la Mothe has made to the savages, brandy is set down at twenty livres a pot; in this colony it was worth only four livres last year and two livres this year, retail, so this price is excessive. The said brandy ought not to be priced more than a hundred per cent higher at Detroit." The excessive price charged by Cadillac for the drink, was because he had set up a shop at Detroit and no one was permitted to sell, except at this place.[1] Further complaint was made against Cadillac that he did not distribute enough brandy for the absolute requirements of his post. One officer reports that "It did not prove true that M. de la Mothe took fifteen barrels of brandy to Detroit when he went up there. I have ascertained beyond a doubt that he did not have two barrels of it. Even that quantity would not have been sufficient, if he had given it to all to whom he ought to have given it."[1]

Thus we find complaints that Cadillac had too much brandy at Detroit, and soon another charge is made that his supply is much too small for the actual needs of the post. It is objected that he sells it too freely to the civilians and natives; and again it is strenuously objected that he has placed his entire store in the hands of one person to be doled out in small quantities, subject to strict control, and that he will not permit any colonists to sell, otherwise than through the common storehouse. It was perhaps better for Cadillac's peace of mind that he was removed from his command before more serious charges were brought against him.

THE REVIVAL IN 1706.

The influx of new settlers in 1706 compelled the enlargement of the village limits, and the palisades were set far enough back to include two blocks in width of the present city, while the boundaries on the north and south sides remained in their former position. A public wind

[1] Cadillac Papers. Vaudreuil's report, Sept. 15, 1707.
[1] Cadillac Papers. Aigremont's report, Nov. 14, 1708. He reached Detroit July 15, 1708, and returned to Montreal on the 12th of the following September.

mill was erected for the purpose of grinding the wheat and corn raised at the fort. The mill belonged to Cadillac and he proposed to charge a toll of one-eighth for grinding. This was an excessive toll, much larger than that allowed throughout Canada, and some of the inhabitants complained to the court and orders were at once sent to Cadillac to reduce his charge to one-fourteenth, as in other places in Canada.

Everything now seemed to be prosperous and the colony appeared to be on the direct road to success, and probably would have grown rapidly if the orders of the king had been complied with; but Detroit was too far from France to be under the direct eye of his majesty and the virtue of royal orders was lost in their passage over the ocean.[91] Cadillac was not strong enough to withstand the attacks of the company, the Jesuits and the influence of the two cities, Quebec and Montreal. The cities of Quebec and Montreal feared the rivalry of the new city that Cadillac was building in the west and worked unceasingly for its destruction. The plans of Cadillac were detrimental to the interests of the Company of the Colony, for that company wanted neither colonists nor farmers, but hunters. The company wanted traders in the forests who would purchase from it annual licenses to trade with the Indians. At Detroit, Cadillac had a large storehouse filled with goods, which he traded with the Indians for peltries. The company derived no royalty from this and consequently they tried to prevent this trade being carried on.

But the greatest opponent Cadillac encountered was the Jesuit order, which worked night and day for the destruction of Detroit—well knowing that its success would mean the destruction of their mission at Mackinac—for the Indians were fast deserting that place for Detroit. The Jesuits, in order to persuade the Indians not to locate permanently at Detroit, for some time maintained their mission at Mackinac and opened another at Miami.[92] But the two missions were not a suffiicient inducement to prevent the Indians from deserting Mackinac and the mission there was deserted and the chapel burned.[93]

The Rev. John A. Davidson, in writing of this event, says: "After Cadillac founded Detroit, in 1701, he withdrew the garrison from St.

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[91] Je vois bien que les ordres du roy perdent leur force, dabord qu'ils ont passé le grand banc.

[92] I understand this to be on the present Maumee river in the northern part of Ohio. This mission was never very important, but it continued to exist as late as 1728, for at that date Marie Magdalene Roy was married at Fort St. Phillipe, Village of the Miamis, by the Jesuit priest there, D. Thaymier, to Pierre Chesne. See Ste. Anne's Church records, May 25, 1728.

[93] Versailles, le 9 Juin, 1706.

"Sa Majesty a este surprise d'apprendre que les Missionaries, qui estoient a Missilimakinak ayent abandonne leur mission et brusle leur maison et leur chapelle." Margry, Vol. 5, page 345.

Ignatius, despite the entreaties of the Jesuits, and prevailed upon many of the Indians to leave. To prevent the desecration of their church by pagan Indians, the priests set fire to it with their own hands and abandoned the mission.*

I have found no evidence that there was any garrison at Mackinac after Detroit was founded, at least for many years. Cadillac certainly did entice the savages away, but not the soldiers, and the priests destroyed the church or mission house because it had been abandoned and was useless. Desecration of church paraphernalia did not trouble their consciences. They were made of sterner stuff.

Temporary defeats never permanently vanquished this order, and though they had met reverses so far in their quarrels with Cadillac, they had not lost hope of conquering in the end, and they kept up the warfare.

As still further complaints were made against Cadillac and his methods of conducting the post, Pontchartrain sent M. de Cracbaut d'Aigremont to the upper country on a tour of investigation. In the letter of instructions, dated June 30, 1707, the minister says: "The principal reason which has induced his majesty to make him (Aigremont) undertake this voyage, is that Sieur de la Mothe Cadillac, who has charge of the establishment of Detroit de Pontchartrain, writes in all his letters that he does not receive from the said Sieurs de Vaudreuil and Raudot the aid which they have been ordered to furnish him."

The report which Aigremont made was not favorable to Cadillac. As soon as he arrived at the settlement and his errand became known, all the discontented members of the community came to him and entered their complaints against Cadillac. No matter how childish these complaints, they were put into the shape of formal charges by Aigremont, in his report, and forwarded to the minister. It was not until July, 1709, that it was finally determined what was to be done with these charges.

"I have noted," Pontchartrain says to Aigremont, "all you write me respecting Detroit, as it was the main object of your mission. It seems to me that your sojourn there was not long enough to obtain a thorough understanding of it. Besides M. de la Mothe complains that you did not confer a sufficient length of time with him, to appreciate the reasons whereon he acted, which, perhaps, might have led you to adopt other sentiments than those you embraced. In a new country like that, new maxims are sometimes necessary which may appear censurable on their face, and be intrinsically good. Nevertheless, I find a too great cupidity

*Wis. Hist. Col. XII, 438.

in said Sieur de la Mothe, and that his private interests in establishing that post may have engaged him to prefer his special advantage to the general good of the colony.

"On the report I have submitted on the subject to the king, his majesty has thought fit to withdraw his troops from that place and to leave it to Sieur de la Mothe to do what he pleases with it, without any privilege over the other inhabitants of Canada, confining him within the limits of the laws, regulations and ordinances generally." The evident intention, at this time, was to abandon Detroit. "The reasons which have determined his majesty thereto have been the prevalent dissipation of the beaver there for the benefit of the English, the introduction of their merchandises into the colony, the difficulty of reconciling the interests and caprices of the different tribes that were attempted to be introduced in that post, the great expense to be incurred for the support of the garrison, the difficulty of assisting that post should it happen to be attacked by the Iroquois, the bad quality of the soil, the disappearance of the animals which are objects of hunting, and the dispersion of the colony of Canada."[94]

Vaudreuil was directed to take the garrison away from Detroit and convey it to the east, to be used in the war with the English, but there was some delay in carrying out the orders, and it seems that it was not until 1711, that the soldiers actually left Detroit. In anticipation that they would leave, however, Cadillac called the inhabitants together on the seventh of June, 1710, and informed them that the troops were about to be withdrawn and that the king would no longer defray any expenses of the post. The citizens requested Cadillac to write to the bishop of Quebec to send them a friar or priest, and they agreed to pay 500 livres each year for his support, to be paid in produce from their farms and gardens; of this sum 100 livres was to be paid by Cadillac alone.

This petition and agreement is the first document I have found which pretends to contain the names of the inhabitants. It is usual in French documents of this period that the names of those only who are able to sign their names were mentioned, and all other names are omitted, except in the case of agreements entered into in the presence of a notary, and in such cases the notary certified that the parties who did not sign were unable to write. In the document of which we are now speaking there is no statement that there were any present, other than those who signed it, and it bears forty-eight signatures, and this probably indicates the number of heads of families at the post and does not include

[94] N. Y. Hist. Doc. IX, 828.

any soldiers, except those who had left the garrison to become citizens, nor does it include those who were unable to write, a number, probably, as great as those who signed.

In the following September, Dubuisson was sent to bring down the garrison, to relieve or supersede Cadillac as governor, and to bear to him a commission as governor of Louisiana. The efforts of his enemies had been successful, and Cadillac was now removed. He was directed to go overland to Louisiana, but he did not comply with the orders, because no escort was furnished him for that purpose, but he at once returned to Montreal, leaving his wife and family at Detroit. Knowing now that his only hope was in saving what property he could at Detroit, he directed a careful inventory of everything belonging to him to be made by the priest, Cherubin de Niau, and his friends, Peter Chesne and Antoine Magnant, and the property so listed was temporarily put in charge of Peter Roy, to be turned over to Cadillac's successor, upon the agreement that the property should be paid for, but no payment was ever received for it by Cadillac or his family.

The advent of new men, who were not in sympathy with the colonization plans of Cadillac, was injurious and nearly destructive to Detroit. A year later the priest, de Niau, in a letter to Cadillac, gave him a description of the place and the radical changes that had taken place in it since the founder's departure. The picture that he draws is pathetic. His letter, which is dated August 14, 1711, is as follows: "In fact, sir, Detroit is all in commotion both within and without; order and subordination, whether spiritual or civil, no longer exist, nor respect for authority, political or ecclesiastical. M. Dubuisson has had the fort cut into halves, has turned Madam out, and also the church and consequently me with the six chief families here, namely, de Lorme, Parent, Mallet, Robert and Campos, Joubbliois and the surgeon, who is not less necessary than the interpreter. It seems from the bearing this M. Dubuisson adopts towards us, that he is infallible, invulnerable and invincible. I do not say more on this subject for if I were to tell you all, and to sketch the portrait of Detroit for you as it is, it is terrible, it would affright you. As for me I no longer live there, I languish and suffer there beyond everything that could be imagined, seeing its desolation and being unable to go away from it. Yet God be praised for all things, since nothing happens to us in this life but by the will of adorable Providence, and for our sanctification, when we do not oppose its designs."[95]

[95] Cadillac Papers.

CHARACTER OF CADILLAC.

We judge of a man's character largely by his writings.

Cadillac lived at a time when great bitterness was displayed in the quarrels between the different factions that sought to govern Canada. On the one side were the Jesuits, intriguing and powerful; prohibited by the rules of their order from becoming bishops, they had succeeded in having a bishop appointed who was friendly to their interests. They were the avowed enemies alike, of Frontenac, of LaSalle, and of Cadillac. Linked with these in their enmity to Cadillac were most of the officers of the Company of the Colony and such citizens of both Quebec and Montreal as believed that the successful building up of Detroit meant the destruction, or at least the permanent injury of these two cities. It is well not to put too much confidence in the opinions of any of these parties regarding the character of a man against whom their antipathies were so strong as they were against Cadillac.

On the other side there was the great Frontenac—the foremost man in New France—and many men who had felt the oppression of the Jesuits and who knew of the quarrels between Cadillac and that order. These men were the personal friends of Frontenac, and the personal friends of Cadillac in America and in France.

The opinions of these men, also, must be taken with a grain of allowance; they were prejudiced in his favor.

If one reads carefully through the letters of the Jesuit fathers, of Vaudreuil, of Begon, and of Aigremont, Cadillac seems only fit for the knout or the hangman's noose. But if Cadillac's own letters be read and the remarks of Frontenac; the report of DeRamezay; the petition of his citizens; the letters of his priest, then Cadillac seems deserving of all the favors that can be showered upon him.

If we throw aside all of these opinions, we still have left the judgment of the man who was better able than all others to form a correct estimate of his character—Jerome Phelypeaux, Count de Pontchartrain, minister under Louis XIV. It is certain that Pontchartrain, while he thought that Cadillac sometimes indulged in gasconade, and frequently exaggerated in his reports, looked upon him as a capable man and retained him in his position as long as he thought he could cope with his enemies, and then he transferred him to the more important position of governor of Louisiana.

The antipathy which the Jesuits bore towards Cadillac was displayed as soon as he had reached a position in life of sufficient importance to

merit their attention. They undertook to have him removed from his command, in 1702, and Tonty appointed in his place.[96] In July of the same year Father Marest wrote to Cadillac from Mackinac[97] "Having done us all the harm you could do on this present occasion, after having dealt us all the blows you could, both at Detroit and with the Miamis and at Montreal, by sending there, by your letters and your accusers, you make us fine promises and tell us you will bury your just resentments." "It is indeed for us to say, with much more reason, that we bury, or to speak in a more christian spirit, that we lay at the foot of the crucifix—as indeed we do—all our just resentments." Cadillac in the controversy had only undertaken to carry out the orders of the governor general, and he considered a dispute with him on the expediency of attracting the Indians to Detroit in reality a reflection on the wisdom of the plans of his superior officer. These letters were forwarded to the governor general with Cadillac's reply endorsed on the margin. "Father Marest," he writes, "concludes this beautiful letter by saying that they have laid their resentments at the foot of the crucifix. That may be true, but as they, no doubt, often go to it, they can find them there again when they want them; and it would appear that he went there to take up the postscript of this very letter."

Fathers Marest and Carhiel were both at Mackinac. Cadillac was trying to induce the Indians to leave that place and settle at Detroit. In so acting he was carrying out the instructions of his superiors; instructions which should have been followed willingly by these priests. In order to prevail upon the priests to come with the Indians he had offered to let Father Marest occupy his residence until something better could be provided. The priest agreed to come but did not keep his promise. He said he was ready to obey the orders of the king, but Cadillac said that he well knew that they had done nothing but trifle with him for two years by similar promises. Not discouraged by these unfulfilled promises, Cadillac was working with better effect among the Indians who were with Carhiel. "Only about twenty-five of this (Huron) tribe," he writes, "remain at Missilimakinak, where this poor Father de Carheil remains as obstinate as Benedict VII, at the time of the other two antipopes, remained in Aragon, where he had himself buried in papal garments; and this one will die missionary to the Hurons at Missilimakinak, whatever it may cost, although there may be no one left for him any longer."[98]

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[96] Cadillac Papers. Letter to Tonty from Carheil, June 17, 1702.
[97] Cadillac Papers. Letter of July 23, 1702.
[98] Fifteenth letter, May 1, 1703. Printed in Margry and in Sheldon.

In his letter to Pontchartrain, September 27, 1702, Cadillac complains that the Jesuits have not acted for the best interests of their Indian wards in not establishing a mission at Detroit. He says, "If there had been no other aim and no other motive but the conversion of the savages and the prevention of licentiousness, the missionaries would have contributed with all their power to the success of our objects, by exhorting our allies, especially by their example, to come and settle at Detroit. But it appears, on the contrary, that they have sought and found the secret of remaining themselves in the midst of the woods; and that this is the object which has fulfilled all their desires, the peaceable possession of which is so dear to them. It appeared to me, My Lord, that your intention in establishing Detroit was to bring the tribes together there, and chiefly from the post of Missilimakinak. The Rev. Father Bonnart, superior of the Jesuits, at a conference which was held at M. de Calliere's house, at which M. M. de Champigny and Beauharnois were present (and to which M. M. d'Auteuil and de Lofbinieres were summoned) agreed to grant two missionaries for Detroit, one for the Outavois there and the other for the Hurons. But as he maintains that this action cannot be taken without expense, the superior of the Jesuits proposes to defray it—if that mission remains as it is now the scene of all debauchery, serving as a retreat for all who are in rebellion against the orders of the king and for all the libertines that set out from Montreal every day, taking an enormous quantity of brandy by the great river, which they sell to the savages, it is impossible for the company to keep up the post of Detroit."[99]

"The machine with the great springs knows very well how to set everything going here; they will propose to you now a multiplicity of posts; they will even get the savages to ask M. de Calliere for it, although they have raised such an outcry against the founding of even one post, in order to cause the downfall of Detroit." "It seems that you wish that the Jesuits should be my friends. I wish it too, but as the quarrel dates from the time of the late count de Frontenac, and as they have very good memories, I must not think that they will forget the past whatever I might do to attain that end. That will not prevent me from having great regard for them, and much respect. All our quarrels have arisen only from the opposition they have offered to the orders of the king, which I know very well how to maintain and to have carried out."

It is from expressions like these, and Cadillac's writing are full of

[99] Cadillac Papers. Report of Sept. 25, 1702.

them, that we clearly comprehend the antagonism that existed between the Jesuits and himself. His letters and complaints were bitter, and certainly the bitterness was not all on one side. He was intent on founding Detroit; on making it prosperous; "yet this scheme has alarmed the whole colony; has made all the bells ring and for a chime, and has caused a confused uproar in which nothing was understood. For my part, I well knew who the chimers were; I saw them before my eyes, but I had my reason, however, for pretending to be blind. I had told you who they were, in my first memorials; I have continued to bring them to your notice in all my letters; you may also see a little trace of them from this one. I do not fail to see that they have on their side the favor and the great influence of the great machine which moves the whole mass of the universe; and that revolving on this point they continue to wish me to go down and be suffocated under the waters of vengeance and prosecution. But as long as I have for my protection Justice and Merit, I shall float and swim over the waves like the nest of the ingenious kingfisher. I shall try to conduct myself better and to walk by the brightness and the light of these two illustrious patronesses. Without them I should long ago have been unable to bear up against the torrent. It is true that sometimes, raising my eyes to heaven, I cry in the weakness of my faith 'Sancte Frontenac, ora pro me.' "[100]

There is no need to further multiply the expressions of fear of his most powerful adversary. Every letter tells of his determination to stand up firmly against them as long as he can continue to receive the assistance of the officials at Versailles.

What complaints were brought against him? He was accused by the authorities of Montreal and Quebec of attempting to build a city in the west which they thought would ruin those two cities. He was accused by the officers of the company of imprisoning some of their clerks without legal warrant. But the most serious charge of all was the complaint of the Jesuits that he sold brandy to the Indians and permitted the traders to traffic in the vile stuff. Let us consider these charges.

Whatever may be said of the object Cadillac had in the plan for founding Detroit, it was not only undertaken with the entire approbation of the king and court, but it was considered as a military move of national importance. Already the English had erected a fort on the shores of lake Ontario, and on more than one occasion the capture of English traders, away to the north of the line which was supposed to be

[100] Cadillac Papers. Letter of Aug. 31, 1703.

the boundary between the two nations, gave warning to the French that if they wished to prevent the further encroachment of the British they must be prepared to meet them with force enough to protect the claims they asserted, and at a place more nearly the border line than Mackinac. Detroit was the location selected, and Cadillac was the commandant chosen for this frontier post. If the establishment of this place as a trading post incidentally injured Montreal and Quebec, certainly no great blame could attach to Cadillac on that account. The matter was one of importance, however, and Cadillac explains in several of his letters that Detroit, Montreal and Quebec were as necessary to each other as were Paris, Toulouse and Rouen.

Regarding the second charge, it was certainly true that he had imprisoned the clerks of the company without legal warrant, and he thereby brought down upon himself the great displeasure of the colonial officials, for these clerks were their relatives and their employes. The colonial officers were likewise officers in the company and shared the plunder stolen by the clerks, who were caught and complained of by Cadillac.

The two managing directors of the company were Lotbinieres and Delino; the company possessed the right to the trade of Detroit and sent its own agents there to manage its affairs under the supervision of Cadillac, who was not only commandant of the post, but also had charge over the company's affairs. Some of these clerks undertook to do trading on their own account, which was contrary to the rules of the company, and injurious to its interests. Other clerks were detected in stealing skins and furs from the company's warehouse. Arnaud, the principal clerk of the company and the contriver of all of this irregularity, was the son-in-law of Lotbinieres. Lotbinieres was the uncle of Vaudreuil the governor general. Another dishonest clerk was Nolan, who was a brother-in-law of Delino; another was Monseignat, brother-in-law of Arnaud; Vincelot, who was sent to Detroit to investigate, was the cousin of Rinaud, one of the directors of the company. Chateleraut and Demeule, clerks, were relatives of Lotbinieres. Louvigny, a major of Quebec, who came to Detroit with Vincelot, was a brother-in-law of Nolan. Chateleraut was also related to Louvigny. "A prettier family party was never seen." Complaint was made to the company of the peculations of these dishonest clerks, and a man named Denoyer was sent up to take the place of chief clerk, pending the investigation that must necessarily follow the complaint. The clerks were angry at being accused and the directors were angry with Cadillac for accusing their

relatives of dishonesty.[101] Denoyer came to Detroit with the determination to uphold the dignity of the company, and not to permit Cadillac to overrule him as its representative.

Shortly after his arrival a soldier was killed by the hostile Indians, and a party of about a hundred friendly Indians started off to avenge the soldier's death. They asked for seven or eight Frenchmen to go with them. Cadillac granted this request and commanded Tonty to take eight men of the company's employes to accompany the volunteers, and to take provisions for their support from the company's warehouse. Denoyer at once objected and said that Cadillac had no authority to take the employes of the company for the king's service without his permission, and that they should not go outside the fort without his permission. Cadillac sent for Denoyer and asked him if he had directed the company's men not to obey Tonty's orders.

In making a report of the circumstances, Cadillac says: "He had the impertinence to maintain to my face, M. de Tonty being present, that he did not believe I had this power. This reply, made with all possible arrogance, compelled me to send him to prison with these words, 'I will teach you, you little clerk, to swerve from your duty and to raise sedition by estranging minds from obedience.'"

When asked regarding the powers he had at this time Cadillac replied, "They are very ample, being to punish according to the circumstances, by censures, by reprimands, by arrests, by imprisonment; or by deprivation of civil rights; and in case of continued disobedience, to run my sword through any one so offending against me."

For these offenses, fancied and real, against the company he was complained of by the clerks he had accused and imprisoned, and was sent for to answer the charges in Quebec. Here he was detained by M. de Ramezay, major of Quebec. The detention, probably, did not amount to imprisonment, but it prevented Cadillac from returning to Detroit and protecting it during the most precarious period of its existence.

Ramezay certainly had a good opinion of the character of Cadillac and on this occasion he made the following report to Pontchartrain: "I have thought it my duty, My Lord, in the position I hold, to inform you of the case they have got up against one of our officers named M. de la Mothe Cadillac, who commands at Detroit. He has the honor of being known to you, My Lord, and I feel obliged to say, on his behalf, that he has always discharged his duty well, and has acquitted himself well in the work that has been intrusted to him for the king's

[101] Cadillac Papers. Report of Nov. 19, 1704.

service. So that because he has acted most uprightly by denouncing the Sieur de Tonty and two agents of the company at Detroit, who have in effect been convicted of malversation, by his having seized a certain quantity of furs and having discovered a much greater quantity, a suit has been brought against him in order to render his evidence liable to be challenged. This affair is a scandal to the public generally, for it is very certain that the Sieurs de Lotbinieres and de Linot, who are the chief of the board of directors, have only acted in this manner as it would appear in order to shelter the two agents."[102]

Cadillac was not convinced that he would receive justice by a trial in Canada as judicial affairs were then conducted, and he appealed the case immediately to the court. In another place we have seen that he was successful in his appeal. He was delayed two years in Montreal and Quebec, but went back to Detroit as its sole proprietor. While he had thus been absent from his post the quarrel between the Ottawas and Miamis had taken place which nearly resulted in the destruction of Detroit and in which the soldier and the parish priest had been killed.

Completely exonerated, he went back to Detroit, carrying the best wishes of the court officials, and if the Canadian officers bore him any ill will they were obliged to hide it in compliance with the strict orders of Pontchartrain.

Sieur Riverin, in his "Points concerning Canada, for the year 1707," concerning Cadillac, says, "He is known and beloved by the savages; no one can manage them better. He is no less beloved by the French people because of his good nature and disinterestedness; but he is beginning to grow old and might be inclined to retire to Quebec. Some favor from My Lord might remove this idea."[103]

The great success that had of late attended Cadillac in his appeal from the Canadian officials to the authorities at Versailles led him to think that he could always be successful in such proceedings and that he could safely ignore the orders of the governor and intendant, and in case of trouble could again appeal to Versailles. In this he was entirely mistaken. He refused, or neglected to make report to Vaudreuil of affairs at the post and after the governor had submitted in this manner of insubordination for a sufficient length of time, he reported the matter to Pontchartrain. This resulted in the sending of Aigremont on a tour of inspection to all the posts with instructions to make a report in the most complete manner and, at the same time, assurances were given him

[102] Cadillac Papers. Report of Ramezay, Nov. 14, 1704.
[103] Cadillac Papers, dated Apr. 11, 1707.

that his report would be held entirely confidential and not be divulged to any one to his injury. The report was very unfavorable, but its edge was blunted by a letter of Cadillac's detailing the manner in which Aigremont came to Detroit, the imperfect inspection he made of the post and his connection with the open enemies of the commandant.

If the report was founded upon dislike of Cadillac and with the intent to do him an injury it did not entirely succeed, nor was it an utter failure. Cadillac was removed from his position at Detroit, but he was appointed governor of Louisiana. Heretofore he had been under Vaudreuil, now he is his equal, but in another country. Not punishment, but promotion had been meted out to him.

Effort has only been made, so far, to show how Cadillac's contemporaries viewed him and what they thought of him. He certainly must have been a strong man, for he had many bitter enemies and warm friends. He must have been a man of much more than ordinary ability, or he would not have been advanced from a sailor boy to a pilot, from a pilot to a lieutenant, from that office successively to captain, commandant at Mackinac, founder of Detroit, governor of Louisiana, governor Castelsarrasin, and member of the military order of St. Louis.

For many years his name has been unknown; his achievements buried under the dust of more than a hundred years accumulation in the archives at Paris. Years ago many of these old files were dug out, translated and published at the request of Gen. Lewis Cass, then minister to France. But the result of Cass' work was not widely disseminated.[104]

The man then in charge of these archives was Pierre Margry, probably the best informed of all men regarding Canadian colonial history. His long and intimate association with these old records made him as well acquainted with these early Frenchmen as with his every day companions. He paid particular attention to Cadillac as of a man whose character was worthy of study. He said that Cadillac had the best of instruction; he had ideas concerning the royal power in its relation with the church, and on the conduct to be employed towards the Indians. In all of these matters he showed more than ordinary ability but he maintained these ideas with a certain spirit of braggadocio.[105] He was a Gascon by birth and well qualified, as his writings show, to fairly demonstrate the meaning of the word gasconade.

[104] Sheldon's Early History of Michigan.

[105] Margry's collections fill six large volumes. They were printed in Paris and by reason of a congressional appropriation a number were either printed in the United States or purchased for distribution here. Unfortunately one of the most important parts of the work—the introduction by M. Margry, which occupied nearly 150 pages in each of the Paris copies—is omitted in the American copies. It is impossible to tell on whom the blame for such a blunder should rest, but probably on some government clerk who thought that publishing the introduction would not conform to the act of congress authorizing the publishing of the work.

Charles Gayarre, the historian of Louisiana, has written some facetious lines on the life of Cadillac. They may well be termed facetious for no other person who has read his letters and writings concerning him has found any frivolous act through his long public life. Mr. Gayarre says, "Lamothe Cadillac was born on the banks of the Garonne, in the province of Gascony, France. He was of an ancient family, which for several centuries had, by some fatality or other, been rapidly sliding down from the elevated position which it had occupied. When Lamothe Cadillac was ushered into life the domains of his ancestors had, for many generations past, been reduced to a few acres of land. That small estate was dignified, however, with an old dilapidated edifice which bore the name of castle, although, at a distance, to an unprejudiced eye, it presented some unlucky resemblance to a barn. A solitary tower dressed, as it were, in a gown of moss and ivy, raised its gray head to a height which might have been called respectable, and which appeared to offer special attractions to crows, swallows and bats. Much to the mortification of the present owner, it had been called by the young wags of the neighborhood 'Cadillac's Rookery,' and was currently known under this ungenteel appellation. Cadillac had received a provincial and domestic education, and had, to his twenty-fifth year, moved in a very contracted sphere. Nay, it may be said that he had almost lived in solitude, for he had lost both his parents when hardly eighteen summers had passed over his head, and he had since kept company with none but the old tutor to whom he was indebted for such classical attainments as he had acquired. His mind being as much curtailed in its proportions as his patrimonial acres, his intellectual vision could not extend very far, and if Cadillac was not literally a dunce, it was well known that Cadillac's wits never ran away with him.

"Whether it was owing to this accidental organization of his brain, or not, certain it is that one thing afforded the most intense delight to Cadillac—it was that no blood so refined as his own ran in the veins of any other human being, and that his person was the very incarnation of nobility. With such a conviction rooted in his heart, it is not astonishing that his tall, thin and emaciated body should have stiffened itself into the most accurate observation of the perpendicular. Indeed, it was exceedingly pleasant and exhilarating to the lungs to see Cadillac, on a Sunday morning, strutting along in full dress on his way to church through the meagre village attached to his hereditary domain. His bow to the mayor and to the curate was something rare,—an exquisite burlesque of infinite majesty, thawing into infinite affability. His ponderous

wig, the curls of which spread like a peacock's tail, seemed to be alive with conscious pride at the good luck it had of covering a head of such importance to the human race. His eyes, in whose favor nature had been pleased to deviate from the oval into the round shape, were possessed with a stare of astonishment, as if they meant to convey the expression that the spirit within was in a trance of stupefaction at the astounding fact that the being it animated did not produce a more startling effect upon the world. The physiognomy which I am endeavoring to depict was rendered more remarkable by a stout, cocked up, snub nose, which looked as if it had hurried back in a fright from the lips to squat in rather too close proximity to the eyes and which, with its dilated nostrils, seemed always on the point of sneezing at something thrusting itself between the wind and its nobility. His lips wore a mocking smile, as if sneering at the strange circumstance that a Cadillac should be reduced to be an obscure, penniless individual. But, if Cadillac had his weak points, it must also be told that he was not without his strong ones. Thus he had a great deal of energy bordering, it is true, upon obstinacy; he was a rigidly moral and pious man; and he was too proud not to be valiant."[106]

Gayarre has employed nearly the same language as that quoted above in his description of Cadillac in his Romance of the History of Louisiana.

Maurice Thompson[107] calls Cadillac "a domineering and irascible stranger" but he does not undertake to detract anything from his ability.[108] Le Page Du Pratz also considered him a man of ability. These writers, as well as Mr. Benjamin Sulte,[109] have formed their opinions of the man from his governorship of Louisiana. He was as successful there as any of his predecessors had been or as his successors were, but he disappointed some of those interested in the colony by devoting a considerable portion of his time in seeking to find silver, copper and lead mines. He had been forbidden to do this at Detroit, but his work in this line, as governor of Louisiana, was encouraged by the court.

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[106] Louisiana; its Colonial History and Romance, 126.
When Gayarre was asked to give his authorities for the above description, he replied that he had no authorities for the words he had used and that the description was a creature of his imagination.

[107] Maurice Thompson, Story of Louisiana, 33.

[108] Le Page Du Pratz History of Louisiana, English ed., 1763, page 9; French ed., 1758, page 10. The author makes the curious mistake of reporting Cadillac to have died in 1719. He did not die until 1730.

[109] Sulte's Histoire des Canadienes Francais VI, 29. Evidently Mr. Sulte does not think much of Cadillac, though he does not seem to doubt his ability.

CADILLAC.

(A paper read before the Michigan Society, Sons of American Revolution, April 15, 1901.)

BY ALFRED RUSSELL.

Lord Bacon, in his discourse on the marshaling of the degrees of honor, gives the first place to the founders of states and cities; and this honor we must accord to that seventeenth century Frenchman, Cadillic, who founded the city in which we dwell.

Our society is doing a valuable work in supplying historical records, preserving landmarks, building memorials of great transactions, and in general stimulating public interest in the history and achievements of the new world. In line with this work, it is not inappropriate to commemorate what was done on this spot by a member of that friendly nation which afterwards helped make our revolution a success, and which is now the second great republic.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries France was a great colonial power. The history of New France, or Canada, is a history of daring exploits, unequaled endurance, great foresight, and self-sacrificing effort on the part of the missionaries of the cross. The French crown was not more earnest in acquiring lands than the church was in making converts of the red man. In this work the layman assisted; for, as Macaulay justly remarks, "men will die for a faith they do not understand, and whose precepts they habitually disobey."

Nothing more interesting can be found in human annals than the account of the Bostonian, Francis Parkman, of "Frenchmen in America;" and our compatriot, Silas Farmer, has added to our local stock of information.

New France included the place where we are now assembled. After the capitulation of Montreal in 1763, when the flag of the lilies ceased to float in America, except for a brief period later in Louisiana, the English province of Quebec was created by the Quebec act of parliament of 1774. That province was bounded on the south by the Ohio river and on the west by the Mississippi.

By the articles of that capitulation the French troops in garrison at Detroit and Mackinac were to go out with the honors of war, and were to embark for the first seaport in France by the shortest way. No Frenchmen or married or unmarried soldiers were to be transported to the English colonies or old England, or to be molested for having taken

arms. English law was not introduced until 1792, and, indeed, the French common law was not abolished in Michigan until 1810.

Cadillac was sent to Mackinac as commandant in 1694. He selected the site of Detroit as the best location for a settlement, and recommended it to the authorities at Paris, and was commissioned in 1700 to lay out the town. Subsequently peace was made with the Iroquois, and a route established around Niagara Falls for journeys between Detroit and Montreal. LaSalle had launched a sail vessel at Buffalo as early as 1679, and Cadillac in one of his reports recommends to his government the building of a canal around the falls, a project finally realized in the nineteenth century by the Welland canal.

Our townsman, Mr. C. M. Burton, to whom we are very greatly indebted for antiquarian research, relates that Cadillac resided a short time in Quebec in 1684, and that he was a man of like passions with other men. On one occasion he got into a quarrel with another officer and was taken into court, and the voluminous testimony on the trial is still preserved. The parties later lived in this city in peace.

Cadillac laid the foundation of the post of Detroit July 24, 1701; he had with him his little son of nine, named after himself. Before coming to Mackinac, Cadillac had lived in Port Royal, Nova Scotia. He also had lived on Mt. Desert Island, on the coast of Maine, and owned the site of Bar Harbor, the fashionable watering place of the present day.

It may be interesting to state the route taken by Cadillac when he started to found this city. He left Lachine, near Montreal, June 5, 1701, came up the Ottawa river and reached French river, emptying into Lake Huron. He then sailed down the St. Clair river and Lake St. Clair to Belle Isle, in the Detroit river. His party was made up of a hundred whites, in twenty-five large boats 26x6 feet.

It is said that Belle Isle reminded Cadillac of the island in the Seine where Paris was founded, and that this led him to fix the site of the post here.

On his arrival, after the celebration of mass, the banner of France was raised, and possession taken in the name of Louis XIV. A contingent of Algonquins accompanied the party in canoes. The bi-centenary committee have suggested reproducing Cadillac's fleet and escort of Indians as a feature of the celebration next July.

King Louis and William III. of England were then at war, and the English were negotiating with the Indians for the site of Detroit, but were outwitted by Cadillac.

The post of Detroit, as laid out by Cadillac, was between Griswold,

Wayne, West Larned and Jefferson. Heavy palisades enclosed this extent of ground. The church was placed at the corner of Griswold and Jefferson, where Ives' bank is located.

Cadillac made conveyances of lots, on condition of occupancy and the payment of an annual sum for public revenue. Those conveyances were deposited, and still remain, in the colonial office at Paris. He also established a public wind-mill for grinding corn and wheat. He sold exclusive rights of trading and blacksmithing, and the like. The Campaus, Chenes, Chapatons and St. Aubins appear among the list of Cadillac's grantees. Grants of land were made up the river, including the present DeLorme farm in Grosse Pointe, and to his daughter he granted Grosse Isle and part of Ecorse.

The houses were not log houses, but were constructed of split rails and stakes filled in with mud and mortar. Corn and wheat were raised, and the corn grew eight feet high. Each proprietor cultivated about half an acre. The people were soldiers, farmers, mechanics and hunters. Cattle and horses were imported, and multiplied. Cadillac and the priest were the chief rulers. Cadillac imported liquors, and brought a brewer from Montreal in 1706 to establish a brewery. This brewer was also a tool manufacturer. The notarial records at Montreal in the department of justice contain numerous records of contracts of traders, bargemen and laborers emigrating to Detroit. The registers of the French Catholic churches of Canada and Michigan also contain much information, and Mr. Burton, to whom I have already referred, has made a large and invaluable collection of manuscript volumes, with copies of all this recorded information. By means of these Mr. Burton has compiled a directory of Detroit as it existed nearly two hundred years ago, and also a map with much accompanying matter of interest.

In 1710 Cadillac received the appointment of governor of Louisiana, and left Detroit forever; but his impress, and that of his friends and associates, will remain here unto all time.

It is instructive to refer to the life which he had led before coming here, and which fitted him eminently for his success here as colonist and law-giver. He is supposed to have been born in 1661 in the province of Gascony, France, and to have been educated for the priesthood; but he entered the army at an early age, and came to America to seek his fortune in 1683, at the age of twenty-two. Arriving in Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, he fell in with a privateersman, and navigated the coast of the present United States, and in an official report in 1691 he gives notice to French navigators of the dangers of Hellgate, in New York

harbor. He also reported to Paris his opinion as to the best method of attacking the English colonies on the Atlantic coast, much to the satisfaction of his king. Created a lieutenant, he married at Quebec in 1687 and received a large grant of land on the Maine coast. In 1693 he was advanced to the rank of captain in the army and ensign in the navy. He enjoyed the confidence of Frontenac, governor of New France, and was appointed commandant at Mackinac for five years, where he was engaged in many controversies with the Jesuits, whom he disliked. The canteen question was rampant even at that day. Cadillac thought it necessary to furnish liquor to the soldiers, and also to the Indians, who would otherwise get it from the English. This view was opposed by the priests.

In 1698 he resigned his place at Mackinac and went to France to present his plan for founding Detroit. After his great service here and his governorship to Louisiana, he returned to France in 1717, and was later appointed governor of a French post in France, which he retained until his death, not long after.

Such and so great were the toils and triumphs of the founder of Detroit.

A TALE OF TWO CITIES.

DEDICATED TO THOMAS D. GILBERT AND TO THE OLD RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION OF THE GRAND RIVER VALLEY.

[Note.—The paper read by me at the Old Residents' Association last winter was very hastily prepared, had many imperfections, and was not intended for publication. There were many things I wished, then, to add, but had not the time to prepare, or to read, without taxing the patience of the listeners. It was only on condition that the paper should be revised, and some additions made, that my consent was given for its publication in this form. While I am much gratified at its most kindly reception, and that any of you should care for its preservation in the society, it is the subject itself which gives interest. We know too little of the time and people of our immediate past. This "Upper Country" has its own intensely interesting history. What is to be known to the future, must be gathered up now from all possible sources, or be lost forever. As one nears the farther boundary, it is pleasant to recall the things of earlier days, and live them over again. It has been a pleasure to me to recall so vividly the "Scenes of my childhood, as fond recollection presents them to view." If, at the same time, I have been able to give a passing pleasure to any members of the association, that, also, is a gratification, and to them I dedicate this little pamphlet.

ANGIE BINGHAM GILBERT.]

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The reason given for asking me to speak to you, was that as the wife of your late president and faithful friend, Thomas D. Gilbert, I would, in a sense, represent him among you. So tonight, for him, I extend cordial greeting to you, one and all, members of the Old Residents' Association, and bid you God speed, as one after another we emigrate to a new country, not again, as pioneers, but to a home prepared, and among old friends.

The natural trend of thought and talk at these meetings lies along the lines of personal experiences and old time histories of Michigan in general, and the Grand River valley in particular. One cannot be expected to say anything new, but not being a pioneer of this beautiful valley, I venture to give you what might be called "A Tale of Two Cities," identical in their aboriginal name with many similar conditions and characteristics. The name given to both was Poweting, which signifies the rapids. To distinguish them, one was called Ojibway Poweting, the other Ottawa Poweting. One is very old, one of the oldest places in the country, the other comparatively new. Both started as trading posts with the Indians, with many early French settlers; both were for a long time off the lines of the great thoroughfares and more or less secluded from the world, and both are in Michigan. There has been much discussion as to the origin and meaning of the word Michigan. My opinion is that it came from Mitchee Gumeeng, great lake, referring to Lake Michigan. Lake Superior was called Kitchee Gumeeng, also great lake. The words Mitchee and Kitchee both seem to mean the same thing—great, large; whether there is a shade of difference in applying them to the two lakes, I do not know. I believe, also, that

the word Mississippi is a mispronunciation of the Ojibway word Mitchee-Zebee, which means great river. The original of the word Mackinaw was Mitchee-ne-Mack-e-nong, great turtle. In all these names the prefix Mitchee is used, meaning the same. It seems a pity that there is no way left of getting the correct pronunciation of the language of this already almost vanished race; so poetical in its significance; so soft and musical in its correct utterance; so fascinating to those who can understand its literal meaning. The "passing" of the Indian is one of the saddest things in American history, although not so considered by those who think of Indians only as the savage brutes of history; the stolid, vindictive, treacherous creatures still roaming our frontiers, or the miserable specimens so rarely now seen upon our streets. To one who has seen them in their homes, known them in their daily lives, played with their little children, heard them recite their wonderful traditions and beautiful legends, understood their language, and the vivid imagery and romance of their thought, listened to the fervid oratory in their councils and religious meetings, there is an inexpressible charm and attraction which strangers cannot feel. How few are now left who can do this.

The great lakes are connected by a grand highway called St. Mary's river. Were there time, I would like to describe in my own way this, one of the most beautiful rivers of the country, in its approach to the old Sault De Ste. Marie. This being the French name of the old town, is also significant of the rapids, at the foot of which it lies. It means the leap of the St. Mary, and should be pronounced "So," not "Soo." The latter, being the commercial name in common use, has given to some, the idea that the place took its name from the tribe of Sioux. The Ojibways, anglicized Chippeways, lived in this region. The word Sault is the same as in our English word somersault; and the whole romantic name of the town has met with some fantastic variations in unfamiliar hands, through the postoffice, such as "Salt Saint Maria," "Susan Mary," etc.

Almost every mile of this noble river, reaching from Lake Huron to Lake Superior, about seventy-five miles, lies along classic ground, and is very picturesque. With the "thousand islands" at its mouth, rivaling the St. Lawrence in beauty, it narrows, and widens into little lakes, and narrows again, all along, until reaching the Sault, where it is one mile wide. From there on, it widens for about fifteen miles, where it reaches the great "Father of Waters," Lake Superior. All along the way lie the scenes of great battles of the Indians of different tribes,

most of whom have entirely disappeared; with legends of romantic interest; tales of the early travelers; as well as stories of more modern times, since the mingling of the white man with the copper colored people. Some of these stories are the saddest things one ever heard. The rapids, or falls, are about three-quarters of a mile long, and indescribably beautiful. There is a steady descent, but about half way down, in the center of the river, is what is called the "big shoot," a sudden drop of about ten feet. To "shoot the rapids" over the "ship channel" is a feat worth doing once. The "canoe channel," on the American side, gives one only a delightful experience, and is not dangerous with a native guide. The point of land jutting into the rapids was, in the treaty with the United States government, ceded to the Indians, "as long as the water runs." It was their fishing ground, and the only place in the world where the whitefish is found in its perfection. Here they built their little huts, first of bark and matting, later of logs, and here they buried their dead, feeling secure, poor things, in the sacred promise of the "Great Father" at Washington. It was directly through this land that the government canal was built. It was a very unique sight in days of old when, at sunset, they poled their birch canoes up as far as possible against the current, then, skillfully dropping the pole to pick up the "scoop net," and dipping it into the water, caught the net full of the beautiful fish as they floated down the swift, boiling waves. Reaching sometimes clear across the river, going up and down, and up and down, it was a sight never to be forgotten. These rapids were the gate which closed the passage to the rich country beyond, famous the world over for its wealth of precious metals. These riches were surmised, but not really known until a comparatively recent period. After their certain discovery, every contrivance was brought to bear to take traffic around the falls, for although there was a great abundance of water, "ships could pass" neither by night nor by day. Horse cars were used to "cross the portage," and steam and sail vessels were built above the falls, and also moved across and put on to Lake Superior, much as we move houses about here in Grand Rapids, on greased ways. It was a very slow process, and in the language of an impatient captain, "It took a great deal of perseverance, and some grease." Capt. A. J. Averill, who took the first steamship, the Independence, across the portage, died in Chicago last September, a millionaire, and one of Chicago's best citizens. At last, after an immense expenditure of labor, skill, time and money, Uncle Sam made a lock and fitted a key that would open the gate, and close it, and very wisely

kept the key in his own pocket. Now the horse cars and greased ways are things of the past, and in summer, "ships pass in the night," and in the day, and "speak each other in passing" up and down through the two great canals. Johnny Bull, not to be outdone by his Yankee cousin, is now, also, making his own lock and fitting his own key, to keep in his own pocket. Since then, the "Old Sault" has been growing modern and commonplace, that is, like other places, and losing its peculiarities. Of it, it may be said, "Old things have passed away, and behold, all things have become new." Even now, probably, very few of the present inhabitants have any idea of the quaint charm and peculiar characteristics of the older town.

I came to Michigan at a very early period of my life, "landing" at the Sault on the stormy day of the March equinox. The great river below the falls seemed solid ice, and there was no navigation; there were no roads leading in or out of the little frozen up town; the only communication with the world was with snow shoes and dog trains through trackless forests, over deep snow drifts, and by crossing the rivers on the treacherous ice. I came by an old-fashioned route, and was warmly welcomed. Although the town was then old it had retained many of its earlier features. The American Fur Co. had an important station here, and was still doing a large business. John Jacob Astor and Ramsey Crooks were familiar names in the vessels named for them, used in the fur company's trade. The "Indian agency," a stately, elegant mansion, built by Henry R. Schoolcraft for the government, stood at one edge of the town. Then along the bank came houses, more or less ancient; among them the old Johnstone homestead, a long, low, well-built log house in a beautiful, old-fashioned garden. Roses in perfection, lilacs, sweet Williams, bachelor buttons, marigolds, and other flowers of long ago grew luxuriously in front, and back of the house, a kitchen garden, where long rows of currant bushes hung full of the rich colored fruit, the taste of which lingers in my memory yet. Here had often gathered from away back many notable people, and here was kept up all possible of the ceremony and state of a noble house of Ireland, with the presiding genius, a dignified and stately woman, daughter of a noted Ojibway chief. At this old homestead, later on, occurred the great tragedy of the summer of 1846, called the "Tanner summer" (the murder of James Schoolcraft), the mystery of which is still unsolved. Above this was the old burying ground of the first Jesuit pioneers, not a vestige of which remains in sight, its existence about forgotten. What, and who, may have been buried there, no one now knows. Could those devoted churchmen now arise, who laid them-

selves "down to sleep" so long ago on the banks of the blue St. Mary, what stories might they tell us of hardships borne, of privations patiently endured, of meeting finesse with finesse, in dealing with the "untutored mind" of the wily savage of that day.

Then came Fort Brady, a picturesque stockade garrison, with its quaint block house in each corner, and its four sentry boxes with armed sentries in constant patrol. This fort was built in about the year 1822, directly upon the river bank, its guns overlooking the approach, but has recently been removed to a commanding hill back of the city. Mr. S. L. Fuller, late of this city, now deceased, had charge of the building of the little canal, or water power, made to run a saw mill for cutting the lumber for building Ft. Brady. It was there still when the ship canals were begun on the same ground.

Next came an open space, always called "The green," and guarded by the military from ordinary use. Upon this green the Indians, coming at certain seasons of the year for fishing, built their lodges, making it for the time being a veritable Indian village. Here, too, when they came in large numbers from the far interior, they had their war dances, scalps and all; their medicine dances; their dog sacrifices; and their ball games which were very exciting. It was not an uncommon thing to retire at night seeing the green vacant and quiet, and to waken in the early morning to find a busy little city had sprung up in the night; and to waken some other morning to see that, like the "Arabs," they had "folded their" graceful bark "tents, and silently sped away." Next to the green was the village proper; an irregular row of houses, log and frame, on one side of the street, with docks and warehouses for shipping on the other. Among these were several houses of historical interest, in one of which, standing at the head of the village, Gen. Lewis Cass made the famous treaty with the Indians, during which, he and his party were saved from general massacre by the watchfulness and warning of the Indian wife of Mr. Johnstone, a woman of great determination and influence. It was in this house that Rev. Abel Bingham, sent there by the American Baptist board of foreign missions, first established his school, and held religious service until the "mission house" was built on the present site of the court house. It was in that same "classic structure" beside the green that your speaker of this evening gave her first "war whoop" in the battle of life (not her last); incited thereto, doubtless, by regretful spirits of "Braves from the happy hunting grounds," cheated out of their intended massacre in that house. Beyond the village was "The pointe," the Indian reserve

beside the falls, and back of this and beyond was "The portage." All along this, on both sides, were the little homes of the French and "mixed bloods" of the poorer classes, reaching up to the "Head of the portage," where the shipping started in for the upper lake. Back of all these, on a little rise of land, were the first two missions, the Roman Catholic and the Baptist, the military and village cemeteries, cultivated gardens and fields of grain. There were some good houses and elegant homes even in those days. The inhabitants were made up of almost every nation under the sun, and as many of the "traders" marrying native wives, brought their families here, there were many mixed people. French and Indian, Scotch and Indian, Irish and Indian, English and Indian, American and Indian; society had to be wise in allusions to race. Across the river on the Canadian side was a little bay, exactly where the Canadian ship canal is now being built. Here was the Hudson Bay Fur Company's station, and the little bay was always called "Hudson Bay." At times the station was used as a garrison, with red-coated British soldiers in charge. Along the bank on that side were the homes of Canadian French and "mixed bloods," with their patches of ground for gardens, laid out much as they are in Quebec. Now and then among them were the more pretentious houses, wood and stone, of the officers of the government, the fur company and dignitaries of the English church. Into these offices were sent "younger sons" of the aristocracy from the mother country, or from "home," as they called it. There was much going back and forth in sail and row boats in summer, on the ice in winter. With this condition of things one can well understand that society was something quite out of the ordinary in country towns, and sometimes presented peculiar features. With the government and fur company's people on both sides there was always, if not a very large, an intelligent and refined society. In winter, although shut out from the world, the people were very social. There were good libraries, much sleigh riding, skating, snow shoe promenades, "sugar bush" frolics, and other things belonging to frontier life. Music was an especial feature, vocal and instrumental. Those who went to church at all attended together, regardless of sect. If there were not a very great many young women there were always a good many young men, which made it more interesting for the girls who were there. The mails came once a month, when the ice permitted; brought from Saginaw, about 200 miles, by the French and Indian "mail carriers" with dog trains and snow shoes. It was a great day when "the mail came in." Everybody went to see everybody. The sleigh riding was

much of it done in dog carryalls, a long, low sleigh; and in the "train de Glisse," a sort of covered toboggan, filled in with furs very nice and comfortable for one person. In using the toboggans a train of from one to six dogs were driven tandem; one man going ahead as "leader" for the head dog to follow; another man behind guiding the toboggan with a long rope attached to the rear end, and directing the dogs by French and Indian words answering to our "gee" and "haw," encouraging them in hard places by the well known inspiring "Indian yell." A well trained traveling dog was a valuable animal. Men and women joined in walking parties, on time; and men walked to Mackinaw for a friendly visit, fifty miles distant by land, one hundred by water.

People were at first a little lonely when the "last boat" sailed away, or puffed out of sight, in November. My mother used to say "We have started for the north pole again;" but we soon settled down to it and the winters were not very tedious. There were some curious characters evolved from the varied elements so strangely brought together there; and many true stories of that queer old town are far, far "stranger than fiction." In summer the world came to us. Large steamer excursions brought people from all parts of the country. Travelers from all over the world came; some for the whole or a part of the season; for sight seeing; for historical, botanical, geological research; to "study up the Indians;" some to hide for a while from public scrutiny; and all seemed more or less amazed at any evidence of culture, even of civilization, in the society of the place.

Every year noted persons were to be met there—authors, scholars, poets, artists, churchmen, men of title, and of office, civil and military. It has often been said, and with perfect truth, that at my father's house one had met every rank and condition of men, from an English nobleman to a "drunken Indian," and all had been civilly entertained, unless the Indian was very drunk, when he was laid away to "sober off" in the wood shed or kitchen according to the season. I distinctly remember, when a little girl, sitting down to the table with Lord Morpeth, afterwards Earl of Carlisle of England, whom my father had asked to dinner. I watched his every movement with the greatest awe, "A real, live lord," yet his manner was of the simplest, most unpretentious style, as is apt to be the case with the genuine nobleman. He came with his retinue, his valet being much the more pompous and gorgeous, and accompanied by a bishop of the English church. Service was held in a little chapel on the top of a hill on the Canadian side, called "McMurrey's Folly." Of course everybody went across to the service;

and Mrs. James Schoolcraft, daughter of the Johnstone house of Irish and Indian aristocracy above mentioned, had her little daughter christened then by the bishop.

It was also a great day when the "first boat" came in; the "opening of navigation;" flags were raised, bells rung, drums beaten, cannon fired, and everyone was smiling and happy. We had come down from the "north pole" to the world again.

Some names among those old inhabitants were familiar in other parts of the country. There were the Johnstones, careful to spell the name with a "t;" the Johnsons, who spelled it without; the Schoolcrafts, the Holidays, the Ashmans, the Butterfields, the Camerons, the Froncheres, the Livingstones, the Ords, with many other well known names. When Henry R. Schoolcraft left the "Agency" James Ord was appointed in his place, and spent many years at the Sault, rearing a large family of jolly sons. He was being educated for the Roman Catholic priesthood when he fell in love with the beautiful Miss Becky Cressup of Virginia. Cupid had to be pacified by a compromise; he renounced his priesthood, and she renounced her protestant church for his. It was whispered that he was really a Frenchman, and some mystery was connected with his birth and early life of which he never spoke. Not long ago I read a newspaper statement that he was son of King Louis of France, sent to this country for political reasons. Another statement is made that he was son of King George of England, first sent to France, later to America, for reasons of state. The latter story is probably true. He was the father of Gen. Edward Otho Cressup Ord of the United States army, well known during the late war. Many of the officers and men of the Mexican war and of the war of the rebellion were once stationed at Fort Brady. I know of two cases where two young lieutenants, once in the same company there, fought on different sides in the late war. It happens that of the two on the confederate side, one was killed in battle; one died lately by his own hand in Texas. Of the two on the union side, both rose to high rank in the army, and both have been quite recently "retired." Gen. Winfield Scott frequently came to Fort Brady to inspect the troops. "Inspection" was a grand occasion at the garrison, and there was much hustling and many jokes, in getting forbidden things out of sight of the martinet. Although but a child, I well remember Gen. Scott's commanding figure and his tall parade hat of those days, with its nodding plumes and the heavy epaulets on his shoulders. Old "Fuss and Feathers" might have been "proud" or "vain," but he was a noble looking man, and had something to show for a little vanity. He once came with a large pleas-

ure excursion of gay young people, he acting as father and Mrs. Davenport of Detroit as mother to the crowd. They chartered a sail vessel, the Algonquin, to take them up the river for a glimpse of old Superior, which every well regulated excursionist must have. Gen. Scott invited my older sister, herself only a child, but tall for her age, to accompany them; my mother demurred, saying the child was too young for such a company, but the general insisted he was "not accustomed" to "giving up," and that she should be his little granddaughter and his especial care. Of course she went, and, of course, too, never forgot the occasion. That little "granddaughter" of General Scott is present here tonight, as my guest, but slightly older.

The story of those "old Sault" days would hardly be complete without more especial mention of a young couple, who in 1827 left a happy comfortable home and many friends in the then "far east," as missionaries to the Ojibways and the "whites" of that frontier. They remained there until life's sun was sinking low in the western horizon. Their "golden wedding," at the home of Dr. J. C. Buchanan in 1859, said to be the first ever celebrated in Grand Rapids, was largely attended, most of the city clergy being present. A sketch of their eventful lives in the form of "Chronicles" was read by Rev. Mr. Greeley, who also with others assisting, performed the marriage ceremony. Rev. Mr. Staples, then at the head of the Episcopal church at Bostwick street, found the wedding ring hidden in the "wedding cake," which was ceremoniously presented to the bride, by Dr. Francis Cumming. The bride and groom have long been peacefully sleeping side by side, "life's labor done," in Fulton street cemetery.

This is not the place for the sweet story of their lives and faithful work. But should the northern tourist even at this late day chance upon some white-haired "relic" of that time who knew them, and speak of Rev. Abel Bingham and his wife, the quick lighting up of the eye, the reverent manner, the tender words, would show at least that a good, unselfish, earthly life, does not always end with death.

I have been speaking mostly of the earlier days, some within my own memory, some before, and some of more recent times. The place has always been called the Old Sault, and one of its oldest traditions is that some time it was to be a place of great importance. The two great ship canals on the American side are truly "wonders of the world." If the equally great water power canal is ever completed, as now seems likely, it may yet realize the prophecy of the far past.

There is a dark side to the picture of which I have not spoken. "High

wines" and "cheap firewater" with all their attending evils, "got in their work" here, as elsewhere on the frontier, and numbered their victims from all classes, white and "dark skinned," as many a lonely grave, far from the "family lot" at "home," still testifies. I would like to be free from all unjust prejudice, but, seeing what my own eyes have seen, I confess to a shudder at sight of "The bottle put to a neighbor's lips."

Of the other city of this "tale," the Ottawa Poweting, I need say but little here; only of the time of my coming. As I look back I am impressed with the thought that a generation has passed away since. It had then about 6,000 inhabitants. Where are they all? A few are here tonight. The first time I came was by stage from Kalamazoo, on the old "plank road." In the stage were Mr. Frank Kellogg, afterward member of congress; Mr. John Tinkham, who married Miss Mallie Kingsbury; Mr. William Ashley and Mr. Leavitt, who I believe built the big stone house now left high and dry by itself on the top of Lyon street hill. As the stage drove gaily up to the old "National," where now stands the attractive "Morton" in which we are assembled tonight, Mr. Warren Mills came out and peered into the stage. I noticed that he eyed me rather sharply, and he afterwards said to my brother-in-law, "I knew that was your wife's sister as soon as I saw her." Some amusing incidents occurred during the long day's drive. I do not know Mr. Kellogg's nativity, but think he must have been a Yankee, for he was curious to find out where everyone came from and what they were about. I sat in the back seat, and with great amusement noticed his leading questions. He told some funny stories, and told them well; but he was matched by a nice young man from New York city, who had no objection to telling where he lived, or what was his business, but would not be outdone in the story telling; and they kept us all shouting with laughter.

At last Mr. Kellogg reached me, but I was ready for him. After skirmishing about to no effect, he asked me point blank where I came from. "Lake Superior," I promptly replied. That whetted his curiosity. The rest watched the play with amused interest. "I presume your father is connected with the mines, has he gotten rich mining?" "No he has not." Suddenly he cried out, "Oh! I know your name; I saw your trunk put on the stage; Miss Angie, Angie"—but he could get no farther and the laugh was upon him. I well recall my chagrin on first seeing the river and rapids here. For years I found myself listening for the roar of the falls and dashing of the water. However, after once seeing Grand river on a "tear" I have become somewhat reconciled. There were

then no fine public buildings of any kind; very few shade trees, few grassy lawns; but sand, sand, was everywhere. There were no greenhouses and no clubs. Imagine, if you can, Grand Rapids without its clubs. The old stone "union school" house stood on top of the hill, the "observed of all observers." St. Andrew's Roman Catholic church stood on Monroe street, on the site of Voigt & Herpolsheimer's store, and private residences were all about there. A fire engine house stood on the site of "The Gilbert," and in that engine house was hung the chapel bell, brought from the Baptist mission at the Sault, which called the faithful volunteer firemen from their homes and business, until too cracked to be of service. The Congregational church and parsonage stood at the head of Monroe street, a prominent feature of the city. The Baptist church, purchased of the Episcopalians when they built on their present site, stood on the northwest corner of Division and Bronson, now Crescent. It was afterwards resold and removed to the corner of Division and north Park streets, where it is now used as a blacksmith shop. The gothic windows still speak to the passers by of its once sacred office. Watching the busy men and patient horses standing within I sometimes wonder if occasionally faint echoes of prayer and song whisper about those old walls, or a magic phonograph softly repeats the words of the preacher: "Stand, therefore, having your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace." The old Methodist church, which first stood on the present site, was moved to Ottawa street, as an addition to the rear of the Gill & Greenly livery stable, and was burned with that building a year or so ago, the blackened walls still remaining. There was no Presbyterian church on this side the river. St. Mark's was then much smaller than now, but it was always an attractive place, especially at Christmas time. It was quite a custom for the young people to get together and go in parties to St. Mark's at Christmas eve, and to St. Andrew's at four o'clock on Christmas morning. A funny incident occurred once at that early morning service. The church had been beautifully decorated with evergreens, and, back of the altar, at a certain point in the service, the Star of Bethlehem was to be lighted; the man whose duty it was, went up a ladder with his torch, and fumbled awkwardly about among the greens, but could not find the star. At last, the Irish priest, losing his patience, turned to the wall saying "Cum doon, cum doon," took the stick from the man's hand, gave him a vigorous thump on the head with it, nimbly ran up the ladder himself, and lighted the star. The man did not seem to mind it in the least, and of course everyone laughed, but the service went on in

quiet dignity all the same afterward. The Thanksgiving services of those days were more impressive and interesting than now. Most of the different churches united in one general service. The several clergymen took part, and instead of a quartet performing the latest effort of some modern artist, unfamiliar to the worshipers, several choirs joined under a competent precentor, made the old buildings ring with grand anthems, suited to the day, compelling the interest and enthusiasm of the large audiences. It was good music, too. I believe in modern progress and in the highest culture, but may we not, sometimes, in the effort to be "artistic," miss the real sympathy and sentiment of the occasion? The society of that time was very charming, not so stilted and ceremonious as now, but with a cordial mingling after more simple and hearty fashion. When new people came they could say "We were strangers and ye took us in." That is why Grand Rapids has always been so attractive. May it never altogether lose the characteristic of cordiality which to the stranger and the lonely mean so much. There is not time to go into the details of the many pleasant gatherings in the many hospitable homes of those days; the rides, the country frolics; for there were many very nice people living on farms near the city. But the young people of that time will never forget the "open house" and generous table of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Seymour about four miles out, on what is now Burton avenue. Or the large "reading circle," the "old folks' concert," and other entertainments given for charity, particularly for the one "orphan asylum" which was the childhood of the present "U. B. A." These entertainments were "engineered" by Mrs. Rev. S. S. N. Greeley. To her, perhaps, as much as to any one person, was Grand Rapids society indebted for a new impetus in many good things.

How quickly to the old resident does the name John Ball park recall the venerable but vigorous "Honest John Ball," going up and down Fulton street with his long, slow stride, and Garibaldi head and face. And Campeau place, Uncle Louis Campeau, always the first out with his sleigh. Who does not think of "The Eagle," with the name of Aaron B. Turner, and wish that so long as its founder lives it might have still come a daily visitor to our homes, clean, wholesome and loyal, after its half century of life? I can never forget one incident of that terrible day of the assassination of President Lincoln. I had been out to obtain all possible details, and was walking slowly and sadly home, holding my little nephew by the hand, when I met Mr. Turner at the little triangle, now Memorial park. As we stood talking a farmer from the country came hurriedly across Fulton street park to where we stood, and

cried out, "Oh! Mr. Turner, is the old ship drifting?" Mr. Turner's face was white as he replied, "I am afraid it is," and bursting into tears, covered his face with his hands and sobbed aloud like a child. I need not say, perhaps, that the quartet, even to the little lad, joined in the chorus of tears. How often Memorial park recalls that scene. Looking at those old poplars on Bostwick street and Crescent park, topped by the Cuming residence, how they bring to mind Dr. Cuming, once so prominent a figure here; his erect and dignified carriage, his eagle eye, his heavy, bushy brows, and his busy life, with its peaceful ending at his own home, after his return from the war. "Life's fitful fever over, he sleeps well" under the cross in Fulton street cemetery. As I recall the people resident here at that time, I can think of but few now occupying the same homes as then. Mrs. C. C. Rood and Dr. and Mrs. J. C. Buchanan still live side by side, as they did forty years ago, by Fulton street park. Mr. Ransom Luce still takes his morning market basket to his pleasant home on the corner farther up. Next to him, Mrs. Truman Lyon, a lovely "mother in Israel," now in her ninety-sixth year, has been "at home" all these years, in her pretty stone cottage. Next to her, Mr. Abram Pike still lives in the same old house with its Corinthian pillars, brought so long ago from the collapsed glories of Port Sheldon. Mr. N. L. Avery yet occupies his picturesque and beautiful home on Jefferson avenue. May he celebrate many another birthday anniversary there. Mr. and Mrs. W. N. Cook still gather their children about them every year in the familiar brick homestead on Lagrave street. Col. and Mrs. Thaddeus Foote welcome old friends in the same large white house on Front street, whose doors long ago opened hospitably almost of their own accord. There are others, but comparatively few, for time is restless, and change marks his footsteps everywhere. Mr. and Mrs. George Nelson have grown old together in Grand Rapids; not now, in their beautiful home up Cherry street, but in the hearts of their many friends. Cupid, so often fickle, has never forsaken them, but likes a cozy corner by their fireside, where he quietly chuckles over his antics elsewhere.

To see Mrs. Mary Blakesley dancing at the "Old Residents' reunion," the soft gray curls about her face, and her still girlish form moving gracefully back and forth, one might easily forgot the years with their burden of sorrows that have passed since she danced, a merry young girl, "belle of the ball."

Here, too, once lived some persons since become famous. George Pullman, of Pullman car fame, once did considerable business here,

on Canal street. His brother Albert, afterwards a partner, lived here several years. His picture must be with the group of the "Old Folks' Concert" singers in the St. Cecelia building, presented to the society by Miss Rebecca Richmond. Gen. R. A. Alger did his courting and held his wedding reception in the old Henry homestead, corner Fulton and Sheldon. Emma Abbott, at sixteen, her guitar strung to her shoulder by a long ribbon, made her debut on the stage in Luce's hall, under the patronage and encouragement of D. R. Utley, once the chief baritone of this city. In later, grander years, when singing here, she always remembered him with a cordial greeting and free tickets. He was the father of Mrs. Aldworth, contralto at "All Souls," and of Mr. Jay Utley.

It is well, perhaps, that some should rise to great wealth, to high position and to fame, especially if they have earned the right to be there; but tonight I would like to pay my highest tribute to the noble men and women among us who, in the quiet walks of life, have been the real heroes and heroines. That there are many such among the "pioneers" of Grand Rapids, no one can doubt. Neither can we ever fully realize for how much that is pleasant, in this pleasant city, we are indebted to them.

Dedicated to Hon. George W. Thayer and Col. P. V. Fox.

"Procrastination is the thief of time,"
An ancient saying, in a modern rhyme.
If, to procrastinate, is to be slow,
And "Tempus Fugits," how can this be so?
How did old tortoise overtake the hare,
And pass him by, the victor's prize to wear?
Because, poor Bunny lingered by the way;
But "Tempus" lingers not a single day.
There is a culprit, whatso'er his name;
An ancient terror, and of modern fame.
No bolts or bars may guard against his skill;
He is a robber at his "own sweet will."
He bides his hour, and when we little dream,
He bears away our treasure down the stream.
In vain the hue and cry, "Stop thief, stop thief,"
The darkness hides him, and the chase is brief.
Good friends, we'll cherish "Tempus" while we may;
And while the "sun is shining, make our hay."

June 10, 1897. A. B. G.

DEVIL'S KITCHEN, MACKINAW ISLAND.

Dedicated to T. D. G., The Four Sisters and "Pocahontas," 1886.

Nick, the devil, has a kitchen
On a fairy, cedar isle,
Where he cooks such savory dishes,
As would make a cynic smile.
All the way to it is easy,
Down, and down the winding stair;
And mankind, both saint and sinner,
Feel enchantment in the air.
Quite above the dark green balsams,
Stands the chimney, white and tall;
And below, on rock and pebbles,
Restless waters rise and fall.
Just within the fragrant grotto,
Lies a fairy, "Wishing spring;"
Limpid water, clear as crystal,
Flowing from the [1]Ishpeming:
Dripping, dripping, cool, refreshing,
Why should mortal fear to stay?
Drink, and wish, and keep the secret,
'Till three days have passed away;
Then, as old tradition has it,
Though the de'il, himself, be there,
Fairy fingers hold the goblet,
And will make the wish their care.
All about this queer old work-shop,
Are the implements to use,
Ovens, gridirons, pans, and kettles,
When he bakes, and broils, and brews;
Mortars, pestles, mills, and graters;
For all sorts of flavoring spice;
Hidden larders, secret closets,
Nooks, and shelves, of strange device;
Molding tables, cold as marble;
Jars of stone, for juicy sweets;
Pots, and presses, hooks, and rafters,
For the curious wild-wood meats.
The huge fire-place is the wonder,
Deep, and broad, and high, and grand;
And for kindlings, there are plenty
Always, at the *devil's* hand.
When the [2]ishkoday is lighted,
And the cook has work to do,
Fumes of frying, boiling, roasting,
Mingle in the chimney flue.
No foul airs pervade the kitchen,
Breezes play from door to door;
One, looks up the leafy stairway;
One, looks down upon the shore.
From above, the yellow sunlight,
Mellowed into softest rays;
Fairy sunlight, weird, fantastic,
Through the firs, and cedars, plays.
Far away, the water stretches,
Foamy white, and green, and blue;
'Till the colors, lost in distance,
Blend in misty, leaden hue.

[1] Ishpeming—above; also used for heaven, or high up.
[2] Ishkoday—fire.

*When the beach is dry, and open,
And the waters idly spray,
Then, no fear of mischief brewing,
For the devil is away.
Then the boatmen call [3]"Nokomis,"
For a breeze to fill their sails:
And with offerings of [4]ussamah
Woo the goddess of the gales.
Where the beach is lashed with breakers,
And the way is closed, below,
Then, "watch out" for [5]kitchee nodin,
And the [6]mutchee munedo.

[7] GE-WUH-TAH-JE-WUH-NO-QUAY.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin,"
August, 1886.

*Old Indian tradition. The water rises and falls, so that the entrance below the Devil's Kitchen is sometimes closed by high water.

[3] Nokomis—grandmother. Indians wishing for wind for sailing, playfully call out, Nokomis, Nokomis, in the direction they wish it to come from; as to a goddess of winds. If the wind does not come, they say she is not pleased, and the old lady wants

[4] Ussamah—tobacco, which they proceed to throw out to her.

[5] Kitchee Nodin—great wind.

[6] Mutchee Munedo—evil spirit, or, the Devil.

[7] Ge-wuh-tah-je-wuh-no-quay—whirlpool-woman. Name given to Angie Bingham, in childhood, by the Indians.

BEGINNINGS IN EATON COUNTY: ITS EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS AND SETTLERS.

BY EDWARD W. BARBER.

The county of Eaton came into existence by an act of the legislative council of the territory of Michigan, passed Oct. 29, 1829, nearly seventy-one years ago, which reads as follows: "That so much of the country as is included within the following limits, viz.: North of the base line, and south of the line between townships four and five north of the base line, and east of the line between ranges six and seven west of the meridian, and west of the line between ranges two and three west of the meridian be and the same is hereby set off into a separate county, and the name thereof shall be Eaton."

Prior to the date of this act the region mentioned was without a name, and for a few years thereafter, as for centuries before, had only Indian habitations, and the surveyor's designation, by numbers and ranges of townships, was the sole method of identification. At that time there was no white settler within the boundaries thus established.

The county was named in honor of John H. Eaton, secretary of war in the cabinet of President Andrew Jackson. Gen. Eaton died in 1856.

Twenty-one years later, in 1877, when third assistant postmaster general, Mrs. Margaret L. Eaton, his widow, a woman known in history as the cause of serious social trouble in President Jackson's official family, called at the postoffice department one day to obtain a complete set of postage stamps for a friend, and when I said to her that my county in Michigan was named in honor of her husband, she was greatly pleased and talked vivaciously about earlier times in Washington. She was then living in Louise Home, a splendid building erected by that genuine philanthropist, W. W. Corcoran, in memory of his dead wife and daughter, for indigent gentlewomen. Mrs. Eaton died in 1879, at the age of eighty-three years.

November 4, 1829, the territorial council of Michigan enacted "That the county of Eaton shall be attached to and compose a part of the county of St. Joseph." The next day, November 5, 1829, the same council passed a law that the counties of Branch, Calhoun and Eaton, and all the country north attached to Eaton be set off into a township by the name of Green. The total area of that township is an unknown quantity. The first town meeting was legislated to be held at the house of Jabez Bronson, whose given name, it seems, was not Jabez, but simply Jabe, as he always wrote it. He lived on a prairie that bore his name, the site of the present village of Bronson in Branch county. We have no means of knowing whether or no the election was held at the place designated in the spacious town of Green, but no doubt it was, as there were office-seekers in Michigan from the earliest incoming of white settlers, and for seventy years Branch county has not lost its early nurtured taste for the honors and emoluments of official position. But thus early, Eaton and Branch were associated in a civic organization, and now, seventy-one years later, they are in the same congressional district. As the county then lacked at least one of having a white inhabitant within its boundaries, there was no occasion or anxiety about going to Bronson through forest and across unbridged streams some sixty miles to attend a nominating caucus or to vote.

The following year, on July 30, 1830, the territorial council attached Eaton to Kalamazoo county for judicial purposes. Although the first white settler had not yet knocked at the door of civilization in Eaton, no doubt this was a judicious proceeding. At all events, this attachment lasted for nearly five years. Pursuing its civic evolution, we find that on March 17, 1835, the territorial council enacted "That the county of Eaton shall be a township by the name of Belleville, and the first township meeting shall be held at such place as the sheriff of Calhoun county

shall appoint in said county of Eaton, and shall be attached to the county of Eaton for all judicial purposes."

The final act, which gave to Eaton county an independent existence, was passed by the state legislature, December 29, 1837. It provided: "That the county of Eaton be and the same is hereby organized, and the inhabitants thereof entitled to all the rights and privileges to which by law the inhabitants of other counties of this state are entitled." Prior to 1837, according to recent interpretation, the inhabitants were living outside of the national constitution, but as they did not know it they felt and acted like full-fledged citizens. In this organic act provision was also made for holding terms of the circuit court, until suitable buildings should be erected at the county seat, at such places as the county commissioners shall provide, on the first Thursday after the last Monday in May and November in each year.

While the name "Belleville" was given to the first organized township, including the whole county, it does not seem to have been used in any official documents. The second place where the township is mentioned in a legislative enactment is in the session laws of 1837, March 17, where it appears under the name of "Bellevue." Official business has always been transacted under the latter name, and yet there is no known law showing that the name has ever been legally changed from "Belleville."

The first division of the town of Bellevue occurred March 11, 1837, when Eaton and Vermontville were organized, reducing its territory one-half. The four northwestern townships, now Vermontville, Chester, Roxand and Sunfield, were set off as a township and named Vermontville; while the four southeastern towns, now Eaton, Eaton Rapids, Hamlin and Brookfield, were organized as the township of Eaton. This left the four northeastern towns of Benton, Oneida, Delta and Windsor, and the four remaining towns of Bellevue, Kalamo, Carmel and Walton, cornering at the geographical center of the county, in a single organized township, known as Bellevue. The next year, however, on March 6, 1838, the northeast quarter of the county was detached from Bellevue and given a separate township existence under the name of Oneida.

LOCATING THE COUNTY SEAT.

In locating the county seat the early bird caught the worm. As early as 1832, George W. Barnes, a surveyor, obtained knowledge of the beautiful prairie near the center of Eaton county on which Charlotte was located, and bought the land of the government. With an evident keen eye to business, on March 21, 1833, before the county contained a white set-

tler, he made application to Governor George B. Porter for the appointment of commissioners to locate the seat of justice, making affidavit "that, in the month of May last, he put up in three public places in the county of Kalamazoo notices that application would be made to the governor of the territory of Michigan to appoint commissioners to locate a seat of justice for Eaton county, agreeably to the law in such cases made and provided."

Thereupon, on April 29, 1833, Charles C. Hascall, Stillman Blanchard and John W. Strong were appointed such commissioners. On June fifth of the same year they reported to Governor Porter that they met "at Prairie Round [Ronde], in the county of Kalamazoo, on the 27th day of May, 1833, and on June 4th located the county seat on "land which is owned by George W. Barnes," and they added: "The point selected for the seat of justice in this county * * * is on a beautiful prairie, about one mile square, near two and one-half miles south of the center of the county, and about one mile north of the Battle Creek, the nearest point to the center of said county where water can be obtained for hydraulic purposes." The "hydraulic purposes" are yet undeveloped, but the carefully planned selection of a county seat by the enterprising land surveyor and speculator, before civilization introduced the necessity for courthouse and jail, turned out to be exactly the right place.

To the early newspapers we are indebted for interesting data in regard to Charlotte. Its first newspaper was the Eaton County Gazette, established by Warren Isham in January, 1843, but its struggle for existence lasted only about six months. Then came the "Eaton County Bugle," started March 26, 1845, William Johnstone, editor and proprietor. It lived one year. Mr. Johnstone was from Richland county, Ohio, and he went back again after his year's experience in Charlotte as lawyer, teacher and editor, and in 1862 was elected a representative in congress from that state.

Mr. Johnstone praised and pushed Charlotte. In the sixth issue of his paper, May 7, 1845, he said: "Since our last paper there have been thirteen settlers arrived in the prairie city. We are happy to announce that the prospects of our village were never better. We hear of a small legion that are following in the wake of those already here, and to a better place no man ever came." He praised the location in these words: "We are bold to challenge the world to present a more beautiful location than that on which the village of Charlotte stands. Nature has been lavish of her beauties to extravagance. The plot consists of a beautiful prai-

rie, containing about 500 acres, and surrounded on all sides by heavily timbered lands. It presents rather a curious appearance to the eye of a stranger, and takes him by surprise upon emerging from heavy forests into a beautiful open plain, unmarred by brush or stumps or swamps. This lovely opening, resting in the bosom of a dense forest, like an oasis in a desert, we have no doubt was once an Indian cornfield; it bears many evidences of it upon its surface." It was in May that the enamored editor wrote: "At this season of the year our prairie presents beauties that no imagination ever dreamed of. Reader, you who have never been here, picture to yourself a beautiful prairie, level as the sleeping surface of the lake, and surrounded on all sides by waving forests, forming a complete circle; within, a lovely carpet of grass, begemmed with flowers of a hundred varieties and ten thousand hues, rolling back and forth to the summer breeze. Here, in the midst of all these beauties, is the village of Charlotte, the county seat of Eaton."

But progress was hindered, there was a lack of money. Another writer said: "These were indeed close times in money matters. It was with the utmost difficulty that people met their cash engagements. They were ready to pay in work, or dicker in making terms, but as for money, that was absolutely out of the question. The first year or two on a heavily timbered farm with all of the money paid on the land, with nothing but an ox team and an axe to do with, nothing but a little corn raised the first year, no money to pay taxes and the greater portion of the family down with ague, made close, cramping times. Had it not been for the black salts and maple sugar, it is difficult to tell how taxes ever could have been paid. Five or ten dollars in a man's pocket was a sensation in those days. * * * Those were slow times. Slow in building frame houses, slower still in finishing them off and paying up, very slow in making money. But they were quick times in neighborly sympathy and kindness; quick in going to the bedside of the sick. It was quick work for strong and willing arms to roll up the logs for a newcomer's shanty, or to assist at a newcomer's birth, and quicker still to rally for a wedding or a dance."

This is not an overdrawn picture of the early time. It has generally been the policy of American legislation not to furnish enough money to the people to meet their needs. The scarcity was keenly felt for years after President Jackson's special circular was issued.

The land on which Charlotte is built was, as before stated, bought of the government by George W. Barnes, who sold it to Edmund B. Bostwick, of New York city, Horatio I. Lawrence acting as the purchas-

ing agent. In a letter to Mr. Lawrence, dated New York, Dec. 29, 1835, Mr. Bostwick wrote: "Your favor communicating the terms on which you purchased the balance of the Eaton county seat property is before me. I am much pleased with the purchase and will soon write you a long letter submitting a plan for the town. You speak of calling the place after me, but as I have just become a married man I would prefer calling it Charlotte, or Charlotteville, after my wife. I will make a deed for one-quarter of the property as soon as my deed arrives, and hand it to your father. Next spring we will try and bring the place into notice."

The original proprietors of Charlotte were Edmund B. Bostwick, Francis S. Cochran, Thomas Lawrence and Townsend Harris. The latter was appointed consul general to Japan in 1855, was promoted to the rank of minister resident in 1868, and negotiated our earliest treaty with that empire. Mr. Bostwick went farther west and died at Carson Valley.

COUNTY GOVERNMENT.

Under the act organizing the county of Eaton, passed December 29, 1837, steps were taken early the next year to set the wheels of county government in motion. On the seventh of March, 1838, the first convention of delegates from three organized towns was held at the log house of Jonathan Searls, in the town of Eaton. The number of delegates present was seventeen, the basis of representation being "one for every fifty souls" in the county. The township of Oneida, including the four northeastern surveyed townships, was organized by the legislature the day before the convention assembled and was not represented. The delegates to the first county convention held to nominate county officers were as follows: From Bellevue—Calvin Phelps, James W. Hickok, S. H. Gage, A. Meach, T. Haskell, J. DuBois, R. Fitzgerald and A. Carpenter. From Eaton—John Montgomery, Amos Spicer, Samuel Hamlin, James McQueen, William Wall, Simeon Harding, by his proxy, William W. Crane. From Vermontville—Willard Davis, Wait J. Squier and Harvey Williams.

The convention named Amos Spicer of Spicerville and S. S. Church of Vermontville for associate judges; James McQueen for sheriff; Reuben Fitzgerald of Bellevue, William Wall and Jonathan Searls of Eaton for county commissioners; Walter S. Fairfield of Vermontville for register of deeds; S. Hunsiker of Bellevue for judge of probate; Caleb Woodbury of Bellevue for county clerk; Levi Wheaton of Chester for county treasurer; James W. Hickok of Walton for county surveyor.

The nominations were made without reference to party. The ticket

had no opposition and was elected in April, the officers serving until the first day of January, 1839, when they were superseded by those chosen at the regular fall election, held November 5th and 6th, 1838, when 278 votes were cast in the county. At this election a representative in congress was voted for, and 154 ballots were cast for Hezekiah G. Wells and 124 for Isaac E. Crary; and for state senators the voting stood: Rix Robinson, for one year, 115; James Wright Gordon, one year, 160; Sands McCamly, two years, 117; Cyrus Lovell, two years, 160.

Offices for the transaction of county business were not ready for occupancy early in 1839, and so the county commissioners, S. S. Church and Ephraim Follett, under date of January 1 of that year, officially ordered "the county business in and for the county of Eaton to be done for the present year at the village of Bellevue, in said county." Early the next year, on January 20, 1840, the county commissioners, O. D. Skinner, Ephraim Follett and John Montgomery, met at the house of William Stoddard in Charlotte, and resolved that "the buildings now at the county seat of Eaton county are sufficient to hold the circuit courts for said county."

Thus, nearly seven years after George W. Barnes had procured the location of the seat of justice on his land, the actual transfer of the official business in and for the county was made. And these dry details show the genesis and beginning of the geographical, civil, judicial and political entity known as Eaton county.

SOIL AND TIMBER.

Persons who are familiar with all parts of Eaton do not need to be told that it is one of the best of the many excellent agricultural counties in Michigan. This statement, I have no doubt, will be endorsed by ex-Gov. Luce, president of the State Pioneer and Historical Society, whose acquaintance extends to every county in the southern and central parts of Michigan. It has very little waste land, but few lakes, almost no uncultivatable swamps and marshes, and its soil is of great natural strength and durability. The failure to dig the Clinton and Kalamazoo canal, as projected by the state, along the Thornapple valley where surveyed, and its isolation from the lines of railway traffic for its first thirty years, made its progress and settlement slow and toilsome. It had too much heavy timber at the beginning, but now it has not enough for the attainment of the best agricultural results. Forest trees with their foliage act as the lungs of nature; their inhalations and exhalations are unceasing; they conserve moisture and save the soil from barrenness. For stalwart growths of hardwood timber, Eaton county was famous.

Commissioners Blanchard, Haskell and Strong, who located the county seat in 1833, said in their report to Gov. Porter: "The major part of this county is of the best quality of timbered land, possessing a great variety of soil and timber, generally well watered, and inviting to the emigrant who prefers a timbered farm."

Along a portion of the south line of the county was a narrow strip of oak openings, widening as it approached the southwest corner, but the rest of its acres, except the Charlotte prairie and Montgomery plains, east of Eaton Rapids, were covered with a dense growth of hardwood timber, beech and maple predominating, but plenty of black and white ash, oak, elm and cherry; considerable black walnut and basswood; some whitewood—all of excellent quality. Scattered along and near the streams grew large sycamores, and in the swamps tall and thrifty tamaracks. Ironwood furnished the best handspikes and ox-gads; hickory and bitternut the material for ax helves and beetle handles; the box-wood and dog-wood whitened the forests with their blossoms in the spring; thornapple and wild plum trees grew in many places on or near the river bottoms; high-bush cranberries produced red clusters of fruit. In the low lands were many acres of tall huckleberry bushes, and great trees were festooned with wild grape vines. The most useful tree to the first settlers was the sugar maple. In every township maple sugar was made for home consumption and for sale, and sap vinegar for pickles and table use was the only kind to be had. Black walnut and white ash were the most valuable merchantable timber. The black walnut brought large prices before the last trees disappeared. More than thirty years ago one tree on land I owned, that had been down for twenty years at least, netted, after paying the cost of cutting and hauling to the railroad station, and the freight to Grand Rapids, $110.00. Now, for veneering, it might bring $1,000.00.

RIVERS AND LAKES.

The surface is generally undulating; in some places, especially near the streams, quite hilly; the soil, chiefly a clay loam and very durable and productive; in some sections the ice of the glacial epoch left plentiful deposits of granite boulders, while in others there are no stones, large or small, and the best lands are to be found in every township. The county is watered and drained by the Grand river, the Thornapple and the Battle Creek, and their tributaries. Grand river rises in the south part of Jackson county, enters Eaton about three and a half miles north of its southeast corner in the town of Hamlin, swings northwesterly to the city of Eaton Rapids, passes out

of the county and into Ingham near the north line of the town of Eaton Rapids, bends into Eaton again in the town of Windsor, and giving to Dimondale its fine waterpower, flows through the southeast corner of Delta in making its big curve to Lansing, runs through the north tier of sections in Delta and thence into Oneida, the chief factor in forming the picturesque scenery at Grand Ledge, and about three miles from this most attractive spot in its entire course it passes into Ionia county and thence on to Lake Michigan; furnishing good water powers at Eaton Rapids, Dimondale, Delta and Grand Ledge, which have added greatly to the business interests of these places.

The Thornapple river, named from the large number of wild thornapple trees that grew along its course, rises in the northwest corner of Eaton Rapids township, four or five miles from Grand river, runs northwesterly through the towns of Benton and Chester, making a long curve into the south part of Vermontville, thence through Barry and into Kent county, joining the same Grand river, near which it started, at Ada. Except for suckers, redhorse and pickerel it is not navigable, though the Indians used to journey nearly its entire length in their canoes, and in all places where necessary they had cut out fallen trees to give uninterrupted canoeing.

The Battle Creek rises in Narrow lake, in the town of Brookfield, in the southeastern part of the county, flows northwesterly to Charlotte, then curves to the southwest, passing through the southeast corner of Carmel, and most of Walton and Bellevue on its meandering way to join the Kalamazoo in the city of Battle Creek. Its only important water power was at Bellevue, the earliest one improved in the county, and of great benefit to the early settlers, who hauled their grain a distance of twenty miles to its grist mill. A saw mill was also built on the Battle Creek at Duttonville in Brookfield, and another one in the town of Walton. The long curves of these streams are substantially the same.

At Spicerville, in the present town of Hamlin, Springbrook furnished power for a grist mill and a saw mill; at Olivet, in Walton, the Kedron rendered the same valuable service; at Hyde's mill, in Kalamo, on Lacey brook, the first lumber was cut north of Bellevue in the west half of the county; and the Scipio, a branch of the Thornapple in Vermontville, supplied power for a saw mill. There my education in that line of business began and ended.

There are but few lakes in the county. Narrow lake in Brookfield, Pine lake in Walton, and Sawba lake in Sunfield are the only ones on

the atlas deemed worthy of a name, the rest of them being merely small ponds. Along the water courses generally are broad bottom lands of very rich soil, the deposits of centuries of overflow and of decayed vegetation. Early it was a not uncommon occurrence for cattle to get mired and lose their lives in the mucky soil. Creation had scarcely completed its work when civilization took possession. Most of the miry places are now hardened and usable by man and beast.

INDIANS AND THEIR TRAILS.

Indian trails were easily traceable at an early date. The principal ones traversed the county in practically the same directions as its two principal railroads—the Grand River Valley division of the Michigan Central, and the Chicago and Grand Trunk; also along the route of the proposed Marshall and Northeastern line in the west part of the county. Water makes and follows channels of least resistance; so the untutored Indians made their trails along routes where they encountered fewest topographical obstacles.

One distinctly marked trail from the southwest passed through Bellevue and Walton, crossing the Battle Creek just south of Charlotte on the present county fair grounds, and continuing in a northeasterly direction towards Lansing. What seems to have been a branch of this trail followed Butternut creek just east of Charlotte to the Hovey settlement in Benton, thence through Oneida, near the residence of one of its well known pioneers, Samuel Preston, and from there to Grand river.

Just east of Charlotte this trail from the southwest to the northeast, through what must have been happy hunting grounds, was crossed by a large pony trail from the southeast, passing to the northwest from Duck lake and the huckleberry swamps in Brookfield. The Duck lake trail passed through the geographical center of Charlotte, near the court house, and as late as 1854 presented a well-defined and beaten pathway to the northwest, striking the Thornapple valley in the town of Chester. That trail is substantially followed by the Grand River Valley railroad to Grand Rapids. Indeed, that part of it was known as the "Grand Rapids trail" by the early settlers. E. A. Foote, across whose land west and northwest of Charlotte this pony trail passed, wrote about it in 1876 as follows: "It was smoothly and deeply worn, deepest in the center and rounding up at the sides, running straight as an arrow off into the dim, shadowy vista of the forest trees, rendering it a cool and pleasant walk." After reaching the Thornapple, where navigable by canoes, the trail was not so well defined.

Along the line of this trail the Indians made their maple sugar.

Evidently a favorite location for this work by the squaws in the spring was on the high lands between the Scipio and Thornapple in Vermontville, where the woods were comparatively dry and the maples very large. They had tapped the trees for many years before the white settlers came, as the black spots in the trunks where cuttings had been made to get the sap were entirely grown over, and the annual concentric rings showed that sugar making had been carried on for more than half a century. Visiting an Indian sugar-bush south of the Thornapple in the spring of 1841 gave an insight as to their methods. Their sap-troughs were made of basswood bark, freshly taken from the trees, and gathered up at the ends. The cuttings in the trees were made with hatchets and the spiles for conducting the sap were split or riven from small basswood trees. It was crude and wasteful, but answered their purpose. Sometimes they would boil game in the sap, giving sweetness to the meat if not flavor to the sugar. White folks would put a piece of salt pork into the kettles of sap to prevent its boiling over. Indian ponies wore small bells, so that their whereabouts, while wandering in the woods in quest of something to eat, might be known. They were small, hardy animals, capable of living on "browse," as the small twigs of trees and underbrush were called, when there was no other nourishment to be had, and when driven to it by hunger would eat the moss that grew on fallen and decayed timber, or on the north side of forest trees. One way for white men when lost in the woods on cloudy days to discover the points of compass was to examine the moss on the trees, as it always grew most profusely on the north side where the shade and moisture were greatest.

The beautiful prairie on which the seat of justice was fixed in 1833, where the city of Charlotte is located, including nearly a section of land, interspersed with scattering clumps of oak trees, was a favorite planting ground for the Indians. The soil was fertile and easily worked. None of the weeds of civilization were present. Evidences of aboriginal cultivation were presented in the rows of corn hills that could be traced for considerable distances where the grain had been planted and tended. The oak openings in the southwest part of the county also furnished opportunities for growing corn and pumpkins, and the swamps for gathering huckleberries. Along the trail that ran from the southwest to the northeastern part of the county, in the present town of Walton, were two villages; one on section 18 near the brook named Kedron by the Olivet pioneers, and a larger village, with a burial place for their dead, on section 28. There was also an Indian burying ground just west of the village of Bellevue, and a few sunken graves were

found on the high land north of the Thornapple in Vermontville. The northeastern trail, connecting the Battle Creek and Grand rivers, and passing through the Charlotte prairie, must have been a much frequented thoroughfare.

These Indians were members of the Pottawattomie tribe. The year 1840 witnessed their forcible removal by the United States to lands set apart for them in Indian territory, west of the Mississippi river. Much excitement prevailed that summer among the whites from fear that the Indians might resent their expatriation, and massacre isolated settlers; there was talk of building a defensive blockhouse at Vermontville; but it turned out that the Indians were more sad than revengeful over the change. Government agents and soldiers, under the direction and command of Gen. Brady, scoured the woods to collect them for removal. The Indians soon learned that the troops were after them. A council meeting was held just west of the Bellevue settlement. An account written by E. A. Foote, based on information given by David Lucas, of Bellevue, who had personal knowledge of the matter, as he was a great friend of the Indians, says that he saw them in council just west of Bellevue, "mounted on the backs of their ponies, huddled together as closely as they could stand, with the heads of their ponies all towards a common center, they were in deep, anxious consultation around their wisest heads. Soon they scattered like a flock of blackbirds. One company fled north, far into the forest. They had with them a sick squaw, which impeded their travel. They were overtaken, and sought refuge in a dense swamp, which was surrounded by the cavalry, and after two or three days' siege, they were brought out from their hiding place and taken to Marshall, the place of rendezvous for those collected in this part of the state. From thence they were taken to their place of banishment beyond the Mississippi river." After the removal of the Indians the woods seemed lonely. Capt. James W. Hickok, the first settler in Walton, once said: "They had not been gone six months before we wished them all back. They helped us hunt and keep track of our cattle. If we lost an animal and described it to an Indian, he was sure to bring information where it could be found. When we had visitors, the Indians would furnish us with turkey or venison." A silver dollar was the regular price for a deer, large or small.

THE OLD AND THE NEW.

The passing of the Indians, only a few escaping the search for them by government agents and soldiers, and these few remaining for several years, lonesomely and taciturnly following the old trails and adhering

to the old habits until the forests, game and themselves disappeared altogether, marked the dividing line between the old and the new era. Government had extinguished the Indian title to the land of Eaton county by the Saginaw treaty of 1819, negotiated by Gen. Lewis Cass as commissioner for the United States; the north and west boundary lines of the county were surveyed by Lucius Lyon and the south line by John Mullett in 1826; and the section lines in the several townships were run the same year. Three years later came the first purchase of land from the government. According to the tract book in the office of the register of deeds, the earliest entry was made in 1829, by A. Sumner, on section thirty in the southwest corner of Vermontville. The second was made in 1831 by H. Mason on section two in Oneida. These first owners did not become settlers. Probably they were pioneer speculators. The parcel, eighty acres, entered by Mason in Oneida, was sold for taxes four years later, and was the first sale of land for unpaid taxes located in the county.

In 1832 three land entries were made, one on section twenty-eight in Bellevue by Isaac E. Crary and Luther Lincoln, and two by George W. Barnes, surveyor, on section eighteen of the town of Eaton and section thirteen of the adjacent town of Carmel, whereon the next year, as already stated, the seat of justice for the county was located. In 1833 further entries were made on section twenty-eight of Bellevue by Isaac E. Crary and Sylvanus Hunsiker, and on sections twenty-nine, thirty-two and thirty-three by Mr. Hunsiker; also on section eighteen of the town of Eaton by Joseph Torrey and Hannibal G. Rice, and on section nineteen by Joseph Torrey, Hannibal G. Rice and G. W. Barnes; in Oneida on section three by H. Wilmarth, on section ten by N. J. Brown, and on section eleven by J. Torrey.

These purchases antedated by one year the coming into the county of the first white settler. Most of them were evidently made by speculators. Sylvanus Hunsiker became a well known citizen of Bellevue, where he lived the remainder of his earthly life; the eccentric Hannibal G. Rice moved to Charlotte and lived and died there; but, so far as known, the other purchasers of land prior to 1833 were always non-residents of the county.

These first purchases take us back to the realm of conjecture. The Grand river country was an early attraction for eastern men, both settlers and speculators. Possibly some surveyor's story of the marvelous natural beauty and grandeur of this forest region led to making the earliest entries in Vermontville and Oneida, one near the Thornapple and the other near Grand river. Except on the assessment rolls

the names of Sumner and Mason were unfamiliar in the townships where their wild land was located. Isaac E. Crary, who, with Luther Lincoln, was the first locater of land in Bellevue, lived and died in Marshall, Michigan, and was delegate and representative in congress for the six years from 1835 to 1841. Mr. Lincoln sold his Bellevue purchase to Mr. Crary, by whom the village was platted in 1835. The improvement of its water power on the Battle Creek, its limestone deposits and lime-burning, and its saleratus factories, gave to Bellevue an early prominence and prosperity. It witnessed the beginning of settlement and civilization for Eaton county.

We have now reached the point in this narration of events for the introduction of the very earliest settlements and settlers in each township of Eaton county, and for convenience name the townships in alphabetical order rather than in chronological sequence. It so happens, however, that in the first town to be mentioned, alphabetically, the earliest settlement was made.

BELLEVUE.

Capt. Reuben Fitzgerald is entitled to the distinction of having been the first white settler in Eaton county. His excellent farm lay just south of the village of Bellevue. Early it was the best known farm in the county. All the settlers in the west half of Eaton drove past the east or the north line of the Fitzgerald homestead on their way to Marshall or Battle Creek to the railroad and a market for the surplus products. For a number of years most of their trading was done in one or the other of these two Calhoun county villages. From Charlotte and Vermontville it was a two days' trip to Marshall or Battle Creek and return. A third day in making the round journey made it seem tedious. The way out was through Bellevue. Bellevue has its Chicago & Grand Trunk railroad now, but for all that it is less seen by the people of the rest of the county than it was sixty years ago. So far as taking actual possession of a portion of its soil is concerned, tilling it, and remaining on it for the rest of his natural life, Reuben Fitzgerald was the pioneer of the pioneers—the father of the county. July, 1833, witnessed his advent. He was well built physically, tall and straight, florid complexion, dignified in manner, and greatly respected as a citizen. The average period of two generations of the human race has passed since he was the only citizen of Eaton county. His voice alone was the voice of the people. He was the people. If there was discord and strife in the town and county, it was his own fault. Had all others been like him there would have been no need for county jail or other

penal institution. The county had a splendid start in this respect. It would not cost a community ten cents a year for crime if there were no criminals. In 1833 there was not a criminal in the county. If it could only have remained without one to this day, what a paradise it would be.

Capt. Fitzgerald was a year old at the beginning of the nineteenth century, having been born in Montgomery county, Maryland, in the year 1800, and dying in Bellevue, July 20, 1873. When he located in Bellevue his nearest neighbors were in Marshall, and to get his first grist of wheat and corn ground he went to Jackson, nearly fifty miles distant. A postoffice was established in 1834, but on the express condition that some person would carry the mail once a week to and from Marshall for the receipts of the Bellevue office. It was a hard bargain, such as governments are not unwilling to make; but for the sake of having communication with the outside world, Mr. Fitzgerald took the contract and became the first mail carrier.

In the spring of 1834 Sylvanus Hunsiker and James Kimberly moved into the town, and John T. Hayt came soon thereafter. Mr. Hayt's daughter married John F. Hinman, the vice president of our society for Calhoun county, and now resides in Battle Creek. In 1835 Mr. Hayt was appointed postmaster. His commission, signed by Amos Kendall, postmaster general, was dated May 2, 1835, and reached him by due course of mail on the fourth day of the following August.

The April town meeting, in the spring of 1835, was the first election held in the county. There were 576 square miles in the township, but only four votes were cast at this first election. The poll list gives their names: Reuben Fitzgerald, Sylvanus Hunsiker, Calvin Phelps and John T. Hayt. The first three constituted the election board, and they appointed Mr. Hayt clerk. There were just offices enough to go around, just enough to set the wheels of local government in motion, a condition that has not happened in the county since. The election was held in a log shanty, the first meeting house for religious services and the first school house in the town. In the morning Calvin Phelps, taking off his hat in the presence of the sovereign people and stepping in front of the shanty, declared that "The polls of this election are now opened," and warned all men under the penalty of law to keep the peace. The four voters elected themselves to all the best offices in the gift of the people. Strictly complying with the law, the election board kept the polls open all day, until the legal hour for closing, then canvassed the votes, ascertained and declared the result. All of these pioneer sovereigns have passed away, but the machinery of local government they set in

motion that day is still grinding out an annual grist of officers—sixty-five grists in all, but none, it is safe to say, of better material than the first.

With civil government duly established in the orderly American manner, on the Fourth of July, 1835, the patriotic citizens of Bellevue and of Eaton county celebrated the fifty-ninth national anniversary, the declaration of independence was read and an oration delivered to the assembled few. The declaration was in the full vigor of American belief then; a thousand pitys that it is not now. This first celebration for the primitive town of Eaton county was held in Capt. Fitzgerald's corn crib. What a symbolic meeting! Better than anything else the corn crib represents this western granary for the world, and the Fourth of July, 1776, when the declaration of independence was formally announced, stands for the highest ideal of government by the people, for the people, on earth. Such beginnings in a new county are worthy of the highest praise.

The firstlings of the flock were the choicest of offerings in ancient times, according to early Hebrew history. We honor the first comers and the earliest native born. Sarah Fitzgerald, daughter of Reuben Fitzgerald, and his first wife, was born in Bellevue, November 12, 1834, and was the first white child that came to earth in Eaton county. December 26, 1855, she married John Spaulding, a prominent citizen of the town and well known throughout the county as a member of the board of supervisors.

This pioneer family is worthy of fuller mention. Born in Montgomery, Maryland, February 23, 1800, a trifle over one hundred years ago, when seven years old Capt. Fitzgerald moved with his father's family to Palmyra, Ontario county, New York, to a tract of wild land that had been purchased for a home. On a farm Reuben grew to manhood and qualified himself by experience for pioneer life. February 23, 1825, he married Julia Sweeting, a native of Oneida county, New York, born April 15, 1802. They had six children. Mrs. Fitzgerald died in Bellevue, February 29, 1837. For his second wife, Capt. Fitzgerald married, December 15, 1841, Florinda Eldred, daughter of Judge Eldred, of Climax, Michigan, a pioneer of Kalamazoo county. To them were born seven children. Thus thirteen in all bore the honorable name of the first white settler in Eaton county, a man of sterling quality, a native of Maryland who grew to manhood in New York, a citizen to whom the present and all future generations in town and county can point with pride. Whatever the end may be, the beginning was right. Famous historians record the deeds of great men, those prominent in

war and politics, but such men as Capt. Reuben Fitzgerald, the pioneer of a splendid county, beginners of progress and builders of civilization, who cleared away the forests, bridged streams, erected the first school houses and churches, reared worthy families, and in all things were upright citizens, are entitled to honorable mention in histories that seek to perpetuate the names and deeds of the pioneers. Much more might be said in this connection, but the events narrated give some idea of the beginning of white settlements and civilization in the county of Eaton.

BENTON.

The early settlement of this township was very slow, and it was not detached from Oneida and given a separate existence until 1843. The full name given it by the legislature in its organic act was Tom Benton, the prefix "Tom" having been inserted at the suggestion of some member who had little wit and less sense—a condition that is not uncommon among legislators even to this day. The people of the town did not like the "Tom" part of the name, and finally effected a legal change to Benton. The southwest corner of the town is the geographical center of the county. It includes the village of Potterville, and for agricultural resources ranks well up among the very best.

Most of the land was located in 1836, and largely by speculators, a New York firm, McVickar & Constable, having purchased about one-fifth of its area. This firm and other owners of large parcels expected, of course, to realize large profits from the enhanced price caused by the labor and improvements of the actual settlers. These non-residents did nothing for the town beyond paying taxes, and by holding a monopoly of large tracts delayed settlement and improvement. Much of this speculators' land remained unimproved for twenty-five years. Without actual settlers, who opened roads, erected schoolhouses, improved farms, built houses and barns, set out orchards, the wild land would not have become any more valuable than when possessed by the Indians. But it was always thus. Speculators and monopolists always seek to gather wealth from the useful labor of others. Until labor creates wealth they cannot gamble for it. Invariably the price of the speculators' land is created and enhanced by the industry of others; in a new country by the labor and enterprise of the pioneers.

Japhet Fisher was the first settler in the town. A mistake was made in locating his land, and this mistake made him Benton's pioneer. Intending to obtain a parcel on section thirty in the town of Eaton, he made the entry in town three north instead two north, which located him just six miles north of the tract he desired to purchase. When the

error was discovered he was quite disgusted, and thought that he would not settle on his mistake, but in February, 1837, he looked up his land, built a shanty on it and commenced work in the southwest corner of the township.

Other settlers followed. In March or April of the same year, 1837, a Mr. Moody moved in by the Clinton trail and put up a shanty in the northwest corner, and in May, Frederick Young came in by way of the Canada settlement in Oneida and erected a shanty on section two in the northeast part of the township. Thus three of the four corners in this solitaire game were occupied by settlers during the year 1837.

These men knew how to work. It was work that let the sunshine into the wilderness and into their lives. Of Japhet Fisher, one of the men with a sunshiny temperament, it is related that while living alone he built a good-sized barn of heavy logs, every one of which he raised to its place in the structure without assistance, raising them up on skids a notch at a time, until the top one was ready for the rafters and roof. Fisher usually went barefooted in summer, even when attending logging bees for neighbors. In the new openings bull-thistles, strong and rank, were one of the first of the unwelcome growths; others being fire weeds and mare-tails. At a logging bee, James Taggart, an early settler of rough frankness and honest worth, would edge towards Japhet, keep talking all the time, and gradually crowd his bare feet onto a thistle, but the latter paid no heed to the joke, and while laughing and talking seemed wholly unconscious that he was "kicking against the pricks."

The primitive shanties were peculiar to pioneer life. They were generally about eight by ten feet in size, barely high enough for a grown person to stand upright in, had a bark or trough roof, and while a slight evolutionary advance on the Indian wigwam, lacked very much in being up to the standard of a comfortable log house. They were built of small logs, chinked on the inside and mudded on the outside to keep out the cold and driving snow, and their roofs pitched one way like sheds. A settler, with an ax and handspike, could build one in a day or two, while it required a raising-bee and the assistance of all the able-bodied men in the town or neighborhood for miles around to put up a log house. The trough roof, fashioned of some easily worked timber like basswood, is thus described: First, rows of troughs are placed side by side, close together, running from the ridge down to the eaves. All the rain that fell into these troughs would, of course, readily run off. But something must be done to intercept the rain which might fall between the troughs, where the sides did not fit perfectly together. By turning an-

other row of troughs bottom side up over their joints, the water would all be shed into those that were concave side up. This made an approximately comfortable roof, although in a high wind, snow or rain would beat in. The shake roof was better, and was generally used upon the log houses. These shakes were long shingles, about thirty inches in length, rived or split out of logs, and nailed tier to tier to ribs across the rafters, each tier overlapped by the one next above it. This was an approach to the shingle roof, but not as tight. In winter the snow would sift in and whiten the beds of those sleeping in the rude chamber below. A fair sample of a settler's log cabin, with its hewn puncheon floors, its door and window casings split out and fastened with wooden pins to the ends of the logs, the openings between the logs chinked on the inside with quartered basswood pieces and mudded on the outside, its huge fire-place built of bowlders and clay, the hearth made of cobble stone, as there were no brick to be had, its door hung upon wooden hinges, a wooden door latch, and the leather latch-string hanging out through a gimlet hole cut in the door, present a study for the artist and the antiquarian. Necessity was the mother of invention. These things need to be seen to be realized. The beginnings for nearly all the first settlers were much alike. Methods were primitive.

Of these first settlers in Benton there is but little to be added. No information is obtainable concerning Mr. Moody. Frederick Young and Japhet Fisher were citizens of the town the remainder of their natural lives. Japhet Fisher was best known. He was a rosy-cheeked, good-natured man, ready to lend a helping hand to all other new-comers. He began life in Eaton county with $266. That was a lot of money. It would pay for 160 acres of land, and leave a good working margin to begin with. But after paying for his land he spent $49.75 for a barrel of flour and half a barrel of pork in Charlotte. His cheerful temperament and persistent industry made him an ideal pioneer. What he did not know did him no harm.

BROOKFIELD.

Situate in the southern tier of townships before named, it was known as town one north of range four west. As in many other townships, a large proportion of the early purchases of land from the government was made by speculators, who never intended to occupy and improve. Their purpose was to get the rise in price caused by the labor and improvements of actual settlers. As a natural consequence, eastern owners, who held the land out of market to get the advance, became an odious class. The pioneers felt this drawback to progress keenly. It is

said that when a landlooker would come into Brookfield and ask the advice and assistance of its citizens in prospecting for parcels of land he had in mind, they would first ascertain if he intended to move into the town, and, if not, it was little or no information he could get from any of them. Old residents often spoke of outside land owners as "speculators of the worst kind," and when asked who was the owner of a particular non-resident description the reply would be: "O, he's a speculator and a rascal, and he never settled." This gives an early practical view of the land system of this country to which but little general consideration has been given, and it was long before Henry George advocated a remedy for such a state of things. A smaller proportion of its land was located in 1836 than in other townships. It was a little one side from the line of immigration. Today it is the only town in the county untouched by a railroad.

The surface is quite variable, some portions broken and hilly, and other sections level and swampy. In the southern part of the town is Narrow lake, covering about 250 acres, the principal source of the Battle Creek, and one of the few small lakes of the county. From an article written by J. C. Sherman, formerly a resident of the town, but now owner and editor of the Vermontville Echo, we learn that the earliest settlement in Brookfield was made near the northeast corner of the town, in 1837, by Peter Moe and his sons Ezra and Henry Moe, and by John Boody. For a number of years this settlement was familiarly known as "Moetown." In the autumn of the same year Jesse Hart, long one of the foremost and thriftiest citizens, moved upon wild land he owned on section seven, near the northwest corner of the town, put up a log shanty, covered it with a trough roof, which, while it kept out wolves, bears and wildcats, admitted rain, snow and mosquitos.

For some time these settlers of opposite corners of the town were ignorant of the presence of their fellow-townsmen, the northeasters supposing they were the only families within its boundaries and Jesse Hart thinking he was the sole resident. Six miles and a big swamp lay between the two clearings. For several years population increased slowly. From the first settlements, in 1837, to the first town meeting in 1841, but little is known. Moetown grew slightly by the incoming of the families of Nicholas Boody, James E. Fisher, John S. Moe and J. Otely. Other settlers were few and far between. The first frame structure in the town was Jesse Hart's barn. He got along well by making provision for saving what he raised. The barn helped to build a good frame house later. The first schoolhouse, made of logs, was near the residence of Nicholas Boody. For several years it was the only pub-

lic building, and was used for town meetings and for holding fall elections. The first school was taught therein by Roxana Skinner in 1841; the first couple married were Benjamin Snyder and Sarah Moe, Rev. Mr. Bennett, of Eaton Rapids, the officiating clergyman; and Rachel F. Hart, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Jesse Hart, was the pioneer child in Brookfield.

A characteristic incident of the administration of criminal law is given by Mr. Sherman. There had been a free fight and a knock down, and one Peter Southard was arrested for assault and battery. The day of trial came. John Boody was justice of the peace. Hon. Austin Blair, later the distinguished war governor of Michigan, then practicing law at Eaton Rapids, appeared for the defense. As soon as the case was called Mr. Blair asked for the release of his client, on the ground of the illegality of the papers. But the 'squire could not see the point; he was for the time custodian of the peace and dignity of the state, and he refused to let the prisoner go. Finding that he could not convince the court of its plain mistake, Mr. Blair turned to his client and told him he could go, as the papers were illegal and would not hold him. "Vat ish dat?" inquired the irate justice. "You tell dot prish'ner he can go? Py tam, Mishter Blair, you let dot prish'ner go, I sends a bench warrant for him and you too, so shure as Got."

Getting married sometimes encountered hindrances. A man named Wickwire and Margaret Boody appeared before Palmer Rose, a newly chosen justice of the peace, to have the proper words said that would make them husband and wife. This was his first job of the kind, and Justice Rose was both bashful and puzzled. When the anxious couple stood up before him he turned red, then pale, stammered a little, trembled a great deal, lost his grip on the formula, broke down entirely, told the groom that he "could not do it and he would have to get somebody else." But the bridegroom had no idea of giving up the job as a failure, nor of taking his bride to some other justice, so he told Rose what to say, and if he would repeat the words they would say yes and this would answer. This was done, and so happy was the bride over the fortunate turn of events that she threw her arms around the neck of the frightened justice and gave him a rousing smack "to pay him," she said, "for doing it so nicely."

March 20, 1841, the township of Brookfield was organized and the first election was held at the house of Peter Moe. The voters resolved to raise fifteen dollars to pay for blank books, sixty dollars to improve the roads, twenty-five dollars to support the poor, and that the next

town election be held in the school house near Nicholas Boody's. At the first election, in 1842, held in the school house, it was "Resolved, That all gees, hens, hogs (with the exceptions of Boars) be free Cominers, waying over forty weight for the year 1842."

CARMEL.

Of the four towns constituting the central group, Carmel lies immediately southwest of the geographical center of the county. From its eastern side one-half of the city of Charlotte is taken. An inspection of the tract book shows that most of the original purchasers of the land were speculators who never became settlers. Indeed, some of them never saw the land they had bought, hoping that the actual settlers would make their investments profitable. No doubt the fact that the county seat had been established on the east line of the town, as early as 1833, induced speculators to jump in and locate land at an earlier date than in any other towns except Bellevue and Eaton. Speculators are always on the alert to get the most that can be obtained with the least effort on their part in the way of making improvements, relying upon the labor of the pioneers to enhance the price of the raw land obtained from the government. With the location of the county seat on the beautiful prairie in the wilderness, part of it lying in the town of Carmel, no doubt descriptions of it were widely circulated at an early date, and hence Carmel presented an inviting field for speculative investments in wild lands.

With its admirable location in reference to the county seat, with its undulating surface and rich soil, with but little swamp and practically no waste land, with excellent drainage, north and west into the Thornapple and south into the Battle Creek, the town of Carmel ranks as one of the best in the county. The Vermontville colony would have settled in or near Charlotte if a body of contiguous land such as the colonists wanted, nearly five thousand acres, had not been taken by speculators, thus preventing them from carrying out the plan of settlement agreed upon in Vermont.

The first settlers in Carmel were Platt Morey and Nathan Brooks. Mr. Morey, however, is entitled to the credit of striking the first blows and beginning the first improvement. He came to Michigan from Rochester, New York, in the fall of 1837; stopped for a short visit with a brother in Wayne county, near Detroit; then pushed on to Eaton county; prospected until he found land that suited him, and commenced chopping down timber in the winter of 1837-8, boarding part of the time with Nathan Brooks, who had bought forty acres just opposite.

Brooks moved in his family in the spring of 1838. The pioneer honors are thus divided between these two men: Morey was the first to begin improvements and Brooks the first to settle with a family in the town, as Morey was a bachelor. A couple of years later he married a niece of Bazaleel Taft, who came to Eaton county as a member of the Vermontville colony, but settled in Kalamo in 1838. Mr. Morey remained on his farm until his death a few years ago.

At the close of the year 1839 there were seven organized towns in the county, viz.: Bellevue, Eaton, Vermontville, Oneida, Chester, Walton and Kalamo. At the legislative session of 1840 the town of Carmel was organized. Immediately prior thereto it was a part of Kalamo. When election day came in the fall of 1840, twenty of the Carmelite voters went to Hyde's mill, the place where the election was held in Kalamo, to vote. On arriving there they were informed that they had a township organization of their own, and that they must go home to cast their ballots. This was news to them. In order to make sure of the fact they hired a boy, Charles Herring, giving him a dollar, to go to Vermontville and find out if the statement was correct. Stimulated by the dollar, the boy pulled off his coat, hat, shoes and stockings and started on a seven miles run to Vermontville where Daniel Barber, representative in the state legislature, resided. In a little over two hours the boy returned with a note from Mr. Barber telling them that their town had been legally organized, that its name was Carmel, and that the first election was ordered held at the house of Robert Dunn, a settler on section 21 in 1839. The twenty Carmelites then marched back again through the woods to Mr. Dunn's log shanty, organized an election board and voted, nineteen for Harrison and Tyler for president and vice president, and one for the opposing candidates. The same nineteen voted for Jacob M. Howard for representative in congress, and one vote was cast for Alpheus Felch. The election of 1840 was the only one ever gained by the whig party in Michigan, and Mr. Howard, afterwards a distinguished United States senator, was the successful congressional candidate.

One of the early tragedies, which created a profound impression, was the death of William Webster, who purchased land on section 7 in the northwest corner of the town in the year 1837, and settled on it soon afterwards. In the spring of 1843 the snow was over two feet deep in the woods, and there was not a day that it thawed a particle during the month of March. On the first day of April preparations for making maple sugar commenced. On town meeting day, the first Monday in

April, the voters went to the polls on runners. That month of March was the only one without a thaw known since the first settlers came to Michigan. Wherever there was a settlement in Eaton county, cutting down trees, maple, basswood and red elm to "browse" the cattle and keep them alive, was the rule. On town meeting day Mr. Webster cut down a tree in the woods near his log house and it fell upon him, crushing his skull and killing him instantly. Later in the day, as he did not return to the house, his wife went in search of him and found his dead body near the fallen tree. She was alone and had to travel through the deep snow for a mile and a quarter to the nearest neighbor for assistance in taking the dead man to the house and preparing for funeral services. This was the first death in the township. It was one of the tragic incidents of pioneer life.

CHESTER.

North of Carmel, and one of the central group, lies the town of Chester, its surface high and rolling, originally covered with heavy timber, and possessing an excellent soil. The Thornapple river makes a long curve to the northwest and southwest through the town, and while its bottom lands were at times impassable to the early settlers, they now make splendid farms. A great deal of its land was purchased of the government by speculators, perhaps to a larger extent than in any other township. Some seven sections were entered in the name of William G. Henry, the father of Mrs. Russell A. Alger of Detroit, a member of the original Vermontville colony, but not a settler or pioneer of Eaton county; and from four to five sections were taken by Joseph R. Williams, afterwards a prominent citizen of St. Joseph county. Portions of five sections were bought by McVicker & Constable, and smaller quantities by other speculators. All these purchases were made in 1836 when the "Michigan fever" was at an acute stage in the eastern states. For many years this land was kept out of the market, waiting for the rise in price expected from improvements made by actual settlers. Thus progress was retarded. These facts illustrate the unwisdom of a land system which permitted the monopoly of large tracts by a few who held them out of use until the hard work of the pioneers made them valuable. Not far from three-fourths of the acreage of Chester was bought by speculators who anticipated a rich harvest in dollars from the settlements and improvements made by others.

Before there were any inhabitants, when the town was known only by the surveyor's designation of three north and five west, its land was included in the township of Bellevue; when Vermontville was organized,

March 11, 1837, it was attached to that town, and at the April election that year, Harvey Williams, who lived within its surveyed limits, was elected to a town office, overseer of highways. This election made him the first, and at that time the only officeholder in what became the town of Chester, by an act of the state legislature, approved March 21, 1839, under which the first election was ordered held at the house of the same Harvey Williams.

The first arrivals in the town as permanent settlers were Harvey Williams and his brothers, Isaac and Orton Williams, who located on sections 21 and 22, near its center. The first cabin built and occupied as a home was erected by Harvey and Orton Williams, though a mile south of them a man by the name of Bell had put up a shanty in the woods, but he had moved into Vermontville and the Williams brothers occupied it while building on their own land. Harvey and Orton Williams were married, and their families were the first settlers. Isaac and John Williams came a little later. John went to California, Orton moved to Ingham county, Isaac died on the farm he improved, and Harvey moved to Charlotte, held the office of county treasurer for several terms, was local agent for a number of non-resident land owners, and was elected a member of the state senate in 1858.

Robert M. Wheaton, born in Bath, Steuben county, New York, came to Michigan in 1829, at the age of twenty years; located first in Washtenaw county, where, in 1833, he purchased land on the bank of the river Raisin; in 1834 moved to land he had bought in White Pigeon, Mich.; the next year emigrated to Emmet, Calhoun county; then made his next purchase in Chester, where he settled with his family, October 20, 1836. Wheaton settlement, or Wheaton corners, was well known at an early date. Close together, on section 26, five brothers located, namely: Robert M. Wheaton, Levi Wheaton, Zebulon T. Wheaton, M. A. Wheaton and Samuel Wheaton, and all were stalwart men physically, of the genuine pioneer type. Robert M. Wheaton was the first sheriff elected for the full term of two years in the county, and during his forty years' residence he held many responsible positions. He died on the Chester farm January 17, 1876. A son, R. Duane Wheaton, is now mayor of Charlotte.

In February, 1837, Jared Bouten, who died in Charlotte May 25, 1865, came to Chester from Cattaraugus county, New York. Part of the winter was spent in Calhoun county. With his outfit, a wife, two small boys, an ox team and their personal effects, he started out in time to make a beginning, in the spring, in a dense forest. Following an

Indian trail to the northeast, the family passed the log house of Phineas S. Spaulding in Kalamo, the last white settler they saw until after reaching their destination. For several miles Mr. Bouten cut the underbrush and small trees to make a passage for his team and wagon, his wife cheerfully assisting him. They reached the Bell shanty which the Williams brothers had vacated a short time before, and were detained there for several weeks, as they were unable to cross the Thornapple during the spring flood. In April they reached their new home, a piece of wild land in Chester, and they made it one of the pleasantest homes in Eaton county.

Asa Fuller was another settler in 1836; Benjamin Rich, who located near Adrian in 1833, came a little later; Roswell R. Maxson about the same time moved into the northeast part of the town and made Maxson's Corners a well known locality; and Amasa L. Jordan, a sturdy Vermonter, was the earliest settler west of Wheaton's Corners on the road between Charlotte and Vermontville. He was accidentally killed by a son while they were in the woods hunting, the son mistaking his father for a bear and sending a fatal rifle ball through his body. This was Chester's earliest tragedy.

The first township election was held April 11, 1839, at which thirty-two votes were cast; a lot of officers were elected, some of whom, however, lived in the present town of Roxand. The roster presents a notable list of the pioneers of two surveyed townships—Robert M. Wheaton, supervisor; Harvey Williams, town clerk; Levi Wheaton, treasurer; Samuel Cole and William Tunison, assessors; Henry Cook, collector; Orrin Rowland, Levi Wheaton and John Dow, school inspectors; B. E. Rich and Leonard H. Boyer, directors of the poor; L. H. Boyer, Wm. Tunison and Jared Bouten, commissioners of highways; John Dow, Levi Wheaton, Lemuel Cole and Jared Bouten, justices of the peace; Henry Cook and Caleb Edson, constables. Michigan has always provided for a great many officers to do a very little work, and even then, except at the beginning, there have not been offices enough to go around. Among the early Chesterian laws were two, adopted at the town meeting of 1841, which read:

"All swine are not free commoners in time of making maple sugar;" and it was "Voted, That three cents fine be imposed on each swine that is not free commoners for each offense." One of the swinish offenses was sticking their noses into saptroughs during the maple sugar season.

DELTA.

In the northeast corner of the county, bounded on the east by Lansing, is the town of Delta. Most of the land was bought of the government in 1836. The name of J. R. Williams appears as the purchaser of parts of twenty-four different sections, and among the early land owners the names of actual settlers are very few. The first settler was Erastus Ingersoll. The first settlement was on section three at a point on Grand river known as Delta Mills. Mr. Ingersoll was the owner of ten parcels of eighty acres each, in all eight hundred acres, on both sides of Grand river and extending into the township of Watertown, Clinton county. In the spring of 1836 he employed Anthony Niles and Heman Thomas of Eagle, Clinton county, to build him a log cabin. In August or September of that year, in company with Clinton Burnet and a Mr. Avery, he moved upon his land with his family. An account of Mr. Ingersoll's incoming trip says that he left Farmington, Oakland county, with his household goods and farm implements, followed the Grand river turnpike to Howell, then turned north to Shiawassee county, reached the Lookingglass river, followed it down to Scott's tavern, on the site of the present village of DeWitt, and from there cut his pathway southwesterly, without a blazed tree, Indian trail or section line to guide him, a distance of ten to twelve miles, to his place of beginning—a solitary log cabin in a dense wilderness. Such journeys reveal the pluck of our pioneers. Lansing had not even been thought of then as a place where poor laws are enacted.

Established in his new home, the first work was making a dam and building a saw mill. The first board was sawed on the last day of December, 1836, though the mill was not completed, and "gigging back" the log was accomplished by the use of crowbars and handspikes. The next spring, when the Grand river freshet came, the dam was swept away and the mill undermined, but both were reconstructed.

The next settlers were a Mr. Lewis and his son-in-law, Ezra Billings. They were from Ohio, and in passing through the woods from Eaton Rapids, a distance of about twenty miles, they experienced much hardship and suffering. Mrs. Lewis, an aged woman, was taken sick on the way, the travel and exposure were more than she had strength to endure, and she died soon after the arrival at Delta Mills. A rough coffin was made of a wagon box, she was buried on the shore of Grand river and no stone or other evidence of the spot marks her place of interment. This party lost their way in the "Old Maid's swamp" north

of Eaton Rapids. Delta has a larger area of this famous Eaton county swamp than any other township, though it extends into the adjacent towns of Oneida, Windsor and Benton. It received its name from the fact that an eastern maiden lady, who had saved some money, sent it west for investment in Eaton county land, and the location was made in this densest of tamarack swamps. It was in this swamp that the Lewis party lost their way and wandered about for several days. Getting lost in the woods causes a sickening sensation. It is one of the worst of uncertainties.

Delta was better known at an early date as the home of the Ingersolls than from anything else associated with the name. At religious meetings, Sunday schools, conventions at which the town was represented, and in all public enterprises, some member of the family took an active part. Before they came it was a dense forest, with considerable swamp, and except along Grand river uninviting to the most hopeful pioneers. In every movement the Ingersolls took the lead. June 11, 1841, a village plat was made of Delta Mills by E. S. Ingersoll, O. B. Ingersoll, D. S. Ingersoll, Eliel Ingersoll and Alexander Ingersoll, and their dream was no doubt expressed in its pretentious name, the "City of Grand River." Moses Ingersoll was another early settler. Population increased slowly. Not until February 6, 1842, was Delta organized into a separate township, and in 1844 it had but twenty-six resident taxpayers. The location of the state capital at Lansing in 1847 was the first outside event that gave a marked impetus to its growth.

To a sketch of the early settlement of the town, written by E. S. Ingersoll, a son of the first settler, I am indebted for the dates and some of the incidents presented. He sums up the beginnings as follows: The first settler was Erastus Ingersoll; the first hired man was Milton Burnet; the first dwelling, the log cabin of Erastus Ingersoll; the first improvement, Ingersoll's dam and saw mill; the first public house was kept by E. S. Ingersoll; the first postmaster was E. S. Ingersoll; the first political meeting was held prior to the fall election of 1838; the first minister of the gospel, Rev. E. P. Ingersoll; the first child, a girl, was born in 1838; the first school house was built in 1839, and the first school teacher was Miss Sally Chadwick; the first Sunday school was organized in the Ingersoll log cabin in 1838. Religious meetings were commenced with the earliest settlement and have been continued without interruption ever since.

A higher interest than land, houses, mills and other property inspired the earliest settler of Delta. He had in view an institution of learning,

and, in the attempt to realize this purpose, he called to his aid Rev. John J. Shipherd, the enterprising founder of Oberlin in Ohio and of Olivet in Michigan, and of his brother, Rev. E. P. Ingersoll, both of whom made a visit to Delta Mills. Mr. Shipherd gave the plan his approval; Rev. Mr. Ingersoll went east to raise money for the institution. Large sums were subscribed, but the financial crash of 1837-8 came and their collection was impossible. The prospect seemed so good at the start, however, that Rev. E. P. Ingersoll commenced a large building for students, opened a school in 1841, continued it for a year, and then, disheartened, left the woods of Delta, when this early educational enterprise perished. The "City of Grand River" with mills, factories, an institution of learning and a large number of inhabitants failed to materialize. Lansing absorbed what Delta hoped at one time to obtain as a business center in central Michigan.

EATON.

Immediately southeast of the geographical center of the county lies the township of Eaton. From its western part a portion of the city of Charlotte is taken. Its uplands were heavily timbered, and many of its acres were swamp land, owned by the United States and by the state for thirty years after the beginning of its settlement; still it has excellent farms. The western portion, which included a part of the Charlotte prairie, was very attractive. Samuel Searles was the first settler, pioneering his way to the center of the county in October, 1835. In the spring of 1836 William Wall and James F. Pixley moved upon land near the east line of the town, their families remaining in Sandstone, Jackson county, until July, when log cabins had been made ready for occupancy by them. For ten weeks Mrs. Wall and Mrs. Pixley did not see a white person outside of their own households. In October, 1836, while hunting for his cattle in the woods, Mr. Wall first became aware of the existence of the Charlotte prairie about six miles west of his land, where, on the site of the present county fair ground, he came across Amos Kinne digging potatoes. Then he learned for the first time that Samuel and Jonathan Searles and Stephen Kinne were also residents of the town. These six men, William Wall and James F. Pixley on the east line of the town and Samuel Searles, Jonathan Searles, Amos Kinne and Stephen Kinne near the west line, were the pioneers of the town of Eaton, and they and their families were the only inhabitants of the central townships of the county.

Samuel Searles, as above stated, was the first settler. His farm

was just east of Charlotte. It continued to be his residence until his death, about 1865. During that first winter of lonely pioneer life, 1835-6, Mrs. Searles, his wife, was taken sick and died. There was not lumber enough to make a coffin nearer than Bellevue, some fifteen miles distant, and no road through the woods to that point, no one to dig a grave, no one to assist in giving the dead woman a christian burial. Mr. Searles yoked his oxen, hitched them to a rude sled, and laying his dead wife thereon, started one winter morning alone on his sad journey to Bellevue. There was no track through the forest to indicate the direction. Cutting away the underbrush when necessary, all day long this melancholy funeral procession, a touching incident of pioneer life and death, journeyed through the moaning wilderness. Can we imagine the solemnity and sorrow of the occasion? A husband, bearing his dead and uncoffined wife through a trackless forest to obtain the kind offices of fellow pioneers to aid in giving her body a decent burial, is an event that should awaken the sympathy of later generations, and is pathetic enough to bring tears to the eyes of the most stoical. Mrs. Searles was buried in Bellevue, and probably was the first white woman who died in the county—the first gentle spirit transplanted from the wilderness and winter of earth to a brighter and a better world.

In the spring of 1837, Stephen Davis was the first to locate on the Charlotte prairie in the town of Eaton. That season he turned the first furrows with a civilized plow of land which theretofore had been cultivated only by Indians, and planted and raised crops. In 1839 a post-office was established and Jonathan Searles appointed postmaster. The mail route was from Battle Creek to Eaton Center, and was secured through the influence of Captain James W. Hickok with Hon. Isaac E. Crary of Marshall, then Michigan's only representative in congress. Captain Hickok came on foot from his residence in the town of Walton to deliver the commission to the pioneer postmaster at Eaton Center.

The township of Eaton when first organized included the four south-eastern surveyed towns of the county, and was twelve miles square. The organic act was approved March 11, 1837, and the first township election was ordered "held at the dwelling house of ———— Spicer in said township." This house was in the Spicerville settlement in the present town of Hamlin. March 20, 1841, the towns of Brookfield and Tyler were divorced from Eaton, and the town of Eaton Rapids was set off February 16, 1842, which legislative action reduced Eaton to its present limits with the exception of that part of it included in the city of Charlotte.

The Southworth families were also pioneers in Eaton. In October,

1836, three brothers, James, William and George Southworth made a prospecting tour to Eaton county, where they purchased land and settled. James was the first to move into the township, arriving with his family in February, 1837. He had put up a log house during the winter, heating the stones for the chimney back in a fire so that the mortar or mud would stick to them, and the chimney was built of sticks mudded on the inside. Such a house was fairly comfortable, with its puncheon floor split from white ash logs, and with doors and windows. William Southworth, who first settled in Monroe county, Michigan, in 1836, moved to Eaton in August, 1837, and since that early time the families, originally from Genesee county, New York, have been prominently identified with the township. In 1844 the town had fifty-eight resident taxpayers, which number included those living on that part of the town since taken into the city of Charlotte.

EATON RAPIDS.

First the village and then the city of Eaton Rapids were taken from territory on the north and south sides of the township lines between Eaton Rapids and Hamlin. The water power on Grand river, in the present city of Eaton Rapids, attracted the attention and stimulated the enterprise of the first settlers. Amos Spicer, Pierpont E. Spicer, Samuel Hamlin and Columbus C. Darling organized a mill company and were active and energetic men—the two Spicers arriving in June, 1836, and Hamlin and Darling joining them in the spring of 1837. Amos Spicer was a millwright and superintended the building of the first saw mill in Vermontville for Edward H. Barber in 1840. Benjamin Knight came with the Spicers in June, 1836. These men were the founders of Eaton Rapids village and city, the company improving the water power by constructing a dam across Grand river and building a saw mill and a flour mill in 1837. Mr. Knight opened a general store, which for many years was the chief trading place for settlers in the east part of the county. There they bought the simple necessaries of life, sugar and saleratus, tea and coffee, cotton cloth and calico, boots and shoes, nails and glass, drugs and patent medicines, plug tobacco and quinine and whisky; assembled on rainy days, smoked and cracked jokes, told big yarns and treated each other; for the village of Eaton Rapids was long known as having more rough fun and funmakers than any other place in central Michigan. Edwin Knight, a son of Benjamin Knight, was the first white child born there. In August, 1861, he enlisted as a private soldier in the Union army to help crush the pro-

slavery rebellion and in January, 1863, was commissioned a second lieutenant of company D, Sixth Michigan Cavalry.

In the town of Eaton Rapids, outside of the village, Johnson Montgomery commenced making the first improvements on the land, but did not get his house ready for his family until the spring of 1837. Meanwhile, in February of that year, John E. Clark moved into a small shanty with his family in the north part of the town. In the fall of 1836 Mr. Montgomery started from Attica, New York, with his wife and three children for their new home. The outfit was two yoke of oxen, a lumber wagon, household goods and farm implements; the transit was by steamer on Lake Erie from Buffalo to Detroit, and thence by horrible roads to their destination. It took five days to pull through from Detroit to Dexter. They arrived near the end of their journey late in September, 1836, and the family moved into a shanty, ten by fourteen feet, just vacated by Mr. Toller. Blankets were used for doors, greased paper for windows, and in this shanty the family remained until spring, as lumber could not be obtained to finish the log cabin on their own land. Provisions were scarce, and soon after his arrival Mr. Montgomery found it necessary to make an ox team journey to Dexter to obtain something to live on.

John E. Clark moved into a shanty with his family, on his own land, February 11, 1837, a few weeks before Johnson Montgomery had his cabin ready to occupy. Mr. Clark was a prosperous farmer and a well-known citizen. With the young men of the second generation he was very popular. A man of strict integrity and honest worth, he did his own thinking and acted as he thought best. For the well-worn ruts of belief he cared nothing. He began at the beginning of pioneer life and worked out a competence. At first there was no road in or out from his land, and his nearest neighbor was William Wall in the town of Eaton. Wild game was plenty. One day, when hoeing corn, he heard a loud squeal and hastened to see what was the matter in the swine department. He found a hog in the embrace of a large bear. On seeing Mr. Clark the bear dropped the hog and commenced to retreat into the woods. Changing his purpose, the bear wheeled about and went for Mr. Clark, who, in turn, retreated and sprang into a small tree, catching hold of a limb and kicking the bear on the nose, then climbed higher as the bear gave heed to his bruised nose. Out of the animal's reach, Mr. Clark shouted for his hired man, who came with a rifle and wounded the bear. Bruin then made for the woods and Mr. Clark came down from the tree. A little later the same bear invaded the clearing and captured another hog, whose terrified squeals when caught were heard by Mr. Clark.

Taking his rifle he went out, accompanied by Daniel Champlin, and found and killed the uncivilized forager, a very old bear with a gray head and dull teeth.

Simon Darling, Sr., was another settler in the town of Eaton Rapids in 1837. In November of that year, with his wife and three children, he moved on to a piece of wild land he had purchased in the northwest part of the town. With a yoke of oxen and lumber wagon they set out on their journey from Dexter, Michigan, one morning, and on the seventh day arrived at the residence of John Montgomery east of Eaton Rapids. The next day they started down Grand river for their new home, a commodious shanty, sixteen by twenty-two feet, which Mr. Darling had built that year. Years later, in 1875, describing it and its surroundings, he said: "It had an old-fashioned Dutch fireplace, with a good stick chimney. And there our life of toil, sunshine and shadow, commenced in good earnest. My first employment was felling trees, as my farm was a dense forest, having previously cut only enough for a site to build my cabin. Mrs. Darling, too, was no great votary of fashion, or much given to visiting, and her time was exclusively given to her family. She was in the woods six months and never saw a white woman. The Indians were settled all around us, but were quiet and inclined to be very social, especially their squaws. The wolves often regaled us with their musical talent, which was extremely wonderful at times." Not much money was spent for goods; indeed goods were dear and money scarce. Again quoting Mr. Darling: "Everything, all fabrics especially for clothing, was sold at high prices. Prints, poorest kind, were eighteen cents a yard; thin cotton cloth eighteen or twenty cents. Six yards of print would make a dress for my wife, but I don't think she put on many flounces. We men would buy buckskin of the Indians and make them up into breeches. They were very durable, and would have given satisfaction had it not been for some peculiarities in the 'buckskin.' To illustrate: A good neighbor had a pair and was working in the woods in a soft snow, when he found that his pants had elongated to such an extent that they retarded his progress. To obviate the difficulty he cut them off. In the evening as he was sitting before a blazing fire they shrunk up beyond all account, and his worthy helpmeet, upon learning the facts in the case, made him take a pilgrimage in the woods. And the pants were spliced and became of suitable length." These details given by a reliable man, present interesting features of the ways and means of living among the pioneers.

TYLER—HAMLIN.

The southeastern surveyed township of Eaton county was organized by an act of the state legislature approved March 20, 1841, and named Tyler. In 1850 it was made a part of the town of Eaton Rapids, the new organization included two surveyed towns, but in 1869 it was again given a separate existence with the name of Hamlin. Samuel Hamlin was one of the earliest of the settlers in Eaton, and the new name given to the rehabilitated township perpetuates the memory of a most worthy citizen. The south line of the town was surveyed by Joseph Wampler in 1824, the north and west lines by John Mullett, in 1824-25, and the sections by Hervey Parke, of Pontiac, in 1826. The town has many excellent farms. Its surface is diversified. "Montgomery Plains," on both sides of the boundary line between Eaton Rapids and Hamlin, east of the present city of Eaton Rapids, was the finest agricultural section of the county.

The earliest settler in Hamlin was Col. John Montgomery. As already mentioned, his brother, Johnson Montgomery, was a pioneer settler in the adjoining town of Eaton Rapids. Than the Montgomery families none were better known for two generations in Eaton county. Four brothers, John, Johnson, Robert and William Montgomery, were pioneers of the towns of Hamlin and Eaton Rapids. Descendants of an ancient Scottish family of the same name, they were all worthy Americans. Col. John Montgomery was the first member of the family to settle in Eaton county and the first settler in Hamlin. The lines of an old song come to mind:

"Ye banks, and braes, and streams around
The castle o' Montgomery,
Green be your woods, and fair your flow'rs,
Your waters never drumlie."

Poetry, romance and history are associated with the name. Gen. Richard Montgomery, who fell at Quebec during an ill-fated campaign of our revolutionary war, was of the same north of Ireland stock as the Montgomerys of Eaton county. John Montgomery, the pioneer of Hamlin, was born in county Fermaugh, Ireland, March 22, 1804, and came to this country when a year and three months old. The other brothers were born in this country. His father lived in Oneida county, New York, until John was ten years of age. The family then moved to Genesee county, where John Montgomery worked at farming for his father until he became of age. For three years after he was twenty-one he worked for a farmer by the name of Earll; on Feb. 17, 1828, he mar-

ried Miss Amanda Rorabeck; then for three more years worked one-half of his father's farm, which was known as article land, being a part of the Holland purchase. Then he made up his mind that he would try and find some land that he could own. With this object in view, on the second of March, 1831, he set out on foot for Michigan, walked through Canada, bought 160 acres near Dexter, Michigan, moved upon it with his family, sold it in 1835 for $2,150 before specie payments and the financial crash of 1837-38 wrecked land values, and then started on a prospecting tour for the "Grand river country," then coming into prominence as an inviting section of Michigan. With a land looker by the name of Sill for a companion, he took to the woods a-foot in December, 1835, passed through Henrietta, Jackson county, and when he came in sight of the virgin tract which later became widely known as "Montgomery Plains," he said, "There is some land that looks like what I want." Even at that early day none that was better could have been found. The prospectors laid off their packs, examined the land, and Col. Montgomery bought nearly 500 acres of the government. Then returning to Dexter, he made arrangements for removing his family to the new purchase, and in January, 1836, became the first settler in the eastern half of Eaton county and of the present town of Hamlin. Results proved that he made a wise selection for a farm. The first year he sowed sixty acres of wheat, which yielded well and brought him $1.00 a bushel at his barn.

Before the year when town supervisors were unwisely made county legislators, Col. Montgomery was for three years one of the Eaton county commissioners; then held the office of supervisor for several terms; in 1849 was elected a representative in the state legislature, defeating his old whig friend, Elder W. W. Crane, by six votes. He received the title of colonel from holding the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Michigan militia during the laughable Toledo war. His regiment marched to Toledo, then a Maumee swamp with a few scattering houses, remained there three days, fired a few shots into the muddy Maumee river, and then marched home again. Michigan was euchred by Ohio in that southern boundary line controversy, but was compensated by the cession of the upper peninsula.

Silas Loomis, from Batavia, New York, was the second settler in the town, arriving in March, 1836. Stephen Reynolds, of Genesee county, New York, purchased land in the southeast part of the town in 1835, came in May, 1836, to commence work, his family following in September. The first religious services were held in Mr. Reynolds' house

in February, 1837, when a sermon was preached by Rev. William W. Crane, a Methodist minister. Mr. Crane was elected the first supervisor. Benjamin Knight first located at Spicerville in the town of Hamlin, in 1836. The next year Mr. Knight moved to Eaton Rapids, and he was the first postmaster appointed at that place. Daniel Bateman, another worthy pioneer, settled on a farm near Spicerville in 1836. In 1875 Fred Spicer, still a resident of the town, wrote an article for the Eaton Rapids Journal in which he said that he came to Eaton county with his father, Amos Spicer, and mother and two sisters, Mrs. Benj. Knight and husband, Eunice J. Spicer, now wife of J. L. Holmes, of Jackson; my uncle, P. E. Spicer, and cousin Daniel Bateman, all from Middlebury, Portage county, Ohio, except Benjamin Knight and wife, who were from Coshocton, Muskingum county, Ohio. On the 3d day of June, 1836, they arrived at Spicerville, about 8 o'clock in the evening and found a double log house already built by the men who came first, but without a door or window, with puncheons for the lower floor and basswood bark for the upper floor, which material was obtained from the forest without the help of a saw mill, as there was no mill of any description nearer than Clinton, Lenawee county, about fifty miles distant, and no white neighbors nearer than twelve miles. Michigan was then a territory. Eaton county had no road, except the old Clinton road, which Samuel Hamlin and C. C. Darling had cut through from Clinton to the Thornapple river, a contract with the government, the year before. Building a sawmill at Spicerville was commenced at once by Amos Spicer. To help raise the frame for the mill people came twenty miles. Benjamin Knight and Daniel Bateman spent two days in giving the invitations. The helpers came one day; raised the mill the next day; had a dance in the evening and returned home on the third day. Sawed lumber was one of the prime necessities of the time. Another early settler was George W. Bentley, a native of Madison county, New York, who first came to Michigan in 1830; returned to his native place and was married in 1834; came to Jackson county with his wife, where they resided until they moved to their farm in Hamlin, January 14, 1837. In 1871, Mr. Bentley moved into the village of Eaton Rapids. He remained a resident of the county until his death.

KALAMO.

Immediately north of Bellevue, on the west line of Eaton county, is the town of Kalamo. It is an excellent agricultural township. Early its most noted place was the tavern, near its geographical center, on the main road from Bellevue to Vermontville, kept by Samuel Herring

and his wife, known the country over as "Aunt Debby." Clearing up a farm and keeping a rural tavern seemed to promote longevity, as Samuel Herring remained on earth for ninety-nine years. He was free and easy in his habits and always good natured. Herring's tavern and Hyde's mill, the latter a mile or two farther east, were the two places that were well known in the west part of the county.

Published statements disagree as to who was the first settler with a family. Beginnings were made at four or five points in the autumn of 1836. Phineas S. Spaulding came to Michigan from Chemung county, New York, in May, 1835; Albion, Calhoun county, was his first stopping place; but in September, 1836, he purchased a fine tract of government land in Kalamo, and, probably built the first log cabin in the town. In the month of November he moved in his family. While Mr. Spaulding was absent for a short time to get his family, Martin Leach, who had bought land on the same section (35), moved into the Spaulding cabin while building one on his own land, and the Leach family is thought to have been the first one to settle in the town. Before Mr. Spaulding returned Mr. Leach had his own cabin finished and had moved into it. Aaron Brooks, who had bought an adjoining quarter section, occupied the Spaulding cabin, with his hired man, for a short time. The other settlers that fall were Daniel B. Bowen and Hiram Bowen, brothers, from Shelby, Orleans county, N. Y. Daniel B. Bowen was married in September, 1836, and in about three weeks thereafter started for Michigan, having made a previous visit to the territory and purchased land in Kalamo for a home. Hiram Bowen came at the same time with his wife and four children, the oldest six years of age. The two brothers were in the town about a week, building shanties, before the arrival of their families. Daniel B. Bowen brought apple seeds with him, planted them that fall in a sap-trough filled with earth, and from the nursery thus started set out an orchard which began to bear fruit in six years. The Bowens were steady workers and good farmers. Martin Leach, who was probably the first comer with a family into the town, moved into Walton. The families of the Bowens and the Spaulding family arrived at nearly the same time, not more than a day or two separating their moving into the town. At all events, they are entitled to the rank of the first families of Kalamo, as they were all permanent settlers. No township had worthier pioneers.

The first purchase of land from the government in the town was by N. and H. Weed, speculators, in November, 1835; the first frame house was built by Charles Moffatt; the stream near which it was

erected was first called Moffatt brook, then was named Lacey brook, after Edward D. Lacey, the father of Edward S. Lacey now president of the Bankers' National Bank of Chicago, and the saw mill thereon put up by Moffatt was later known as Hyde's mill, its subsequent owner being Oliver M. Hyde, a well known citizen and mayor of Detroit; the first frame barn was built by P. S. Spaulding, the first couple married were Marvin Bailey and Jane Butler; the first white child born, March 2, 1839, was Louisa Spaulding, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. P. S. Spaulding; the first religious meeting was held at the house of Aaron Brooks; and Samuel Herring opened the first tavern in 1841.

Charles Moffatt, a brother of Mrs. William B. Sherman, of Vermontville, was a hopeful, active, energetic young man, with an uncertain fate. He was a Vermonter and had invested money for other Vermonters, who expected to realize large returns. The financial depression of 1837-38 came, caused chiefly by the war on paper money and the country's going to a specie basis, and it knocked the bottom out of prices. The result was that investors in Michigan made no money. Land would not sell at any price. The deadness of financial disaster succeeded the hope and expectation of good times. Worthless banks and wildcat currency added to the calamity of that early time. Moffatt returned to Vermont, probably for a visit and to explain the situation. No mercy was then shown to the man who made mistakes in making investments for others. He was arrested under the fraudulent debtor act and incarcerated in the jail at Brattleboro. Later it was stated by his brother-in-law, W. B. Sherman of Vermontville, that, escaping from the jail one night he was probably drowned in attempting to cross the Connecticut river on the ice. Nothing more was heard of him.

Phineas S. Spaulding was for many years a leading citizen of the town and became one of the wealthiest farmers of Eaton county. He spent most of the time in carefully attending to his own affairs and what time there was left in letting others attend to their own affairs. His farm was one of the best in the county; always kept in fine condition. When the township was organized by an act of the legislature, approved March 11, 1838, he was chosen a justice of the peace and one of the three assessors at the ensuing April election. In 1866 he was elected a representative in the state legislature. Later he moved to Charlotte and lived there the rest of his mortal life; but the Bowens lived and died, old men, on the farms they settled in November, 1836.

Another notable pioneer family of 1837 was that of Jonathan Dean, Sr., whose son, Jonathan Dean, Jr., has long been a prominent citizen

of Eaton county, and whose grandson, Frank A. Dean of Lansing, has more than a state reputation. The elder Dean was a native of Orange county, New York, and a veteran of the war of 1812. In June, 1837, he came west on a prospecting tour with his oldest son, William B. Dean, and bought 160 acres of wild land near the northeast corner of Kalamo. Returning at once for his family, they crossed Detroit river on their way to Michigan, July 3, 1837; the family remained through the summer at Plymouth in this state; Mr. Dean came on at once to build a shanty and make an opening in the forest, and the rest of the family arrived on Christmas day, 1837. Wolves and Indians were plenty. From 50 to 100 Indians camped in the northeast corner of the town near the Deans, and went away in the summer to do their planting. The nearest grist-mill was at Marshall, twenty-five miles distant. One day at the Indian camp Mr. Dean noticed a squaw pounding corn in the end of a log that had been hollowed out, and then he said he knew how he could pound corn and not have to go to mill. So he hollowed out a pair of ash blocks, bound them together with iron hoops, rigged up a large pestle and thus had his own "corn cracker," which was the wonder of the settlers, who gave to the high ground on which Mr. Dean's house was located the name of "Pestle Hill," by which it was known for many years. So far as ascertainable, John McDerby and John Davis were the only other settlers in 1837. They located near the west line of the township.

ONEIDA.

No better township of land, no such attractive scenery, can be found anywhere else in Eaton county. Grand river flows across its northeast corner, through a deeply worn channel in the rock, which geologic fact gives the name of Grand Ledge to its earliest village and present city. Just west of the city Sandstone creek empties into the river, after flowing some distance through a rocky gorge, originally bordered with hemlocks, and giving an agreeable change from the generally level land of the township. Immediately below Grand Ledge the scenery is rugged and romantic, surpassing in this respect any other locality in southern Michigan, and the island in the river is a popular and attractive place for summer picnics and meetings.

Solomon Russell was the first settler in the township. He came from Orleans county, New York, in the autumn of 1836, and his route, with an ox team and lumber wagon, was through Canada, and across the counties of Wayne, Oakland, Shiawassee and Clinton in Michigan. The place where he forded Grand river has since been known as the "Old

ford." After passing the river he cut his way through the forest to his land, on section twenty-two. There he built the first dwelling erected by a white man in the township, a humble shanty, and settled in it with his wife and several small children. He gave employment to the first "hired men" in the town, Robert Rix, later a resident of Roxand, and William Henry, who became one of the wealthiest citizens of Oneida. Not long after his arrival, Mr. Russell was severely cut with an ax while chopping and was carried on a litter to Eagle, Clinton county, for treatment. He recovered from the wound and lived for many years a respected citizen.

The second settler was Samuel Preston. He came to Michigan from Cayuga county, New York, in the spring of 1835, and located nine miles west of Adrian. In the spring of 1836 he bought 160 acres of government land in the Grand river region. That was the most he knew about it. Early in January, 1837, he visited his purchase and found Solomon Russell's small clearing the first hole in the woods in that region. After viewing his land, Mr. Preston returned to Lenawee county, and on the second day of February set out with his family and two yoke of oxen to make a new home in the wilderness. Arriving at Asa Fuller's cabin in Chester, the family remained there until Mr. Preston, assisted by Mr. Fuller and Robert M. Wheaton, could cut the underbrush for a road to his land. Of an incident of this job Mr. Preston wrote in 1869: "Night coming on we clustered ourselves into a cave dug in the snow, after giving our team a supper of tree tops. Here, in the depths of a snow bank, surrounded by almost interminable forest, we cooked, ate, and finally retired to our beds. It is easier to speak of the occupation of such a position than to endure it."

"Canada Settlement," so named because the first settlers were from Canada, was a beginning of civilization in the southeast corner of Oneida. Connected with that settlement is another incident of pioneer life narrated by Mr. Preston: "About one year after our first settlement Mrs. Preston attended a funeral at Canada settlement, walking and carrying a young child in her arms, a distance of three or more miles. On her return home the next day she missed her way, taking a deer trail, supposing it to be the right path. Being myself out the next day, about three o'clock p. m., for the purpose of driving in my cattle, they took a sudden fright at some unusual object when about two miles from home, and looking for the cause I discovered my wandering wife, still bearing her babe in her arms."

The funeral referred to was that of a child of James Nixon, the first

death in the town; the first marriage was that of Robert Rix, who came as a hired man for Solomon Russell, with Mrs. A. Carr. The first birth was that of Horace Preston, a son of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Preston. In the winter of 1839, twenty-seven of the thirty-two inhabitants had the measles, but none died. There was no physician in the town.

The "Canada Settlement" was commenced by six young men from Canada, in February, 1837, whose ages ranged from sixteen to twenty-nine years. It was quite a notable sextet of pioneer performers, whose first musical instrument was the woodman's ax. Their respective names and ages were, J. H. Nichols aged 29 years; James Nixon, 26; Martin Nichols, 23; Jason Nichols, 21; Robert Nixon, 19; Samuel Nixon, 16—all familiar names throughout the county. In April, 1837, John Stanley, with his wife and three children, arrived at the "Canada" shanty, and Mrs. Stanley was the first white woman to adorn the settlement.

Some years ago when gathering details as to the early settlers of Eaton county, in answer to a request for information Robert Nixon wrote me a letter in which he said: "On the morning of the 28th of February, 1837, we started from the Looking Glass river in Clinton county for Oneida. One carried flour, another pork, and another blankets, etc. About noon, hungry and tired, we reached section thirty-six, since known as the 'Canada settlement.' The snow was two feet deep, and it took us all the afternoon to clear off a spot ten by twelve feet square. By dark we had three sides of a shanty built. Then we felled a large maple in front, made a fire, cooked our supper, chatted a while, took our blankets and laid down on the damp ground. The weather was cold enough to freeze a white bear, and in the morning our clothes steamed as if they had just come out of a wash tub." Pontiac was the nearest accessible point to a grist-mill, as the Thornapple, south of the settlement, was impassable in the spring, and about two weeks were required to make the round trip. John Stanley sowed two bushels of spring wheat in 1837, and harvested sixty-two bushels. This was the first crop raised. In June of the same year T. Walker Nichols arrived with a numerous family from Canada. With them came the wives of J. H. Nichols and James Nixon. Men began to multiply in this part of the earth. All were persistent workers and the Canada settlement soon became one of the thriftiest of the pioneer colonies in the county. In May John Stanley's oxen strayed. They wandered off as far as Washtenaw county and were not recovered until the next October.

The two towns of Oneida and Delta were placed in one organization by the legislative act of March 6, 1838, and they remained united until Delta was given a separate existence in 1842.

ROXAND.

This is an excellent agricultural township. The greater portion of its surface is level or slightly undulating, and the soil of superior quality. Its water courses are small and there is a limited area of waste land. Andrew Nickle, a native of Ireland, who arrived in this country in 1828, came to Roxand in 1837, purchased land of the government, and on the first of January, 1838, commenced making improvements. When he came to look for land there was not a white person living in the township. After making and seeing his purchase he left to make arrangements for moving in his family. While absent, and a short time before his return, Orrin Rowland and Henry Clark moved in with their families and were the first actual settlers in the town. Aaron and Benjamin French and William Cryderman followed a little later, in the spring of 1838, locating in the north part of the town on adjacent farms. Lemuel Cole entered land on section 25, near the east line of the town, in 1837, and it has been stated that he settled upon it the ensuing winter, but this seems to be a mistake, as in the fall of 1838 men from the Canada settlement, some seven miles distant, assisted in raising his first log cabin. During the summer of 1838 Andrew Nickle raised corn and potatoes on land he had cleared of the timber in the winter and spring. In the fall his wife and sister joined him. John Nickle, born in 1840, was probably the first white child born in Roxand. It is a matter of small moment who arrived first, or who felled the first tree in the forest that covered every acre of the soil, but there is no doubt that these persons were the earliest of Roxand's sturdy pioneers.

In the spring of 1837, John W. McCargar came from Auburn, New York, and purchased 200 acres on the south line of the town. Like some of the early settlers he did not trust to luck or providence in making a selection, but relied solely on his own judgment. He visited different parts of the county in his search for land that exactly suited him, for he always had positive opinions of his own, and was finally shown the tract he bought by Samuel Preston of Oneida. It became generally known as an attractive location, without a foot of waste, and it made a beautiful farm. After seeing it, Mr. McCargar started on foot for the land office at Ionia to purchase it, missed the trail through the woods, spent the night in a swamp, and reached his destination the next day. In the spring of 1838 he com-

menced a clearing, lived for ten weeks in a small shanty, cooked his own meals, hired no help, bothered nobody, having no neighbors near enough to be disturbed by the sound of falling timber; but not until 1843 did he get married and become an all-the-year-round settler in the township.

John Dow, a native of Bridgewater, New Jersey, but afterwards a resident in the state of New York, came to Eaton county in October, 1837, spent a short time in the town of Sunfield, and then settled on section 19, near the west line of the town of Roxand, on land purchased of the government, the first settler in that part of the town. It was several miles to his nearest neighbor. For many years he was one of the best known citizens in the county, and for more than forty years he was the most influential member of the board of supervisors. When there were but three organized towns in the county—Bellevue, Eaton and Vermontville—Roxand was included in the last named township, but from 1839 to 1843 it was a part of Chester, of which he was one of the first elected justices of the peace, and was also the acting supervisor, Robert M. Wheaton, who received a majority of the votes for the office at the spring election in 1839, being ineligible. After that Mr. Dow was supervisor of Roxand for several years. Removing to Sunfield in 1851, he was supervisor of that town with the exception of one year, as long as he would accept the office, his total service in that position continuing for forty-five years. He was a shrewd manager, looked after the interests of his town, and several times represented the county on the state board of equalization. In 1862 he was elected representative in the state legislature from the western district of the county, and at the regular session of 1863 and the special session of 1864 the members all knew that he was present.

The town settled slowly. It was organized as a separate township March 19, 1843, by act of the legislature, and at the first election held, April 17, 1843, but eighteen votes were polled. The name of the town had a peculiar origin. Just south of the boundary line between Roxand and Chester lived a man named William Crother and the woman who lived with him was known as Roxana Crother. It seems that Crother had left his lawful wife in the state of New York, went to Canada with this other woman, married her there, and then came to Michigan. Her son-in-law, William Cummings, complained of the parties, on account of their unlawful relations, before Henry A. Moyer, a justice of the peace. They employed a lawyer named Bradley to defend them. Local excitement over a case of this sort was intense. The justice decided against him. The lawyer was Edward Bradley of

Marshall, who was a member of the state senate in 1843, and was elected representative in congress in 1846. He was a member of the senate when the town of Chester was divided. The people of the new town (now Roxand) wanted the name Chester, but the people of the south town sent a petition to Senator Bradley asking him to use his influence in their behalf and let their town have the old name. Probably Bradley had not forgotten his defeat before Squire Moyer, who lived in the north town, and so the south town retained the name of Chester, while to the newly organized township at Mr. Bradley's instance, was given the name Roxana, after the woman he defended a short time before. It is further stated that the enrolling clerk made the final "a" look more like a "d" and that is the reason the township, in the enrolled bill signed by the governor, was named Roxand. Roxana Crother lived for a number of years in Chester. For some time there were many jokes and much dispute as to the legal name of the township.

SUNFIELD.

This northwest corner town of Eaton county presents a diversified surface, the greater portion of it being quite level and the whole of it originally was covered with a very heavy growth of hardwood timber. Near the west line is one of the few small lakes of the county, named "Sawba," after an Indian chief who was well known to the early settlers for his ardent love of fire water and rapid acquirement and free use of vulgar English phrases on all occasions. Most of the land was bought of the government by speculators in 1836, and being held out of the market its settlement was retarded for many years. Not until the Grand Rapids branch of the Detroit, Lansing & Northern railroad was built a few years ago was there any cluster of houses to resemble a village in the township. It was truly rural in every respect.

The first white family within the limits of the town was that of Samuel S. Hoyt. They came in the summer or fall of 1836. Mr. and Mrs. Hoyt's daughter, Elizabeth, was the first white child. At first their nearest neighbors were in Vermontville, six miles distant. There they attended church quite regularly, Mr. Hoyt driving through the woods by blazed trees with an ox team and a lumber wagon. He was an energetic worker, made a large opening in the forest for sunlight and civilization in a short time but, tiring of the isolation and the wilderness, he sold out at the earliest opportunity and returned to Saratoga county, New York, from whence he came. The first white male children born in the town were John Nead and John Wells, sons respectively of John Nead and William A. Wells, early settlers.

Peter Kinne came soon after Mr. Hoyt and located near the center of the town. Late in the autumn of 1836 his wife died. This was the first death in the town. Mr. Kinne lived alone in the woods for about two years. In 1838 he, too, passed away. This was the only instance of the death of both husband and wife, within two years, among any of the pioneers of the sixteen townships.

The third settler was Abram Chatfield, a carpenter and farmer, who came from Montgomery county, New York, leaving there with his family in 1835, tarrying for a time in Ohio, coming to Washtenaw county, Michigan, in August, 1836, and moving to Sunfield in February, 1836, where he settled upon forty acres of land. Mr. Chatfield was a plain-spoken man, and there was no suspicion of reverence in his mental attainments.

Avery Pool and Daniel Barnum, Sr., with the latter's sons, Daniel, Willis, Henry and Lewis, were early settlers in the east half of the town. Mr. Pool was a son-in-law of the elder Barnum. All were thrifty and prosperous. Willis Barnum became a wealthy farmer. Edward O. Smith a prominent citizen, came west with Samuel S. Hoyt in 1836 and bought land at the same time on the south line of the town, but did not move his family until May, 1838.

Joseph Cupp came to Michigan in the spring of 1837, spent the summer at Plymouth, Wayne county, and in the fall came with members of the Hager family, most of whom settled in the northwest corner of Vermontville, to Eaton county. Samuel Hager and Joseph Cupp settled in Sunfield. Mr. Hager went to Missouri, but Mr. Cupp, whose wife was a Hager, remained on the farm he improved until his death. These pioneers were from Somerset county, Pennsylvania. The only other inhabitants were Indians. Mrs. Cupp had not forgotten the stories of Indian outrages in her native state, the horrors of Wyoming were fresh in mind, and she was much afraid of the red men. To her the word Indian was a synonym for all that was horrible. Sawba's band were noted for their love of whisky. On one occasion, when liquor had been procured and all were drunk, Daniel Hager visited the camp. Sawba was ill-tempered when drunk, and was in a mood to have a fight and whip the white man, not recognizing who he was. He choked and twisted Hager in a fury of savage delight. Finally Sawba's squaw told him who the white man was, when the drunken chief released him considerably the worse for the treatment he had received. Joseph Cupp was nick-named "Cupp Haga" by Sawba. He was a devoted Christian and the cunning Indian knew it. One day, when wanting a favor, Sawba

came to the house, looking solemn as an owl, and rolling his eyes and groaning as if in pain, said: "Me feeling plenty bad—me prayin' much." After frightening the wife of some pioneer by a sudden whoop at the door of the cabin and a demand for food—which was never refused—he would relate his exploit with great glee, saying: "White squaw plenty 'fraid."

The town was divorced from Vermontville and given its name and separate organization by the legislature on February 14, 1842, and at the first election held that year thirteen votes were cast. In 1844 the total number of resident taxpayers was twenty-two, of whom four were Barnums and three answered to the name of Wells. After its organization there was much doubt as to whether the name given to the township was Somefield or Sunfield. It was reported that the legislature was in doubt as to the name desired, and called it Somefield, but this was a mistake.

VERMONTVILLE.

In volume 28 of the Historical Collections of this Society the genesis and settlement of Vermontville are presented in detail, and it is unnecessary to condense and repeat them here. The town and village were settled by a colony of Vermonters. The township, in its topography, its hills, valleys, ravines, flora, fauna, boulders and other characteristics resembled portions of the Champlain valley of Vermont more than any other town in Eaton county. More distinctly than any other cluster of pioneers, its earliest settlers had in view, besides material prosperity, the promotion of religion and education. During the first few years they gave more time and spent more money for these purposes than did the settlers of any other town. The colonists numbered twenty-two families, and of their male heads all but two were or became members of the Congregational church. The minister was a worker on a farm as well as a preacher and a teacher.

A letter written by S. S. Church, who was a deacon of the church and its clerk from the date of its organization in 1837 until his death, to Rev. William U. Benedict, dated July 28, 1842, when the society was in search of its second pastor, gives an accurate idea of actual conditions at that time. The letter is in the possession of Mr. Benedict's daughter, Mrs. Sara B. Cossar of Vermontville. It has an ancient appearance—a folded sheet of foolscap paper with the address on the outside and marked 25 cents postage. Envelopes and postage stamps had not then been introduced. The object of the letter was to ascertain if Mr. Benedict

would accept a call to the pastorate of the Vermontville church, and was addressed to him at Allen's Hill, Ontario county, New York.

In a precise and clerkly hand, Deacon Church wrote as follows: "In the year '36, Rev. Mr. Cochrane of Vermont originated a colony which located at this place. He has continued our pastor, but now deems it his duty to leave us, yet against the unanimous wish of his people. We are desirous of sustaining the ordinances of the Gospel among us—indeed, we are bound by our original compact to do this. Ministers are very scarce in Mich., and we cannot obtain one here. Our church contains about 50 members, and most of the congregation within two miles. We have no alcohol kept or drank in town, no profane swearing or Sabbath breaking. The foundation is laid for a moral and enlightened community. We have a great proportion of children to our population. We are erecting an academy building, 30 by 40 feet, which at present is to be used as a church and academy, and there is no other institution of the kind in the county. Our county contains nearly 4,000 inhabitants, and only a Methodist circuit preacher for the whole county and an adjoining one. Mr. Cochrane has organized another Congregational church in the county; also there is a small Presbyterian church, but no minister. Roads are bad. Now, sir, the inducement in a pecuiary point. Mr. C. has received from the A. H. M. Society from 100 to 120 dollars annually, which we should hope to obtain again. This would constitute the greatest proportion of cash we could furnish. We would endeavor to furnish a comfortable house, your fire wood, and in produce two hundred dollars more. This last would supply the family support, and this sum should increase as our means increased. Again, we have thought that if we could get a minister who would be willing to do it, we would permit him to take charge of our academy 3 or 6 months in a year, to assist him in his getting a living. We have an interesting group of children, and we want them trained not only for usefulness but for heaven; we wish our sons fitted by education and piety for ministers, and our daughters for any station that providence may place them in. The society own 60 acres of land adjoining our village, half a mile from the place of meeting, for a parsonage. It at present affords us no profit, but we intend to have it improved soon and suitable buildings erected for a parsonage. So far our place has been as healthy as Vermont. Thus, sir, I have endeavored to give a correct statement of the inhabitants, our wants, the country, and the inducements to a minister to come, settle, and grow up with us, and the opportunity for

doing good. The trials, discouragements, etc., have not been anticipated."

Of no other town in the county, probably of no other in the state, could such an illustrative letter, presenting an important phase of pioneer life and purpose, have been written. For this reason it is worthy of permanent preservation. The result was that, October 8, 1842, after very anxious and careful deliberation, the trustees of the society made a formal proposition to Mr. Benedict, which he accepted and became the minister of the society and the teacher of the young people of Vermontville and the surrounding country for many years. As a farmer and teacher he was at least equally as good as a preacher. It is worthy of remark in this connection, that none of the sons of the colonists became ministers, as Deacon Church hoped they might be fitted to become, and of the forty-eight boys in their families, only three are farmers. Is this a result of the education that the pioneer settlers struggled hard to give them? The kind of education that leads to the abandonment of agricultural pursuits may be, especially from an industrial and productive point of view, open to criticism as failing to promote the highest welfare of the state.

WALTON.

This township is noted as the one in which Olivet college is established. It lies next east of Bellevue on the south line of the county. It has a great variety of soil, ranging from that which is very sandy in the fringe of oak openings in its southern part to a sandy and clayey loam in other sections. The surface is cut up by hills and streams, and it had its full proportion of swamps and marshes. The Battle Creek flows diagonally through the town in a southwesterly direction, and furnished power for a pioneer saw mill, owned by Joseph Bosworth. Pine lake, one of the few small lakes in the county, is a pleasant body of water near the south line of the town. Originally a few pine trees grew near it, about the only ones in the county, and hence its name.

Its first settler, Captain James W. Hickok, was a notable pioneer. A native of Lansingburg, New York, he was the son of a revolutionary soldier who was present at the surrender of Burgoyne's army near Saratoga in 1777. His democracy was inbred and was of the unyielding type. In February, 1836, when there were only wild animals and Indians in Walton, Capt. Hickok came to Eaton county, and the same season moved in his family. On their way from Bellevue to the wild farm near the southwest corner of the town, Mrs. Hickok met with an acci-

dent the result of which was a broken limb. She was carried back to Bellevue and cared for at the house of John T. Hoyt, where, on September 7, 1836, before she was able to walk, a son was born and named Isaac E. Crary Hickok—the first white male child born in Eaton county. He was named after Hon. Isaac E. Crary of Marshall, then Michigan's sole representative in congress, who was greatly admired by Captain Hickok. The son became a prominent and worthy citizen, holding important public positions, among them the office of county clerk, was a good lawyer and had a host of friends. His death occurred in Charlotte, his place of residence at that time, January 30, 1879. Captain Hickok built the first log house and plowed the first furrow in Walton. In 1852 he was elected to the state senate, served during the legislative session of 1853, and at different times held various local offices. Physically he was broad shouldered and stoutly built; mentally he was strong minded and positive; and he was well liked by the young men of the second generation.

The second settler was Parly P. Shumway, who located near the farm of Captain Hickok, and his daughter, born July 4, 1838, was the first white child of the township. Joseph Bosworth came next with his wife and one child, from Portage county, Ohio, and located on land a few miles northeast of Olivet on the Battle Creek, where he built a sawmill, which became an early and an important civilizing influence in that region. His nearest neighbor was Captain Hickok, three miles away, and to the northeast the nearest house was that of Samuel Searles in the town of Eaton, just east of the present city of Charlotte. On the site of Olivet, where flows the brook Kedron, was an Indian village with permanent wigwams and about one hundred occupants. Their chief was Sandbar. One of the natives, Neemah, was an ugly savage and was well known for that reason. He was despised by the members of his own band and much disliked by the whites. On one occasion some squaws found him lying in a drunken sleep, covered him with dry grass and set it on fire with the intention of roasting him, but he escaped though burned nearly to death. To Mr. and Mrs. Bosworth was born the first white male child, Miles L. Bosworth, who enlisted and lost an arm in the civil war.

Joseph Bosworth kept a journal. From its entries we learn that he came from Portage county, Ohio, and on Monday, September 18, 1837, "loaded up for Michigan," arriving in Bellevue on Friday, October 6. The next day he went to his land and "camped out." Some items of the journal are worth copying:

"Sunday, 8.—Commenced underbrushing and cutting shantee logs.

"Monday, 9.—Cut logs and shingle tree; placed bottom logs.

"Tues., 10.—Cut logs; raised shantee; Orville went home with saw; Ike and I covered shantee.

"Wed., 11.—Finished covering shantee; chincked it, and moved in and slept well.

"Thurs., 12.—Cut floor stuff; chincked and mudded shantee.

"Friday, 13.—Hewed and laid floor; finished mudding chimney," etc.

These excerpts show the stages of progress in building a pioneer shanty in the woods at an early date. The next year, 1838, other entries are made, for example:

"Monday, October 1.—Ague came on unexpected.

"Tuesday, 2.—Had the ague in the woods and had a hard time to get home.

"Wed., 3.—Staid close in the bed; took thoroughwort a. m.; Lee's pills at night; better.

"Sat., March 30, 1839.—Got news of Walton being set off in a separate township.

"April 1.—Attended town meeting as inspector.

"Tues., 2.—Helped raise Allen's shantee.

"Mon., 29.—Knocked down Nee-maw, and kicked him for falling."

This "Neemaw" was the ugly Indian referred to above as the victim of the squaw holocaust. Other instructive items read:

"Sat., July 22, 1840.—Went to the first court that was ever held in the township of Walton—the State of Michigan, plaintiff: William Woodbury, defendant.

"Tuesday, Sept. 29.—Went to Marshall with wheat; got 42 cents a bushel.

"Wed., Nov. 29, 1843.—Simeon Wheeler was buried; killed by the fall of a tree.

"Tues., Feb. 13, 1844.—Hauled one load of lumber—400 feet—for meeting house at Olivet.

"Sunday, March 4.—Went to Fordham's school house to meeting; Shipherd preached.

"Sunday, April 21.—Went to R. B. Allen's to funeral of his boy.

"Thurs., May 30.—Went to raising of sawmill at Olivet.

"Tues., Sept. 3.—Went to Shipherd's funeral.

"Sat., Oct. 26.—Helped raise grist-mill at Olivet."

These terse sentences convey a clear idea of the work and services rendered to others by an active pioneer. The Shipherd referred to was

undoubtedly Rev. John J. Shipherd, one of the founders and the leading spirit of Olivet college. On the land in the town of Walton where the Indian village was located when the first settlers came, the village of Olivet was planted in 1844, and the college dates from the same year. It was an offshoot of Oberlin college in Ohio. Its history is written by Rev. W. B. Williams of Charlotte. Suffice it here to say that, actuated by a purpose as noble as ever inspired the thoughts of men to build for the future, its pioneer founders and their successors struggled faithfully, amid the discouragements of poverty and other unfavorable conditions, with a perseverance worthy of their cause, to build up an institution that has become a prominent and permanent educational and moral influence in Michigan. The contrast from an Indian village to a seat of learning in a few years was marvelous, and nothing more striking and creditable to its founders has transpired in our state. Olivet college will long remain a monument, better and nobler than chiseled granite or moulded bronze, to the memory of Shipherd, Hosford, Dewey, and its other early upbuilders and sustainers.

WINDSOR.

Esek Pray of Windsor, the faithful historian of Eaton county for the State Pioneer and Historical Society, has been so careful a collector of facts in relation to the early history of the town that it is an easy matter to compile the data as to its early settlements and settlers. Prominent among its pioneers were four persons of the surname of Skinner—H. M. Skinner, O. D. Skinner, John D. Skinner and W. P. Skinner—who came from Windsor, Vermont, and when the township was organized by an act of the legislature, approved February 16, 1842, desiring to perpetuate the name of their old home, they suggested the name it received in the organic act. If there was any difference of degree in the trials and hardships encountered by the first settlers in the sixteen townships, those of Windsor had probably the hardest experiences of any. Before the location of the state capital at Lansing they were extremely isolated. Much of the land was taken by speculators and this was a serious hindrance to settlement and improvement.

The first settler in Windsor was Orange Towslee. His advent dates from October 1, 1837. He moved in from the north, by way of the Ingersoll settlement in Delta, following the track that was known as the Billings trail until opposite the 240 acres of wild land he had purchased, when he cut his own road to the land so that he might reach it with his family and household goods. For six weeks they lived in a tent

while a log house was being built, which brought the date of its occupancy about the middle of November. A week after Mr. Towslee arrived the population was increased a large percentage by the arrival of Oramel D., John D. and William P. Skinner, who owned 960 acres in the east part of the town. They came on the sixth of October, 1837. They built a log house the first thing, then cut a road south to Spicerville in the town of Hamlin, a dozen miles, and the following spring brought in their families, who wintered in the southern part of the state. William P. Skinner was unmarried.

Nathan H. Pray, a native of Rhode Island, when young went with his parents to Alleghany county, New York, and in 1825, when twelve years of age, came with them to Washtenaw county, Michigan. He married in the spring of 1837 and in October of that year, with his young bride of eighteen years of age, moved to Windsor. If alive they could tell of a "wedding journey" more romantic than the one narrated by W. D. Howells, the distinguished American novelist. From Superior, Washtenaw county, they journeyed by way of Jackson and Spicerville to Wall's settlement in the town of Eaton. From there Mr. Pray cut his own road through the woods to Henry Boody's place in the town of Eaton Rapids. Mr. Boody had just raised and roofed a log cabin. He gave Mr. Pray the privilege of occupying it until he could reach his land which was three miles further on in the wilderness, and a bad swamp intervening. At Mr. Boody's cabin he unloaded his goods and provisions, and the team returned. Assisted by John Worthington, Mr. Pray built a log house of the primitive kind on his own land, and moved his household effects to it on a hand sled in the winter. These first three families of the town had no previous knowledge of each other and it was several weeks before they learned that they were neighbors. March 9, 1838, a son was born to Mr. and Mrs. Pray, and he was named Esęk in honor of his grandfather. He was the first white child born in Windsor. No man in the county has taken a more active and intelligent interest in pioneer history; he has been president of the county pioneer society; he has furnished much valuable material concerning the early settlers to our State Pioneer and Historical Society; and besides local offices, he filled acceptably for two terms the responsible position of county treasurer.

These pioneers of 1837 are entitled to the distinction of having been the first settlers. They were the beginners of permanent settlements. Besides those named, Samuel Munn, Charles Wright and Andrew Mills, single men, at least having no families with them, came in the fall of

1837 and bought land. Mills built a shanty, and was preparing to put up a log house when the shanty took fire and burned down, destroying his clothes and provisions, also the clothes of his hired man, besides seventy dollars of currency, and discouraged by his misfortunes he left the town and never returned.

The adventures and hardships of the pioneers were many. One Friday morning Orange Towslee started for Spicerville to get a load of lumber for his house. On his return he lost his way, wandered in the woods until Monday, and when he finally reached home he was so starved and tired that his family were frightened at his appearance. They surmised that he had bought lumber and was rafting it down Grand river instead of being lost in the woods. In November, 1837, as Mr. Towslee was on his way home from Delta Mills, night came on and he again lost his way. When a person is lost in the woods he is apt to travel in a circle. One way of avoiding this was to start from a given tree and look straight ahead to another tree in the probable right direction, and follow this plan until a road or clearing was reached. In his wanderings that night Mr. Towslee plunged into a creek. Wolves were howling all around him. Being no more uncomfortable in the water than out of it with his wet clothes, and not knowing which way to go, he remained in the water all of that cold November night, and when he arrived at home in the morning his voice was gone. After a while speech returned so that he could relate his nightly adventure.

Mr. Pray was quite deaf. He started out late one Sunday afternoon for his cattle that were pastured in the woods, his wife telling him the direction from the sound of the bell one of them wore, but the animals came home to the clearing without him. Finally his "whoop" was heard. Three men started out to find him, thinking that he might have treed a bear, or that a bear might have treed him. They found him and had considerable fun at his expense for getting lost. Thinking about joking with the lost man, soon they were all in the same serious predicament; they wandered farther from the clearing and could not be heard; and then started a fire, remained in the woods all night, and found their way out the next morning. For the wife and mother at home in the log cabin, such a night must have been one of anxious surmisings.

Several persons were lost at different times, and the settlers would turn out to search for them. The most noted instance was that of a son of Charles Wright, aged five years, who lost his way while going to the school house, having stopped to pick up beech nuts. Over five days passed before the boy was found. He was alive, but had suffered

severely. He had built a small pen of sticks and was found lying in it. The cold and exposure caused the loss of all the toes on one foot; he had taken off the shoe, and was unable to put it on again; and the ends of the toes on the other foot were so seriously injured they came off.

The first settlers paid two dollars a bushel for seed wheat. When the crop was ready for market the next year it brought about forty cents. Time, even a short time, especially with farm products, does not always set things even. The war on paper money, in the interest of specie payments, sixty-five to seventy years ago, culminated in an utter collapse of prices in 1838.

Windsor settled slowly during its early years. In 1844 there were only twenty-six resident taxpayers, four of them bearing the name of Skinner. Those who were in the town could not sell their property at any price and move away, and so they kept on working and achieving until their efforts were crowned with a fair degree of success. In February, 1840, a Methodist class was organized at the house of A. Torrey, Elder Bennett the officiating minister. Six persons joined the class. A Congregational church was organized at the house of N. H. Pray in 1846, Rev. J. W. Smith of Eaton Rapids officiating. The first marriage was that of Chauncey Bohannon and Maria Gilbert, October 23, 1842, John Courter, justice of the peace, performing the ceremony. The first funeral occurred July 14, 1844, a child of Mr. and Mrs. Nathan H. Pray.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In bringing together authentic incidents connected with the earliest settlements, and in giving some of the experiences of the pioneers of the sixteen surveyed towns in Eaton county, it has been my purpose to diversify these incidents and experiences as much as possible, so that the whole will present a general though inadequate picture of the trials and hardships of pioneer life in a dense wilderness. They can never be repeated. They could be fully known only by those who lived them. The difficulties the first settlers encountered were serious. They were overcome by persistent courage and hard work. Their efforts in opening up a new region and compelling it to meet the requirements of civilized life were the beginning of a new era, the dawn of entirely new conditions. Their labors made the heaviest timbered county of central Michigan one of the finest agricultural sections of the state. While their experiences varied somewhat, according to circumstances, yet they were of the same general character—all incidental to pioneer days which have forever passed away with those who hewed out farms and homes

in the forests. Taking the woods as they were in 1836, when most of the land in the county was bought of the government, what has been accomplished by mind and muscle seems to be more than the work of sixty-four years. What strikes one with peculiar force, after the lapse of these years, during which every one of these earliest settlers has passed to another realm of existence, is the hope, courage and perseverance of these pioneer settlers of Eaton county—the strong physical and mental fiber of which they were made. Others reap where they have sown. Not above the prejudices and thought limitations of their time, none the less were they progressive even in their isolation. These women and men, these wives and husbands, mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers, were made of heroic stuff. A namby-pamby civilization, with more sham and show than solidity and sense, would not welcome them in their homespun attire within its doors; nevertheless their's was the foundation work of the new era. If the farmers are the pack-horses of society, it is because they have been duped by the financiers and politicians. Early they all worked together in their different spheres of activity in clearing away the forests and letting the sunshine fall upon the fertile soil which had rested in the shade for centuries. Every blow that was struck benefited every owner of a piece of land. It required the efforts of all to create value. Value is moral as well as material. Where people are dishonest and lawless, land loses in price. The early settlers began life in the humblest shanties, barely one degree removed as habitations from the Indian wigwams they succeeded, and then the log house and the frame house followed in the due course of civilization's progress and evolution; and they have helped indirectly in building our cities and the palatial residences they contain. The solidarity of humanity, from the vilest slum to the most exclusive set, is one of the obvious facts of the time. There is but one God over all, and however much "man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn," all are his children, and in the causal procession of events the oppressor is certain to feel, somewhen and somewhere, the hard hand of oppression. Time at last sets all thing even.

Steadily, as time moved on, wants increased, and with them came an ever-developing struggle to gratify them. Those who kept out of debt to gratify these wants succeeded; those who did not failed. Mortgaged land is sold labor, and sold labor is a condition of dependence rather than of independence.

Not many of these men had received more than the commonest kind of a school education, and yet most of them were well informed in

regard to all matters of public interest, and governmental affairs were talked about even more than they are today. When one considers that, among those who settled in villages and made the best early provision for carrying into effect the prevalent ideals and methods of education, but few, a very few of their children remained on the farms that their fathers made in part for them, it leads one to question, not the value of education, but of the kind of education that the state provides for the rising generation. The illustrative example of Vermontville has already been mentioned. It will bear repetition. In the twenty-two families that settled as a colony in the village there were forty-eight boys. The best early school in the county, or academy as it was then called, was built up in that village. Scholars attended it from all the surrounding country, a number from Battle Creek. It had an excellent teacher in the person of Rev. William U. Benedict. For seven years he gave devoted service to the school, but with what results? Nearly all the young men left the colony, scattering over the country from eastern New York to California, in pursuit of occupations that they thought would suit them better than farming. With most it was a wild goose chase, so far as business success was concerned. Now but three of the forty-eight are farmers in Vermontville. Were not this crowd of boys educated away from agriculture? Is it not evident that the education given was not conducive to the permanent welfare of the community that made, for the time, a strenuous effort in its behalf? Surely it did not cultivate a taste for agriculture, then and now the basic national industry. Are not these teachings of history worthy of consideration? Example is of more value than theory. Michigan made a later and a wiser step in the right direction in the establishment of an agricultural college, but is this enough? Judging by the past, it is not. Should not our primary education have direct reference to agriculture, horticulture and the mechanic arts? There is vastly more to be learned in the laboratory of nature than from books alone. Books are useful implements to aid in acquiring first-hand knowledge; but they should be implements only, like other utensils of shop and farm. Nature, not books, is the original store house of all practical and genuine knowledge, and those who go to the source for information know the most that is worth knowing. Controlling and utilizing the forces of nature marks the material progress of civilization. When one looks back at the sturdy character of the pioneers and considers what they accomplished, it seems plain that while they were not over-schooled they were not under-educated. They obtained their knowl-

edge, without much aid from books, in the school of experience, and it was wholly their own. Doubts exist among those familiar with the past and the present whether the average moral and intellectual quality of the present generation, in the rural towns, equals that of the first thirty years of pioneer life.

Looking backward at the obstacles the earliest settlers encountered and overcame; at the dense and heavily timbered wilderness they moved into and cut away; at the cost of hauling and marketing their products in Jackson, Albion, Marshall and Battle Creek; at the building of houses and barns—we marvel at the hopeful and courageous character of the men who blazed the paths and made homes in the wilderness.

It is not a matter of conjecture, but of observation, that the pioneers who were elected members of the state legislature were wiser and more sensible men than those chosen in recent years. This is not an unfair test of the earliest settlers. Daniel Barber, Wells R. Martin and Willard Davis of Vermontville; John Montgomery and George T. Cowan of Hamlin; James W. Hickok of Walton; Harvey Williams of Charlotte; John Dow of Sunfield; Robert Nixon of Oneida; Phineas S. Spaulding of Kalamo; Seneca H. Gage of Bellevue; C. C. Chatfield and Henry A. Shaw of Eaton Rapids; Albertus L. Green of Olivet, served as members of the legislature more satisfactorily to their constituents than have those of later membership. Mr. Barber was the first citizen of the county elected, and he was a pioneer of 1838. The district in 1839, the year he was chosen, was composed of the counties of Allegan, Barry and Eaton. Flavius J. Littlejohn was the competing candidate. In 1842, Austin Blair, afterwards war governor and representative in congress, then residing in Eaton Rapids, was elected county clerk, and this was the beginning of his prominent political and official career. Not until 1843 was there sixteen organized townships, and the first election at which one thousand votes were cast in the county was in the fall of 1850.

Slowly for the first fifteen years population increased. Still, year by year, under the stalwart blows of the axe, the forests disappeared. Now, as is apt to be the case in a timbered country, there are too few forested acres for the general good. At first the destruction of the forests was the work to be done; now their conservation is an important requirement. While hard work was the lot of the pioneers—hard work was the guarantee of success—yet they were not hurried

and harried so much as are their successors. Half a century ago men found time to die in their own beds at home.

An historical incident furnishes an apt illustration of the reason for the victory over wild nature achieved by the pioneers. In the war of 1812, at the close of the naval battle on Lake Champlain, Sir George Prevost, commander of the British land forces, realizing that the destruction of the English fleet had rendered the further invasion of New York impracticable and, no doubt, desiring to delay an aggressive movement by the American army while making preparations to take the back track to Canada, sent a flag of truce to the gallant McDonough with a note asking him by what means his victory was gained. Hastily grasping a pencil, he wrote at the bottom of the note and returned to General Prevost this reply: "By hard fighting, sir."

Could we ask our pioneers by what means they subdued the wilderness, hewed the grand old woods away and laid the foundations of civilized society, preparing homes for forty thousand people on the area where only a few hundred wild Indians roamed and camped, a slight change in the reply to the British general would tell the story: "By hard working, sir."

These primitive American farms were by no means grand and attractive. Covered with stumps, plowing and dragging among them were not conducive to mild thought and speech. If a plow point broke there might not be one nearer than thirteen miles. These farms were not adapted to the quick realization of wealth, but were a tolerably sure method of securing independence and comfort. In their wake were no suicidal disappointments. They were humble homesteads in comparison with the cotton and tobacco plantations of the south, or with the more recent bonanza farms and cattle ranches of the west. In connection with them there was none of the romance of the vast estates of English barons, with castles and parks, with miles of hedges and hundreds of peasants to keep them in order. The primitive American farm averaged less than 160 acres, rarely covered a half section of 320 acres, and often was as small as 40 acres. The best cultivated regions of the United States have been those that were cut up into small farms. Our pre-emption and homestead laws are based on the idea of a moderate sized farm of 160 acres for each family. The average is smaller than this. Generally there are about 175 farms to the rural township. While money accretions were slow, for about forty years the increase in the price of land was constant and encouraging. This was followed, owing chiefly to unwise financial legislation, to the

present era of falling prices and discouragement. A comfortable living dated from about the third year after the commencement of improvements. After about the tenth year there was an appreciable gain in wealth by those who knew how to manage best. He was accounted a wealthy man whose farm was free from debt and who had a few thousand dollars at interest. He owned part of the services of the labor of his mortgaged neighbor. One got along finely, the other not so well. In the early days avarice was less a ruling passion than now. There never has been any shortage, however, of self-seeking and self-interest. Independence and an easy old age came to only a few; while dependence and the nose to the grindstone were the fate of many. Still the primitive American farms have furnished stock for congress, for state legislatures, and the best material for bench and bar, because there the best brain and brawn of the nation has been born and nurtured. The aggregate results of these primitive farms and farmers are visible in the incomparable growth of our western states. In the whole history of mankind there is nowhere else anything equal to it; nowhere else anything to be compared with it; and the growth is primarily due to the tillers of the soil, as, until they produce a surplus no other classes, no producers in other lines of industry—aye, neither speculators nor gamblers—can contrive to live.

In little more than half a century, from such crude beginnings as this narrative of early events has endeavored to fairly present, we have increased rapidly in wealth and now this nation is the richest one on the globe; still, with all our material progress, we are haunted by the specter of honest poverty, discontented poverty, dangerous poverty. The one pity of all is that the wealth has slipped from the hands of its creators, mainly by selfish manipulation of the machinery of government and the creation of monopolies which have ripened into trusts. Still there remains in the possession of the six million farmers enough to make an encouraging aggregate, notwithstanding the efforts of greedy monopolists and extortionate trusts to grasp all the surplus earnings of the great mass of producers. The problem of political economy for American farmers to solve is the greatest problem of the time. If not solved aright their condition will not be unlike that of the "Man with the hoe" in Europe. Unfortunately it is not yet in process of solution.

In the past the primitive small farmer, such as we have known in southern Michigan, has been the bone and sinew, the substance and strength of this country—the conservator of law and morality; the type

of manly courage and independence; in peace its unfailing source of revenue; in war its sword and shield. The shot fired at Concord one eventful April day, which was heard around the world, was fired by the ancestors of the pioneers of the Great Lake region and of the Mississippi valley, for it will be noticed by those who study origins that the settlers and makers of our rural counties were mainly from New York and New England. One hundred and twenty-five years ago the embattled farmers opened our war for independence.

Brave, strong, earnest, conscientious men were these pioneers. None of them were cast in the same mould. Individuality was a marked characteristic. Those named in this narrative of Beginnings in Eaton county do not merit mention more than do hundreds of others who followed them, but they were the first; they commenced the settlements; they felled the first trees; they built the first cabins; they were the actual beginners of the new era. Because they were the fathers of the county, the pioneers of its sixteen townships, their names are brought together in this paper for permanent preservation and perpetuation. They laid broad and solid the foundations of a progressive civilization in a region that was without roads; with but few acres of tillable land; with impassable swamps and streams in many places; lived in log shanties, cabins and houses, the latch string of which was always out; they were free to respond to all calls for assistance in helping other settlers to get a start; their services were freely given in cases of sickness; they wanted their children to have the best educational advantages that were obtainable, and the merits or demerits of school teachers were discussed at every fireside; but, best of all, their children were educated in that school of experience which is of incalculable value. Monuments in cemeteries do not tell the story of their lives. It is best told in the fields made productive by their labor, in golden harvests and waving corn, in the orchards they planted with the fruit laden branches bending to earth as if for their worship, in school houses and churches that are symbols of a better civilization than the world has hitherto known, in villages and cities which have sprung up as centers of trade and refinement, in the railways that traverse nearly every township, and, above all else, in the hearts of their children.

Speaking in the name of another generation, whose ranks are growing thinner as the years go by, let me here say that out of the depths of our hearts we bring this free-will offering and grateful tribute to the memory of the Eaton county pioneers from sixty-two to sixty-six years

ago. Though not their glory to have their names graven on monumental granite, like those who fell in the forefront of battle that the nation might live, yet none the less heroic were their struggles and toils and sacrifices, amid sickness, discouragements and adverse circumstances, to conquer and reclaim a wilderness from the dominion of wild animals and savage men. Patience, fortitude and devotion were needed for their work, and they gave them all in unstinted measure for the accomplishment of what would seem to a less courageous people a hopeless task. May we not cherish the belief that the time is far distant when the people of Michigan shall neglect to commemorate annually the work of the pioneers.

PART II

1900

MICHIGAN

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL MEETING JUNE 5 AND 6, 1900.

The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society convened in the house of representatives in the capitol at Lansing, Tuesday, June 5, 1900, at 2 o'clock p. m., standard time.

The meeting was called to order by the president, ex-Gov. Cyrus G. Luce, and the session opened with prayer by Rev. Ernest W. Hunt, followed by the singing of "America" by the audience.

The following officers were present, viz.:

President—Cyrus G. Luce, Coldwater.

Recording and Corresponding Secretary—Mary C. Spencer, Lansing.

Treasurer—Benj. F. Davis, Lansing.

Executive Committee—Dr. Robert C. Kedzie, Agricultural College, and Hon. G. S. Wheeler, Salem.

Committee of Historians—L. D. Watkins, Manchester; C. M. Burton, Detroit; A. H. Owens, Lennon; Judge John W. Champlin, Grand Rapids; Hon. E. W. Barber, Jackson.

Vice Presidents—C. B. Stebbins, of Ingham county; Albert F. Morehouse, of Portland; Alonzo H. Owens, of Shiawassee.

Members of the society who were present were: Judge Champlin, M. D. Osband, Rev. R. C. Crawford, Grand Rapids; Judge Baldwin, Pontiac; Mrs. Nathan Judson, F. M. Cowles, Dr. W. H. Haze, Lansing; Calvin H. Starr, Litchfield; Wm. Heartt, Caro, and others.

Letters of regret were received from R. Hayward, Eaton Rapids; C. W. Barber, Howell; Peter White, Marquette; Isaac D. Toll, Petoskey; Very Rev. Frank A. O'Brien, Kalamazoo; Helen W. Farrand, vice president St. Clair county; J. M. Norton, Rochester; Curran White, Chelsea;

Charles W. Darling, secretary Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N. Y.; Wm. H. Harrison, Kalamazoo, and G. P. Doan, Mendon.

Mr. Hayward writes as follows:

"Another year has rolled around, and I had felt almost sure I could meet with you this year, but have to send my regrets instead. I have lived in Michigan continuously for 70 years on the 28th of May, have one brother (Dr. Abner Hayward, Mt. Clemens) who has been here the same length of time. We can truly say we know something of pioneer times in Michigan. My health is fairly good, and I work nearly every day at my trade. I have lived 63 years of my life within 16 miles of Lansing. I would like very much to know how many there are in Michigan who can make the same, or better, showing of continuance in the state.

"With much respect for the pioneers of Michigan, I am,

"Very respectfully,

"R. HAYWARD,

"Now of Eaton Rapids."

After the opening exercises President Luce read his address, in which he reviewed the work of the year, the needs and requirements of the society, closing with a touching tribute to the late efficient secretary, Geo. H. Greene.

The reports of the recording and corresponding secretary and treasurer were then read and, on motion, each was accepted and adopted and placed on file.

L. D. Watkins, as chairman of the committee of historians, reported the work done by the committee during the year. A new volume of historical sketches had been added to the collection, and material for volume twenty-nine had been collected and awaited funds for publication. The urgent needs of an index to the volumes already in print was set forth, the committee deeming it "not creditable to the state to send to other states, in exchange, our historical editions without an accompanying index."

Report of the memorial committee was then given by the vice presidents in person or by written reports read by the secretary, the following counties reporting:

Barry, Mrs. S. E. Striker; Calhoun, H. S. Smith; Clinton, Ralph Watson; Eaton, Esek Pray; Ingham, C. B. Stebbins; Ionia, Albert F. Morehouse; Kalamazoo, Henry Bishop; Kent, W. N. Cook; Lenawee, Benj. L. Baxter; Macomb, George H. Cannon; Oakland, John M. Norton;

Shiawassee, A. H. Owens; St. Joseph, Calvin H. Starr; Tuscola, W. A. Heartt; Washtenaw, M. D. Osband.

Mrs. Ernest W. Hunt then rendered a vocal solo, after which the meeting adjourned to 7:30 o'clock p. m.

TUESDAY EVENING.

The society met pursuant to adjournment at 7:30 o'clock p. m., and was called to order by the president. The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. G. D. Chase, followed by music.

On motion that a committee of three be appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, the president appointed the following committee: A. F. Morehouse, L. D. Watkins and H. B. Smith. This committee was requested to meet Wednesday morning before the beginning of the session.

Owing to the absence of Mr. C. J. Thorpe, his paper, "Pioneer Amusements," was not presented, consequently Gen. B. M. Cutcheon, of Grand Rapids, read the first paper of the session, entitled "Log Cabin Days and Log Cabin People." This was followed by the song, "Kathleen Mavourneen," sung by Mr. J. W. Wagenvoord.

Mrs. Nathan Judson read a paper on the "Life of Gen. John R. Williams," prepared by Lieut. J. R. Williams.

Mrs. E. W. Hunt sang the "Sweetest Story Ever Told," after which Mr. Silas W. Farmer, of Detroit, read an instructive paper on the "Rule of Governors and Judges." Owing to previous arrangements, Mr. Farmer was not at liberty to permit the paper to appear in the historical collections.

Five-minute speeches were then called for, and responded to by Rev. R. C. Crawford, Mr. Morehouse, Mr. Watson and Gen. Cutcheon. Mr. Crawford said he was of that log cabin period. He was born in a log cabin; he first went to school in a log cabin; he danced his first dance in a log cabin; he preached his first sermon in a log cabin, and his family altar was first erected in a log cabin. It had been log cabin days with him right along down for many years. He spoke of the rate bill for school expenses, and recited an original poem, entitled "Michigan." Judge Baldwin was called for, but excused himself from talking.

Mr. Smith, of Calhoun, read memorials for John F. Hinman, vice president of the county, and others.

Mr. J. W. Wagenvoord sang "Ben Bolt," and the meeting adjourned to Wednesday morning at 9:30 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

The meeting was called to order by the president and opened with prayer by Rev. Wm. H. Haze, followed by music by the Industrial School band.

Mrs. Nathan Judson read a "Memorial of Geo. H. Greene," which was followed by remarks on the late secretary by several members.

Mrs. Van Rosenberg rendered a vocal solo, "Annie Laurie."

Mr. C. W. Garfield, of Grand Rapids, read a paper on the "Life of T. T. Lyon," and announced that a more exhaustive paper on the life of Mr. Lyon would be published in a future volume of the Pioneer and Historical Collections.

Mr. Melvin D. Osband read a paper on "Michigan Indians."

The Industrial School band furnished two fine musical selections.

Mr. C. F. Schneider, chief of the weather bureau of Michigan, read a paper entitled "The Weather Bureau Historically and Practically Considered."

The president then appointed Hon. E. W. Barber to draft a memorial resolution on Hon. O. M. Barnes, late chairman of the executive committee. He also called a meeting for 1:30 o'clock of the historical and executive committees. The meeting then adjourned to 2 o'clock p. m.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

The society met promptly at 2 o'clock and was called to order by President Luce. Rev. Crawford opened the program with prayer, and Mrs. C. P. Black furnished a vocal solo.

The committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year submitted the following report, which was adopted:

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

Your committee selected to nominate officers for the year 1900-01 respectfully report the following:

For President—Hon. C. G. Luce, Coldwater.

Recording and Corresponding Secretary—Mrs Mary C. Spencer, Lansing.

Treasurer—Benj. F. Davis, Lansing.

Executive Committee—Dr. Robert C. Kedzie, Agricultural College; Brad Hayes, North Plains; Judge John W. Champlin, Grand Rapids.

Committee of Historians—L. D. Watkins, Manchester: C. M. Burton,

Detroit; A. H. Owens, Lennon; E. W. Barber, Jackson; H. B. Smith, Marengo; L. D. Kelsey, Calhoun county.

One vice president from each county was also elected, as follows:

Allegan—Don C. Henderson, Allegan.
Barry—Mrs. Sarah E. Striker, Hastings.
Bay—Sanford M. Green, Bay City.
Branch—Harvey Haynes, Coldwater.
Calhoun—H. S. North.
Clare—Henry Woodruff, Farwell.
Crawford—Dr. Oscar Palmer, Grayling.
Eaton—Esek Pray, Dimondale.
Emmet—Isaac D. Toll, Petoskey.
Grand Traverse—
Gratiot—William S. Turck, Alma.
Hillsdale—Calvin H. Starr, Litchfield.
Houghton—Thos. B. Dunstan, Houghton.
Ingham—John J. Bush, Lansing.
Ionia—Albert F. Morehouse, Portland.
Iosco—H. C. King, Oscoda.
Isabella—John E. Day, Mt. Pleasant.
Jackson—Josiah Frost, Jackson.
Kalamazoo—Henry Bishop, Kalamazoo.
Kent.—Wm. N. Cook, Grand Rapids.
Lapeer—John Wright, Lapeer.
Lenawee—Benj. L. Baxter, Tecumseh.
Livingston—Chas. W. Barber, Howell.
Macomb—George H. Cannon, Washington.
Manistee—T. J. Ramsdell, Manistee.
Marquette—Peter White, Marquette.
Menominee—James A. Crozier, Menominee.
Monroe—John Davis, Monroe.
Montcalm—Joseph P. Shoemaker, Amsden.
Oakland—John M. Norton, Rochester.
Oceana—Enoch T. Mugford, Hart.
Otsego—Chas. F. Davis, Elmira.
Saginaw—Chas. W. Grant, Saginaw E. S.
Shiawassee—Alonzo H. Owens, Lennon.
St. Clair—Mrs. Helen W. Farrand, Port Huron.
St. Joseph—Thos. G. Greene, Centerville.
Tuscola—Wm. A. Heartt, Caro.

Washtenaw—J. Q. A. Sessions, Ann Arbor.

Wayne—Fred Carlisle, Detroit.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

ALBERT F. MOREHOUSE,
L. D. WATKINS,
H. B. Smith,
Committee.

The secretary was instructed to notify the vice presidents of their election.

Hon. James W. Turner, of Owosso, read a paper on "Pioneer Days." This was followed by a song by Mrs. C. P. Black. Mr. Cooke then made a five-minute speech.

Hon. E. W. Barber read a paper entitled "Beginnings of Eaton County: Its Earliest Settlements and Settlers." Following Mr. Barber's reading, Mr. C. M. Burton read a paper on the "Life of Judge Woodward," and he was followed by music, a vocal solo by Mrs. Hunt, after which Mr. Barber presented the following resolution on the death of Hon. O. M. Barnes, and moved its adoption, which was unanimously agreed to:

Since the last annual meeting of this society, Hon. Orlando M. Barnes of Lansing, for many years one of its most useful members, has passed away. His counsel and advice were often sought by its officers and committees, and were freely given. At the time of his death, November 11, 1899, he was a member of the executive committee. One of his last official acts was an examination of the law and drafting a resolution to fill the vacancy in the office of secretary occasioned by the death of the worthy and lamented George H. Greene, and the fortunate appointment of Mrs. Mary C. Spencer as his successor. Realizing the loss of a wise advisor, and member of its executive committee, which this society has sustained in the departure of Mr. Barnes to another life, the president is hereby requested and authorized to take such action as may be necessary for the preparation of an appropriate memorial of the life and services of Mr. Barnes, to be presented at the next annual meeting and published in a volume of the collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.

A few brief speeches were heard, "Auld Lang Syne" was sung, and Rev. Dr. Haze pronounced the benediction, when the meeting adjourned.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

BY EX-GOV. C. G. LUCE.

Ladies and Gentlemen—It is said that the closing years of the centuries that have come and gone have been years of strife, conflict and wars, and everything now indicates that this will furnish no exception to the rule.

The morning and evening papers furnish us with vivid reports of conflicts in Africa, and in the islands of the seas, and there are numerous prophecies of wars to come in other lands. Seldom has the public attention been so absorbed by corrupt developments in states and territories within our own borders. And now, during all this excitement, we meet in a quiet way to celebrate and record the triumphs and victories of peace.

In reading history or current events, we are sometimes almost forced to believe that the lives of men and nations have been devoted to the destruction of life and property. It requires meetings of this character to dispel this illusion.

A careful study of the life struggles and heroic achievements of the pioneers in their conflicts with nature, and to overcome obstacles, will convince the diligent student that the forces behind the great advance made have worked out their brilliant results through peaceful means.

The world involuntarily worships heroes. We go wild over illustrations of courage—physical, mental and moral. This is just as true in a republic as in a monarchy. We erect monuments to perpetuate in the public mind in this and other generations, on the battle fields of Gettysburg and Chattanooga, the heroic deeds performed by every soldier, from Gen. Meade and Gen. Thomas to the most humble of men that carried the muskets. This is right and proper. It is prompted by the patriotic reverence of our people. But it is equally true that those who planted homes, churches, school houses, and endured privations, hardships and struggles with poverty on many occasions, are entitled to something of the same recognition and reverence that we so cheerfully and gladly accord to the soldiers. It is for the purpose of doing something in this line that this organization was created and is maintained.

It is more than one hundred years since the close of the revolutionary war, yet it kindles our patriotism when, on the fourth of July, the declaration of independence is read and the orator reviews the old story of

the struggle for liberty; and the some is true on memorial day, when the mighty achievements of Lincoln and his brave army are recounted. Volumes upon volumes have been written and published giving the history in detail of these great struggles.

I may not be able to make the application of these facts to the case in hand as clearly as I desire, but the real pioneers, who laid the foundation broad and deep for posterity to enjoy, are fast passing away. This is the only organized association provided to gather and publish their triumphs. In the interest of posterity their victories have been important. If research and publication of results is to be continued, it must be done, or at least more of it done, by those who come after the real pioneers.

The question has given me much anxiety. How to arrest and retain the interest of these younger people, and of those who have come to this from other states, is to my mind yet an unsolved problem.

In perusing the list of members of this society, this idea has been forcibly impressed upon my mind by the fact that nearly all the early workers have gone to their reward. All the presidents and secretaries that have filled these positions, except the present incumbents, are numbered in the list.

If we interest the present and coming generations, I am strongly impressed with the fact that we must make its proceedings more and more historical. The name given at the start was Pioneer and Historical, and, while the first clause of the title must never be forgotten, yet we must enlarge upon the record and extend it. In nearly every township, and certainly every county in the entire state, events have occurred worth preserving. It will cost time and effort to find writers who will present these in such form as will interest the reader.

In publishing the twenty-eighth volume, just out, a great effort has been made to secure material that shall harmonize with these suggestions.

But while historical events have been published in each of the twenty-eight volumes, yet only a small share of those that may be made interesting have appeared in print. Ample provisions are made for the distribution of the volumes when printed. The law provides that they shall become the property of the state, and they are held for sale either in single volumes or the entire set. When sold the money received for them belongs to the state, but a greater portion of them are—under the law—given to societies, clubs or organizations that have an established library. Large numbers of the books have been sent out during the last year to such libraries. The legislature provided for a reprint of volumes one

and two, so that, when this shall have been completed, full sets can be supplied to all who desire them.

The society has received from the state to aid it in publishing these books, and to defray some other expenses connected with the annual meetings and preparations therefor, appropriations of from two thousand to two thousand five hundred dollars. None of the officers receive any compensation whatever. Labor performed during the sessions and out of it is a gratuitous contribution to what we believe to be the general good.

The membership fee is one dollar, and this constitutes one a member for life. During two of the last four years we have received no money from the state, and for two years fifteen hundred dollars annually, from a sense of duty. I am a thorough-going economist in the expenditure of public money; I would not ask a dollar from the state or localities that I did not firmly believe would, in some way, make a return to the public for the expenditure. In my personal affairs I have been compelled to practice a good degree of economy, hence a waste of money in any form is a grave offense in my mind.

But if this Pioneer and Historical Society is to live on, and discharge the varied duties which it is prepared to do, it must have more money from the public to fully equip it for active duty; to prepare material and publish a book worthy of its purpose and mission will require an annual appropriation of two thousand five hundred dollars, and it certainly ought not to undertake the full task with less than two thousand dollars each year.

I have thought it right and proper to say this here and now. In some localities county pioneer societies are doing praiseworthy work. In a few counties the annual meeting of the county society furnishes the great day of the year, but in the greater portion of the state, with the passing away of the pioneers, interest has abated, and the county societies have largely dropped out of existence. They had no general and extensive plan for publication of their proceedings, and this adds an important reason for continuing the existence of this state institution.

At this meeting, as at all others in recent years, a long list of active workers who have passed away will be presented. None will be more keenly missed than our long time secretary, Geo. H. Greene. For several years his ambition was for the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. He lived for it, wrought for it, prayed for it, and believed in it. None have been more vividly impressed with these truths than those who have served by his side as presidents during his incumbency of the secretary's office.

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

Lansing, June 5, 1900.

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

Your recording secretary takes pleasure in submitting herewith her annual report for the fiscal year ending with the above date, as follows:

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of this society met in the senate chamber of the capitol June 7, 1899. The printed program was followed with slight changes, with Mrs. Ella Burton Judson acting as secretary pro tem., in the absence of the secretary, Mr. Greene. The proceedings of that meeting and the papers that were read at that time, with many other valuable historical collections, will be found in part one of this volume.

Since last reported, there have been added to this society fifteen members, as follows: Abram Allen, Newell J. Kelsey, Ella Burton Judson, Nathan Judson, Theodore E. Potter, Frederick M. Cowles, Frederick Schneider, Lansing; Mrs. Flora Belding Baldwin, E. W. Jewell, Pontiac; Mary Welling Barber, Jackson; Geo. L. Wheeler, Salem; Thomas Parker, Meridian; Dr. G. K. Johnson, Grand Rapids; N. B. Hayes, North Plains, and John Adams, Portland.

DONATIONS.

The list received from all sources during the year is as follows:

Kansas Pioneer and Historical Society—"The Mail and Breeze," of Topeka, Kansas, December 8, 1899, containing memoir of Judge Franklin G. Adams, secretary of the Kansas Pioneer and Historical Society.

"Le Canadien," St. Paul, Minn., January 5, 1900.

"Daily Capital," Topeka, Kansas, January 17, 1900, containing twenty-fourth annual report of the meeting of the Kansas State Pioneer and Historical Society.

"Evening Dispatch," Utica, N. Y., February 8, 1900, report of R. R. Y. M. C. A.

"Evening Dispatch," Utica, N. Y., February 14, 1900, containing address of Dr. Robert E. Jones to the Oneida Historical Society.

Albert C. Bates, Hartford, Conn., March, 1900—A journal (or diary) of a Presbyterian minister of Paw Paw, Van Buren county, from January 1, 1853, to February 17, 1856.

"Detroit Free Press," May 20, 1900, containing the story of Frances Slocum, the Indian captive, and her Detroit descendants.

From Oneida, N. Y., May, 1900—Wagner memorial, 1722, 1881.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS.

The executive committee held a meeting on June 8, 1899, to audit bills of the 1899 meeting.

The president presented a statement showing that $40 remained in the treasury, and presented a bill of $16.25 for postage; also a bill of $8 for music furnished by Miss Berridge, and $4 for rent of piano of Holmes & Son.

On motion these bills were allowed.

On July 5, 1899, there was a joint meeting of the executive committee and committee of historians. There were present: President Luce, E. W. Barber, A. H. Owens, H. B. Smith, L. D. Watkins, O. M. Barnes and Geo. S. Wheeler.

This meeting was called to fill the office of secretary, made vacant by the death of Secretary Geo. H. Greene. Mrs. Mary C. Spencer was elected secretary. The committee authorized and required the secretary to employ an editor to prepare for publication the proceedings of 1897-98, at a salary not to exceed $300; the committee of historians to approve the papers and supervise all work.

On motion, the committee of historians was authorized to publish a volume as large as is possible, at an expense not exceeding $1,000.

The committee of historians met in the pioneer room, Wednesday forenoon, September 27. Present: E. W. Barber, John W. Champlin, A. H. Owens, C. G. Luce, and secretary.

Owing to the absence of the chairman, L. D. Watkins, the committee elected Mr. Barber chairman pro tem.

Moved by Judge Champlin, seconded by Mr. Owens, that the secretary be instructed to proceed with the publication of volume twenty-eight according to specifications presented, the book to be bound in cloth, with white edges, and aluminum lettering outside of cover. Carried. The time was largely spent in looking over and cutting down the prepared copy, which has been made necessary in order to get the matter in one volume. The committee also discussed the next annual meeting of the society and approved the secretary's plan of beginning at once to prepare for the same. Several names were suggested for authors of papers to be prepared for said meeting.

Meeting adjourned subject to call of president.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

MARY C. SPENCER,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Lansing, June 5, 1900.

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

I herewith submit the report for the fiscal year ending with the above date, as follows:

In July of last year I was elected to the responsible office of secretary of this society, and at once entered into the work which had been so ably carried on by my predecessor. I at once obtained prices and specifications for volume twenty-eight of collections, as instructed by your joint committee, and pushed the work to completion. Volume twenty-eight is now ready for distribution and is replete with valuable historical matter. Early in the year I also entered into correspondence with parties relative to papers for the meeting of 1900, and succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations, as I trust our program will show.

While the mortuary list of members is not as long as of some past years, it contains several of our most influential members, whose devotion to the interests of the society was a leading characteristic of their lives, and these men will be sadly missed. The full list, so far as I have been able to secure statistics, is as follows:

No.	Name.	Residence.	Born.	Died.	Age.	Came to Michigan.
930	Abram Allen	Lansing	June 18, 1817	Oct. 2, 1899	82	1855
46	O. M. Barnes	Lansing	Nov. 21, 1824	Nov. 11, 1899	75	1837
369	Geo. H. Greene	Lansing	Oct. 12, 1836	June 26, 1899	63	1836
625	John F. Hinman	Battle Creek	March 17, 1816	Feb. 7, 1900	83	1838
513	Theodatus T. Lyon	South Haven	Jan. 23, 1813	Feb. 5, 1900	87	1828
43	Alfred L. Millard	Adrian	March 1, 1814	Jan. 11, 1900	86	.....
802	James Monroe	Kalamazoo	Dec. 25, 1819	July 16, 1899	79	1837
413	D. G. Robinson	Hastings	Jan. 4, 1811	July 19, 1899	88	1848
857	Erastus M. Stevens	Caseville	March 6, 1822	June 1, 1899	77	1832

George H. Greene, who died in less than a month after the last annual meeting, had been secretary of the Pioneer and Historical Society twenty years and rendered valuable services, the loss of which will be seriously felt. Hon. O. M. Barnes was treasurer of the society as early as 1875,

and again in 1878, and was chairman of the executive committee at the time of his death. John F. Hinman and Erastus M. Stevens were, for many years, vice presidents and took a great deal of interest and pleasure in furnishing annual memorial reports from their respective counties. Perhaps no one of the deceased members was more widely known throughout the state than T. T. Lyon, who died in February of the present year.

The society will miss these men.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY C. SPENCER,
Corresponding Secretary.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

Lansing, June 5, 1900.

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

I herewith submit my annual report, as follows:

Benj. F. Davis, treasurer, in account with the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society from June 7, 1899, to June 5, 1900:

RECEIPTS.

To balance on hand June 7, 1899	$40 37
To amount received from membership fees	13 00
	$53 37

APPROPRIATION FOR 1899.

Amount on hand June 7, 1899, in the state treasury, of the appropriation made by act No. 226 of the public acts of 1899		$1,500 00
Disbursed as follows:		
Expenses of annual meeting, 1899	$28 25	
Postage	15 00	
Stationery	1 00	
Expenses of committee of historians	46 12	
Expenses of proof reading, indexing, etc	330 00	
Printing volume twenty-eight and binding 2,000 copies	972 02	
Music	13 00	
Expenses of annual meeting, 1900	94 61	
		$1,500 00

B. F. DAVIS,
Treasurer.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF HISTORIANS.

The committee of historians of the Pioneer Society of the state of Michigan would respectfully report: That since the last annual meeting of the society we have again taken up the publication of the accumulated historical material that, for lack of funds caused by the veto of our appropriation bill by Gov. Pingree, had not been published. The last legislature appropriated $1,500 for regular use, and authorized the re-publication of volumes one and two, to be paid for from the general fund. These two numbers had been so nearly exhausted that they could not be furnished when full sets were ordered.

There have been published twenty-eight volumes, and there is no general index. This should be compiled and published as soon as possible, and should include the first twenty-five volumes. It is not creditable to the state to send to other states in exchange our historical editions without an accompanying index. We have material for volume twenty-nine, in which will be published a map of upper and lower Michigan, showing the location of Indian trails, villages, burial grounds, gardens, cornfields and wayside camping grounds. Accompanying the maps will be published a large number of papers illustrating the maps and the history of this interesting race; a work of almost a lifetime, aided by a great number of prominent pioneers from whom only could such information be obtained.

Only a very few of our early pioneers are left, and they have worked faithfully to give future generations the history of our state from time of settlement to the present time, all without one dollar's compensation. Soon other and later pioneers will have to take up the work. Our history is making fast.

All of which is respectfully submitted by the committee.

L. D. WATKINS, Chairman, Manchester.
C. M. BURTON, Detroit.
A. H. OWENS, Lennon.
JOHN W. CHAMPLIN, Grand Rapids.
E. W. BARBER, Jackson.

REPORT OF MEMORIAL COMMITTEE.

BARRY COUNTY.

BY MRS. S. E. STRIKER.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Altolf, Mrs. Julia		May 24, 1900	70	
Andrews, John		April 22, 1900	77	
Bailey, David	Cedar Creek	June 28, 1899	78	A resident of Michigan 35 years.
Barber, Welden T	Hickory Corners	July 25, 1899	76	A resident of the county 50 years.
Barnaby, Albert	Hastings	Sept. 16, 1899	78	
Beach, Asahel	Johnstown	Dec. 16, 1899	66	A resident of Johnstown 45 years.
Booram, Elizabeth		Feb. 22, 1900	74	
Berguman, Mrs. H	Hastings	Jan. 25, 1900	56	A pioneer of Hope township.
Bump, Mrs. Joanna	Carlton	Feb. 17, 1900	76	She had lived there about 60 years.
Burnett, Harvey J	Nashville	Sept. 26, 1899	57	A veteran of '61.
Bush, Timothy M	Hastings tp	Feb. 23, 1900	79	A pioneer of the township.
Craig, John		Feb. 16, 1900	84	A pioneer of Rutland.
Crank, Mrs. Lucy	Hastings	March 2, 1900	63	
Clemence, Thos	Baltimore	Nov. 24, 1899	74	
Clemens, Mrs. Nathaniel	Baltimore	June 9, 1899	59	A resident of the county many years.
Edmonds, Alex	Baltimore	Nov. 26, 1899	57	
Evarts, Daniel H	Nashville	Oct. 31, 1899	63	A pioneer of Castleton.
Fowler, Albert E	Hastings	Oct. 17, 1899	77	A veteran of '61.
Francis, Geo. W	Nashville	April 20, 1900	52	
Fuller, Dr. Reuben	Grand Rapids	Feb. 11, 1900	55	A pioneer of Irving township.
Grames, Mrs. Mary T	Carlton	July 26, 1899	57	
Hahn, Henrietta	Irving	Oct. 11, 1899	78	A native of Prussia, came to Michigan in 1857.
Hampton, Chas. B	Hastings	Jan. 20, 1900	53	
Henderson, Robert	Rutland	Feb. 20, 1900	73	
Horton, Charles	Rutland	Aug. 21, 1899	52	He served 4 years in the civil war.
Hull, Sidney	Hastings	Sept. 11, 1899	58	Came to Mich. when a child and settled in Baltimore.
Jordon, Jesse	Woodland	April 20, 1900	60	He was the first white child born in Woodland.
Lamont, Lyman	Hickory Corners	May 8, 1900	73	
Larabee, C. P	Cedar Creek	Dec. 23, 1899	71	Lived there more than 50 years.
Lee, Mrs. Mervin	Irving	July 19, 1899	85	One of the earliest settlers of the township.
Lydy, Geo. W	Carlton	Feb. 3, 1900	69	
McCartney, Rob't	Nashville	Aug. 30, 1899	74	A prominent farmer of Maple Grove.
Newton, Mrs. Maria	Hastings	March 5, 1900	54	
Norwood, Robinson	Hickory Corners	Sept. 19, 1899	77	
Noyes, Asa B	Castleton	Jan. 10, 1900	75	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Odell, Joseph	Castleton	July 28, 1899..	78	A veteran of the war of '61.
Osborn, Sylvester	Castleton	Sept. 23, 1899..	72	A resident of the county 30 years.
Payne, Lorenzo W	Middleville	Oct. 23, 1899...	73	An early pioneer.
Perry, Lucy E	Rutland	June 3, 1899...	78	A resident of the county 40 years.
Reed, Daniel	Hastings	May 3, 1900....	73	
Sackett, Dr	Prairieville	June 13, 1899..	77	He came to the county in the nfties.
Saddler, Franklin	Orangeville	March 11, 1900	77	
Scidmore, Jas	Soldiers' Home	July 6, 1899...	54	
Scoby, Charles	Grandville	May 5, 1900....	65	
Scott, Alice M	Hastings	June 14, 1899..	61	A native of Jackson county and sister of Daniel Striker.
Searles, Fitch M	Orangeville	March 8, 1900.	79	
Shriner, William	Hastings	Sept. 30, 1899..	80	
Tobias, Ezra	Baltimore	Oct. 22, 1899...	98	A resident of Baltimore since 1853.
Townsend, Wm	Hastings	Oct. 15, 1899...	60	Was born in Orangeville.
Waters, Emeline	Rutland	Jan. 11, 1900 ..	80	
Wheeler, Mrs. Matilda	Woodland	July 24, 1899..	72	A resident of the county over 50 years.
Whitmore, E. P	Middleville	July 2, 1899...	70	
Wightman, Russel B	Hastings	Nov. 25, 1899..	72	A pioneer business man of the city.
Williams, Mrs. Nancy Judd	Carlton	Oct. 30, 1899...	86	Had lived in the county over 40 years.
Wing, Myron	Barry	July 12, 1899..	62	
Wood, Mrs. Mary	Coats Grove	March 8, 1900.	79	

Diamond.—Mrs. Isaac Diamond died at her home in Rutland July 12, 1899.

She was one of the early pioneers of the county, having settled in Yankee Springs with her parents, who moved there from New York, in 1838, when blazed trees were used as landmarks to guide the traveler. Since those early days she was a resident of the county.

Robinson.—The end of a long, useful and finished life came when Judge David G. Robinson, of Hastings, passed away at the ripe old age of 88 years, 6 months and 8 days.

Blessed with a strong, sturdy constitution, he possessed strong mental faculties up to the very day of his last sickness, and his hair, silvered with age, his daily association with friends and acquaintances, the kindly smile and warm handshake, the true christian life, made his closing years a benediction to both young and old, and his kindly presence will be sadly missed.

Deceased was born in China, Kennebec county, Maine, January 11, 1811, being the eldest of four children of Benjamin and Lydia Robinson. His father was a thrifty, prosperous farmer, a man highly honored and respected in the community where he lived. In 1816 they moved to Vassalborough, where the father died. The early life of Mr. Robinson was not unlike that of the youth of his time—working on the farm in summer and going to the district school in winter. When he had attained the age of 15 years he had received a good common school education, and began a long and honorable business career by clerking in a store for his uncle, which he continued until he reached his majority, when he started in business for himself at St. Alban's, Maine. Here he remained for two years, when he moved to Vassalborough and continued in the mercantile business. Here success crowned his efforts and he was one of the most prominent merchants of the place, the respect of his townsmen being shown in constantly honoring him with official position. At the age of 22 he was elected magistrate, and for six years was one of the selectmen of the town.

Close application to business commenced to tell on his health, and a change of climate and vocation became necessary. Disposing of his interests in Maine he came to the then western wilderness, and purchased 160 acres of land in Hastings township, three miles from the city. Here he remained for eighteen months, clearing off thirty acres of land, building a house, planting an orchard and making many improvements. His experience of roughing it upon a new farm convinced him that a mercantile life was more congenial to his taste and ability, when, in 1849, he moved into the village of Hastings, which at that time numbered but a few families, and entered into partnership with Nathan Barlow, which partnership continued for three years, when Mr. Robinson retired from the firm. He immediately resumed an active business career again, and continued until 1869.

At all times he was for all that went to the upbuilding of the city, and contributed his full share to building the foundation for the prosperity of Hastings and causing it to grow from a hamlet to one of the prosperous and progressive cities of the state.

In December, 1886, he was elected president of the Hastings City bank, and continued in that position up to the time of his death. He was probably the oldest active banker in the state, and performed his duties there up to a week before his death.

In 1833 he was united in marriage to Miss Sarah B. Keith of Vassalborough, Me., a woman of refinement and culture, and to them one child

was born, Anna M., now Mrs. J. P. Roberts of Hastings. Sharing with him all of the joys and sorrows, and all of the privations of pioneer life, the true and faithful wife passed to the great beyond in 1870.

In 1871 Mr. Robinson was again married, to Mrs. Ellen E. Fancher of Somerville, Mass., who survives him, and with whom his closing years were spent in an ideal, happy married life.

In politics the deceased was a lifelong democrat, though not actively taking part in political campaigns. In the early history of the state there were four judicial circuits, the judges of which formed the supreme court. Also in each circuit was a county judge who sat with the judge in the determination of suits at bar, deceased being honored with the position of county judge, from 1850 to 1852, which office gave him the title of "Judge," which has ever since been associated with his name. For many years he also served as supervisor, being elected time and time again, and being invariably elected as chairman of the board.

And I am glad that he has lived thus long,
    And glad that he has gone to his reward,
Nor do I deem that kindly Nature did him wrong
    Softly to disengage the vital cord
When his weak hand grew palsied,
    And his eye dark with the mists of age,
It was his time to die.

ROGERS.—Charles A. Rogers, a pioneer of Rutland, died October 4, 1899, aged 55 years.

Deceased had been a resident of the county since 1858, and Hastings City has been his residence since. He early enlisted at the call for troops in 1861, and returned to Rutland after his discharge from the service.

ROUSH.—Richard Roush died at his home September 30, 1899, aged 83 years.

He was a native of Ohio, coming to Michigan in an early day, and had been a resident of the county over fifty years. He went out in the sixties with a Michigan regiment to fight for the union, but the length of his time of service is not given. He was one of the early settlers of Freeport.

RUSSEL.—Jonathan Russel, a pioneer and veteran of the war of '61, answered to the last roll call June 30, 1899, aged 90 years.

Deceased was born in New Hampshire. He came to Michigan in 1833, and in 1853 settled in Middleville, which place was his home up to the date of his death.

STRIKER.—Mrs. Rebecca Striker died at the home of her son, Gilbert Striker, in Baltimore township, January 24, 1900, aged 81 years.

She was the mother of Hon. Daniel Striker, one of Michigan's honored

pioneers. She was born in New York and moved to the territory of Michigan in 1835, and to Barry county, Baltimore township, in 1851, where she afterwards resided.

CALHOUN COUNTY.

BY H. S. SMITH.

HEWETT.—Elias Hewett, of Marshall, lost his life in an accident July 4, 1899, aged 83 years.

He was a native of Byron Center, New York, and came to Michigan in 1838. He was the first village recorder of Marshall; was justice of the peace and for many years was engaged in the insurance and real estate business.

HINMAN.—John F. Hinman, one of the early settlers of Battle Creek, died in that city February 7, 1900.

John Flavel Hinman was born March 17, 1816, at Castleton, Vt. His ancestors had a prominent part in New England history, fifteen of them, descendants of Sergeant Edward Hinman, having served during the revolutionary war. His great grandfather, Abijah Hinman, and Abijah's son, Wait Hinman, were with General Stark at the battle of Bennington. His grandfather, Adoniram Hinman, was with Ethan Allen in his famous expedition and capture of Ticonderoga, and was also at the execution of Major Andre; he served during the entire seven year's war. His grandfather on his mother's side, Reuben Moulton, kept an inn in Castleton, and entertained Ethan Allen and Seth Warner over Sunday when they were on their way to capture Ticonderoga.

Mr. Hinman's father, Truman H. Hinman, read law with Hon. Chauncey Landon, was quite a celebrated vocalist, and in September, 1814, volunteered with other Vermonters to go to Plattsburg and assist in driving Provost and his army back to Canada.

In Castleton, the deceased received a good academic and business education and came to Michigan in 1838, with his brother Franklin, and O. M. Hyde, former mayor of Detroit, establishing himself in the mercantile trade at Bellevue in connection with his brother, the late B. F. Hinman, under the firm name of B. F. and J. F. Hinman, where they conducted a successful business. In 1845 they opened a branch store in Battle Creek, under the firm name of Hinman & Co., having added to the firm another brother, Henry T. Hinman, who still resides in the city.

Mr. Hinman removed to Battle Creek in 1851, having previously been married to Harriet Elizabeth Hayt, daughter of the late John T. Hayt, then one of the leading citizens of Bellevue and widely known throughout that section of the state. Their wedding occurred on April 23, 1845, the Rev. Alexander Trotter, of Battle Creek, afterwards of Vassar, Mich., officiating. Since his removal to the city, Mr. Hinman was a permanent resident there and until of late years was actively identified with its interests, holding various public positions, among others the directorship of the city schools and for some years after the war for the union, he was federal collector of internal revenue.

In politics, Mr. Hinman was a republican, having been one of the earliest adherents of the party in the city and active in its formation, being afterward a frequent delegate to its county and state conventions. He was in attendance at the first meeting of the republican party, when it was organized "under the oaks" at Jackson, in 1854.

He possessed a clear and strong intellect, was positive in his convictions, and had a readiness of wit and humor which contributed essentially to his rare conversational powers. He had a remarkable memory of facts and dates which made him a conspicuous authority in matters relating to early local history, and his reminiscences of pioneer times were notably interesting and valuable. He was a most useful member of the Michigan Pioneer society, and at various times contributed important items of current and past history to its archives. For many years he was a correspondent of one of the leading Detroit dailies, and many of his more extended communications were noticeable for their pithy expression as well as for the terse information which they contained.

Mr. Hinman's life, since his retirement from an active participation in affairs, has been by no means an idle one. Notwithstanding his advancing years, he has continued to take a deep interest in the stirring events of our time and has been in earnest sympathy with the progressive spirit of the age. His ideas and convictions have been ever on the side of humanity and liberty, and he has lived to see many of his cherished hopes fulfilled. In the nearly half century in which he has been a member of the community he has made a record which will become a creditable and permanent feature of the history of the section.

Mr. Hinman, besides his widow, leaves six children: Capt. Frederick H. Hinman, of Flushing, L. I.; Mrs. Charles A. Ward, of Evanston, Ill.; Mr. Edward C. Hinman, of Battle Creek; Mrs. Harriet Collins, of Chicago; John F. Hinman, Jr., of California, and Miss Clara Hinman of Battle Creek. He also leaves one brother, Henry T. Hinman, mentioned above, and an aged sister, Miss Martha Hinman of the city.

MERRIFIELD.—Lewis Merrifield, one of Tekonsha's oldest residents, died March 10, 1900, at the advanced age of 86 years.

Deceased was born in New York in 1814, and came into the territory of Michigan in 1833, driving the entire distance with an ox team. In 1835 he located on the present site of Tekonsha. There was not a printing press within one hundred miles of the township, and in 1836, as township clerk, he wrote with a quill pen, all the ballots used at the election. The next year he and Cyrus Hewett, of Marshall, surveyed the land where now stands the city of Lansing. The nearest house was many miles distant, and the surveyors were, at one time, thirty-six hours without food.

Mrs. Merrifield died but four days before her husband. The aged couple spent 61 years of wedded life together, and both had been constant residents of Tekonsha since first locating there in the thirties.

PARSONS.—J. M. Parsons died June 1, 1900, aged 90 years.

Mr. Parsons was born in West Springfield, Mass., September 10, 1810. When a young man twenty-four years of age he came to Michigan and located in Homer. The next year he removed to Marshall and continued to reside there during all the years of his life that followed. In 1835 he opened a general store. It is related that many times he stood between the settlers and starvation by standing in line many hours to get twenty-five pounds of flour for a family for which he paid $2.50. No one person could have more than twenty-five pounds at one time.

In 1840 he served as postmaster under William Henry Harrison. The latter years he was engaged in the real estate and insurance business.

SOULE.—Mrs. Irene Soule died May 31, 1900, at the extreme old age of 93 years.

Irene Blodget was born in Georgia, Vt., in 1807. When 21 years of age she removed with her parents to the state of New York. Two years later she married Milo Soule, and in 1835 they came to Michigan with other pioneers, coming through Canada; the journey consuming three weeks time. They located in Marengo, where they spent all the after years of life. When they located their home the wild Indians were their nearest neighbors. Many years ago the last of them passed away; other settlers came and went and Mrs. Soule remained to witness the changes time wrought and to see all the early settlers pass to the other shore.

Mr. Soule died April 2, 1891, and since then she "only waited for the summons" which came to her on that May morning of the closing century.

CLINTON COUNTY.

BY RALPH WATSON.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Auten, Mrs. Luceba	St. Johns	April 12, 1900.	53	
Alexander, Mrs. Mary J	Wacousta	Feb. 23, 1900..	63	An old resident of Eagle.
Beach, Mrs. Elizabeth A	Crystal	Feb. 7, 1900...	72	Came to Michigan in 1856.
Beckwith, Mrs. J. W	Victor	Dec. 25, 1899..	80	
Carter, Mrs. Jane	Elsie	Oct. 22, 1899 ..	81	
Cradle, Mrs. Sally M	Olive	May 16, 1900 ..	79	She came to the state in the fifties.
Dennis, Mrs. Chas. J	Elsie	April 13, 1900.	59	
Fish, Stephen	St. Johns	March 15, 1900	104	
Gorham, Mrs. Malissa	Olive	May 7, 1900 ...	85	
Harlock, Mrs. L. J	Pompei	Jan. 20, 1900..	.....	
Hayes, Lewis	Elsie	Dec. 16, 1899..	63	A veteran of the civil war, enlisting in 1864 and serving till the end of the struggle.
Hehl, Mrs. Elizabeth	Westphalia	April 7, 1900..	78	A long time resident of the township.
Knapp, Mrs. Ida Hale	Olive	Feb. 18, 1900..	48	A native of the county.
Lowell, Cassin	.....	Jan. 23, 1900..	83	
Morrill, Mrs. L.	St. Johns	March 10, 1900	81	A resident of St. Johns since the early sixties.
Mattison, Mrs. Ann S	St. Johns	May 5, 1900 ...	81	
Palmer, Mrs. Elizabeth	Washington	March 6, 1900.	70	She came to Michigan in 1835.
Parker, Wm	Ovid	April 10, 1900.	79	
Potter, Willard M	St. Johns	March 5, 1900.	48	
Reed, Allen J	Essex	May 2, 1900....	67	
Rowell, Mrs. Stephen	Duplain	Jan. 22, 1900 ..	62	She came to Michigan in 1859.
Russell, Alfred	Washington	Feb. 8, 1900...	72	A pioneer of the county.
Sanford, Edwin R	Owosso	March 29, 1900	63	He was engaged in the shoe business in St. Johns
Sherman, Erving	St. Johns	April 29, 1900.	48	Came to Michigan in 1864.
Sias, Holland	South Riley	Feb. 14, 1900..	75	
Stevens, Mrs. Eveline	Eureka	Jan. 9, 1900...	62	Came to Michigan in 1853.
Thomas, Rev. Chas. G	St. Johns	Jan. —, 1900 ..	55	An M. E. pastor, dropped dead in his pulpit in Kalamazoo.
Toan, Oliver	Portland	Dec. 14, 1899..	58	Was a native of the township.
VanAuken, Jacob	DeWitt	March 19, 1900	77	
Widman, Mrs. Geo	Olive	Feb. 6, 1900...	76	She located in the state when it was a vast wilderness.
Wyckoff, John	St. Johns	Jan. 21, 1900..	64	

BASSETT.—Rev. P. C. Bassett, pioneer preacher, died April 25, 1900, aged 79 years.

Mr. Bassett was born in Otsego county, New York, February 4, 1821, and resided in central and western New York until 1843, when he located in Ohio. He joined the Baptist church at the age of sixteen, but not until 1845 did he commence to preach the gospel. Three years later he came to Michigan and was ordained that year at Parshallville, Livingston county. He was pastor of the Baptist churches at Parshallville, Flushing, Ovid, Woodland and Shepardsville. He organized the church at Ovid, building the first house of worship at that place. He was also the organizer of churches at Nashville and Vermontville. The past eight years he spent in Detroit, preaching at the various mission houses whenever he was able. The funeral services were held at the home in Detroit, and the body was brought to Ovid for interment in Maple Grove cemetery.

BLIZZARD.—William Blizzard, one of the well-known pioneers of Olive township, died at his home February 14, 1900, aged 78 years.

The subject of this sketch was born in Wiltshire, England, January 15, 1822. He married Catharine Bradfield, to whom one child was born. Mrs. Blizzard only survived the birth of her child six months.

Mr. Blizzard then married Charlotte Clements and came direct to America, settling in Medina county, Ohio, in 1851. In 1855 he came to Olive and settled on the farm where he died. The farm was then a wilderness, but by his industry was soon modeled into a comfortable home. Six children were the result of the second marriage, three of whom have passed away. His second wife died May 11, 1872. In May, 1873, he married Mrs. Margaret Bowman. Two children were born to them. He is survived by a widow, six children, eight grandchildren, one brother and two sisters. During the civil war Mr. Blizzard was drafted, but circumstances forbade his going, so he hired a substitute to go in his place.

BRAY.—Israel M. Bray, one of the pioneers of Clinton county, died January 3, 1900, and would have been seventy years of age the next April. He was born in Dumfries, Canada, and in 1854 was united in marriage to Charlotte Wood, and the young couple moved into the wilds of Michigan, and settled in a wilderness that was afterwards called Bengal township. Together they struggled and labored to build a home and acquire a competence for themselves and their children. The nearest mill was at DeWitt, twelve miles away, and St. Johns was then only a cross roads.

Seven children were born to this union, of which five are still living. In 1866 the wife of his early manhood died, leaving the helpless father to struggle on with his family. In 1868 Mr. Bray was married to Mary A. Nelson, and three children were born to them, two of whom are living. The third child died in infancy. In 1894 the second wife passed away, leaving Mr. Bray in the declining years of his life alone. It was his stamp of men who made possible the civilization of today in this and other western states, and their memories will be held in more sacred regard for the sacrifice which they underwent.

Buck.—Pembroke S. Buck, well and favorably known to the people of St. Johns and the southwestern portion of the county, died at his home in that village, May 6, 1900, of paralysis, in his 66th year. He is survived by a widow and two sons, Dr. R. C. and F. P. Buck, the former a well-schooled physician and surgeon, and the latter principal of St. Johns high school.

The deceased was born at Conneaut, Ohio, and while still quite young moved with his parents to Farmington, Oakland county, Michigan. In the year 1860 he entered the state normal, and before he had finished his second year in that institution he enlisted in the war of the rebellion, and was attached to the Twenty-third Michigan Infantry, and served three years with Gen. Thomas in the western department, remaining to the close of the war, when he returned home and finally settled in the township of Bengal, where, in 1867, he was united in marriage with Miss Mary E. Pope, who survives him. Mr. Buck was a member of the first Congregational church of St. Johns, also of Charles E. Grisson Post, G. A. R.

Burdick.—Alexander Burdick was born in Shelby, Orleans county, New York, February 27, 1817, and died at his home in Lebanon, Clinton county, February 12, 1900. He grew to manhood in his native town, and when 24 years old removed to Crawford county, Ohio. There he was married to Mary Jane Dravenstatte, October 1, 1842. In 1850 they removed to Muskegon county, Michigan, and settled at Casnovia, where a farm was made from the wilderness, amidst hardships, pioneer struggles and privation. In 1865 the family settled in Lebanon, where he resided until his death, except a short residence in Fowler. His wife preceded him to the grave only a few months. He leaves five children.

Chadwick.—Lorenzo D. Chadwick was born in Steuben county, New York, April 28, 1824. His parents came to Michigan when he was only a small boy and located in the township of Scio, Washtenaw county.

January 30, 1850, he was married to Cordelia Daniells, of Dexter, Michigan. The first few years after his marriage he worked at the blacksmith trade in Podunk and Williamston. In the year 1857 he moved to the township of Olive, where he has since resided. In 1861 he enlisted as a private in Company D, Twenty-third Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and served until the close of the rebellion. His wife died February 10, 1883, and since that time he has lived with his eldest son, E. M. Chadwick. To them were born seven children, five daughters and two sons. The two sons and one daughter, with an aged sister, survive him. He died May 14, 1900, of la grippe, aged 76 years.

Harr.—John Harr, aged 58 years, died, it is supposed, of cancer, New Year's eve, and the death of the father and husband so shocked the wife and mother, Helena Harr, that she died the next forenoon at about 11 o'clock of heart failure. The father died the last of the year 1899 and the mother the first of the year 1900. They leave five children. Two of the children are married and the other three are left alone, the youngest being but five years old.

Hollister.—Charles Edward Hollister, well-known as county surveyor and for the keen interest he had always manifested in educational matters in the county, died at his home in Victor township Wednesday, April 11, 1900, in his 61st year, of pneumonia coupled with other physical troubles.

The parental grandfather of the subject of this sketch, Joseph Hollister, was one of the patriots of the revolution, and was a direct descendant of the puritan governor of Connecticut in 1801, and having chosen the study and practice of medicine as a profession, attained some distinction as a practitioner.

Charles E., of whom we now write, whose birth occurred in Victor, Ontario county, New York, in 1839, was but seven years of age when his parents moved to Michigan, and in 1846 entered from the government the land still occupied by them. The country was still in a primitive condition, and the wide practice of Dr. Hollister called him through many portions of the county undisturbed by the axe of the pioneer. In 1856 he was chosen to the senate of the state, and served two years in that official capacity, Charles E. meanwhile remaining upon the farm and engaging in labor incident to farming pursuits, the winter affording opportunities for education. He entered the agricultural college at Lansing, May 17, 1859, at the opening of that institution of learning, and after a thorough course, involving four years of study, graduated

with the first class. The sons proved worthy of their patriot sires by enlisting in the armies gathered by our nation in the days of the rebellion, the eldest, Oliver, enlisting in the Fifth Michigan Cavalry, and dying in the hospital of disease contracted in McClellan's Virginia campaign, leaving a widow and three children. Charles E. joined an independent company of engineers, raised by Major Gen. J. C. Fremont for his Missouri campaign, which company was discharged after about five months' service. The younger brother, Ralph H., enlisted in the Eleventh Michigan Cavalry, and was honorably discharged at the close of the war. Charles E. was in 1878 elected county surveyor, and has been honored with numerous local offices, including those of school inspector for a long series of years and superintendent of schools. In 1872 he received from the United States engineer officer in charge (First Lieutenant E. A. Woodruff) an appointment as a superintendent in the removal of the celebrated Red river raft in the northwestern part of Louisiana, a position which he held for about eighteen months and until the channel was cleared. Mr. Hollister was a republican in politics, and a Congregationalist in religion.

Hunter.—George Graham Hunter was born in London, England, October 20, 1815, and died at his home near Ovid, February 15, 1900. In 1835 he came to Simcoe, Ontario, where he was married in 1842 to Harriet Coombs, who departed this life in 1895. Three children were born to them, one of whom, Wm. G., still lives. In 1858 Mr. Hunter removed with his family to Ovid, Mich., where he spent the remainder of his life, being one of the pioneers of Ovid township. He is survived by one brother and one sister, Wm. and Charlotte M. Hunter, both of whom reside in London, England.

Lemm.—V. W. Lemm was born January 30, 1844, at Norvell, Jackson county, Michigan. He came to Clinton county with his parents when quite young, having lived on the same farm in Rew township for about forty years. He enrolled as private of Company H, Twenty-fourth Regiment of Michigan Volunteers, the 9th day of August, 1862. He was wounded at Gettysburg the 1st day of July, 1863, receiving two gun shot wounds from which he suffered more or less, and at last causing nervous prostration. He died April 18 at Kalamazoo, where he had been taken for treatment. He leaves a widow and one brother, James, of Williamston.

Marvin.—Captain George F. Marvin, a resident of the county for many years and one of the well-known capitalists of St. Johns, died at his home at 309 Higham street, March 14, 1900, aged 66 years.

Captain Marvin was well-known, not only in St. Johns, but through Greenbush and the northern part of the county, where he resided on a farm. Ten or twelve years previous to his death he purchased the home on Higham steet, where he passed away. The earlier part of his life was spent in the waters of the northern seas, where he was engaged in the whale trade. For years he was commander of a whale ship, with headquarters at New Bedford, Mass. He accumulated a good sized fortune in the whale industry, and after deciding to leave the sea he concluded to find some pleasant home on a western farm and settled in this county.

The captain could relate tales of the sea in a most entertaining style and was familiar with all the nautical ways and manners. He had sailed in almost every sea and was wonderfully well posted on the geography of the world. He was a great reader, and a man who retained what he read and looked under the surface for the interesting facts which lie buried from the casual and haphazard student.

The captain was vice president of the State Bank of St. Johns for many years, and was heavily interested in national banks. He invested quite heavily in western banks just previous to the panic in 1893, and his fortune was somewhat impaired by the failures which followed, but he leaves a fine competence for his family, which consists of his wife and two children, George, a young man of 18 years, and Helen, a girl of 12.

Mundell.—Walter L. Mundell was born in Virginia August 1, 1838, and died at his home in Fowler April 20, 1900, aged 61 years 7 months and 16 days. The deceased came to Michigan with his parents in 1852. He did his duty manfully in aiding his parents in clearing up a new farm, and later in helping a widowed mother to care for a large family of younger children. In 1861 he enlisted in the Third Michigan Infantry and was a brave and patriotic soldier until the close of the civil war. He was wounded in two engagements. He received from congress a medal for personal bravery in capturing a rebel flag. He has ever lived a patrotic and worthy citizen, and was an esteemed member of the G. A. R. He leaves a wife, one son and four daughters, three brothers and one sister.

Pennell.—Orrin G. Pennell, one of the pioneers of Clinton county, closed his earthly career February 16, 1900, at the age of 77 years, after a well spent life of activity.

He was one of the best known men in the county, where he had resided

since the spring of 1867, and had been identified with many of the earlier enterprises in a business, social and political way. He was born at Cortland, New York, in November, 1822, and removed to Michigan in 1861 and settled in Washtenaw county, where he engaged in farming. In 1868 he purchased what was known at that time as the John Gardner farm in DeWitt township, and moved there the following spring with his family. Since that time they have been continuous residents of the same place, which is indeed an old homestead. Mr. Pennell received an academic education at Yates, New York, and before coming to this state he taught school for several years. He was a man of great reading and research and was well equipped to rear a family.

In 1885 Mr. Pennell was a candidate for state senator from the district, which was at that time composed of Ingham and Clinton counties. Mr. Pennell ran on the fusion ticket against Otis Fuller and was elected, receiving 7,716 to Fuller's 6,529. E. R. Reed was the prohibitionist candidate and received 793 votes. Mr. Pennell served his township and the county as supervisor for several years.

Proper.—Dexter B. Proper died in Ovid in March, 1900. Mr. Proper was born in Royalton, Niagara county, New York, November 29, 1826. On July 1, 1849, he was married to Ruena D. Maynard of Millville, New York. In the fall of 1852 they moved to Middlebury, Shiawassee county, where they resided until 1871, when they removed to Ovid. Mr. Proper enlisted in Company K, Twenty-fourth Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and served his country until honorably discharged at the close of the war. For years he has been a member of Geo. A. Winans Post, and had many friends among the soldiers as well as in other circles. He leaves a wife and three children, Clarence E., of Chesaning, J. Frank, of Owosso, and Mrs. S. Parmenter. Another son, Jay, died in infancy.

Rademacher.—Rt. Rev. Rademacher, born in Westphalia, Michigan, 60 years ago, died at Fort Wayne, Indiana, January 12, 1900, after a year's illness. He was bishop of the diocese of Fort Wayne, and had spent the greater part of his life in laboring earnestly for the Catholic church. His sister, Mrs. Joseph Bohr, resides in Westphalia, and he has a brother, Gaspar, in Detroit. The cathedral parish was involved in debt to the amount of $100,000, and after suffering a severe nervous shock a year ago he constantly worried over the financial affairs of his diocese. He grew worse and in a short time was entirely incapacitated. He was under treatment at Fort Wayne for some time and then went

to Chicago and was under the care of a specialist, but received no benefit. The last official act he performed was a year ago in Mishawaka, Indiana, where, on New Year's day, he celebrated pontifical high mass, closing a brilliant two weeks' golden jubilee celebration of St. Joseph's Catholic congregation. In his early days he studied in Fort Wayne and was ordained a priest in the cathedral by Bishop Luers in 1863. He served a pastorate at Attica, Indiana, then at St. Mary's church in Fort Wayne. It was while there he was appointed bishop of the diocese of Nashville, Tenn., in 1883, and after the death of Bishop Dwenger, in 1893, he was appointed bishop of the Fort Wayne diocese.

Reed.—Charles Reed, an old pioneer of Clinton county, and one of Riley's earliest settlers, but late of Hastings, Barry county, was buried at South Riley, Sunday, February 11, 1900. The circumstances attending his death are very sad. It appears that Tuesday, January 30, he came to his sister's home in Portland, took dinner with her, then started to see another relative. By going three-fourths of a mile across lots would save him a mile walk, so he took that route. Ten days after this some one of the family where he took dinner meeting one of the family Mr. Reed intended visiting, asked him if Mr. Reed was still at his house. The answer was, "he has not been there." Search was made at once, and his lifeless body was found where it had lain ten days.

EATON COUNTY.

BY ESEK PRAY.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Bishop, Mrs. Rachel	Charlotte	July 28, 1899..	80	A resident of the city since 1856.
Cobb, Wm. E	Benton	Sept. 2, 1899...	81	One of the well known pioneers.
Cogswell, Harrison	Windsor	Sept. 3, 1899 ..	89	A resident of the county since 1848.
Dutton, Allen C	Eaton Rapids	Oct. 29, 1899 ..	76	He came to Michigan in 1833.
Hamilton, Mrs. Horace M	Eaton Rapids	Oct. 29, 1899 ..	79	She came to Michigan in 1839.
Harmon, Mrs. Mary A	Charlotte	July 21, 1899 ..	86	A resident of Michigan since 1855.
Hawkins, Duane	Vermontville	Dec. 6, 1899...	56	A native of his town—his parents were members of the "Vermontville colony."
Hunt, Mrs. Elizabeth O		——, 1899...	70	A resident of the state since 1842.
Lett, Mason	Potterville	April 2, 1900..	74	Lived on the farm 46 years.
Ludbrook, Wm	Roxand	Dec. 31, 1899..	95	A resident for 45 years.
Pearl, Ira	Charlotte	Feb. 13, 1900..	79	Had been a resident of the county 60 years.
Piper, Wm	Charlotte	Sept. 28, 1899..	83	A resident of Charlotte 46 years, and leader of the choir.
Potter, Walter W	Eaton Rapids	Oct. —, 1899 ..	73	They were early settlers in the county and lived to celebrate their golden wedding.
Potter, Mrs. Walter W	Eaton Rapids	June 19, 1899..	75	
Snow, Newton	Charlotte	April 15, 1900.	79	He went overland to California with an ox team in 1849.
Stewart, David H	Carmel	Aug. 21, 1899..	79	A resident of state since 1836.
Waterman, Mary P	Dimondale	June 1, 1899 ..	95	

VANHOUTON.—John Vanhouton died at his home in Roxand July 24, 1899.

He was born in New Jersey in 1819 and when twenty years of age came to Michigan and settled in the township which for sixty years was his home. He was one of the first settlers of the township, before roads were marked out, forests leveled or the touch of civilized man had left an impress upon the face of nature. His long residence, strict integrity and business ability endeared him to the early settlers who looked to him for counsel and assistance, as well as those who came after. For twenty years he was supervisor of the township and filled many other offices of trust.

WEBBER.—Dyer F. Webber, of Charlotte, died April 14, 1900, aged 83 years. Mr. Webber was born July 3, 1816, at Geneva, Cayuga county,

New York. He had been a resident of the county since 1856. He was a teacher and had held various positions,—editor, postmaster and justice of the peace for many years. In March, 1842, he was united in marriage to Miss Cyntha Ames, who survives him, after 58 years of wedded life.

WHITTUM.—Horace C. Whittum was born in Litchfield, Herkimer county, New York, October 29, 1814. In 1837 Mr. Whittum traveled across the country from Toledo to Eaton county and located 160 acres of land in Brookfield. In 1842 he married Miss Prudence Bayless, who died in 1893, a few months after celebrating the 50th wedding anniversary. They settled on the Brookfield farm in 1866. He was an active, honorable business man, and held many positions of trust, and died at Eaton Rapids, August 10, 1899, aged 86 years.

INGHAM COUNTY.

BY C. B. STEBBINS.

[Fifteenth Annual Report.]

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Acker, George	Williamston	Feb. 22, 1900	58	A native of Oakland county.
Adams, S. W. C	Lansing	Sept. 12, 1899	68	When a comparatively young man he located in Lansing.
Alton, A. F	Lansing	Sept. 28, 1899	51	His whole life was spent in Lansing.
Amos, Mrs. Margaret	Lansing	Aug. 8, 1899	79	A resident of Lansing since 1875.
Backus, Harry	Leslie	Oct. 22, 1899	76	
Bentley, James	Mason	Nov. 7, 1899	78	
Boam, Jacob	Lansing	Oct. 12, 1899	93	
Brower, David B	Stockbridge	Nov. 15, 1899	81	He came to Michigan in 1829.
Burke, E. K	Lansing	May 17, 1900	52	
Burnett, Mrs. Sarah A	Lansing	Dec. 14, 1899	63	
Campbell, Dr. Wm	Lansing	Feb. 21, 1900	88	He came to Michigan when a child.
Carpenter, Mrs. M. B	Lansing	Sept. 23, 1899	78	
Carrier, Mrs. Alice F	Lansing	Feb. 28, 1900	70	
Case, S. B	Williamston	Nov. 12, 1899	58	
Chadwick, Mrs. E. P	Lansing	April 15, 1900	63	
Chapin, Henry L	Mason	Sept. 13, 1899	53	
Clements, A. Newell	Lansing	Nov. 24, 1899	51	A resident of Lansing 30 years.
Cook, William	Holt	April 12, 1900	82	A pioneer of the state.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Corey, James	Vevay	April 8, 1900..	88	He came to Michigan in 1862.
Coryell, Richard C.	Lansing	Feb. 25, 1900..	78	Resident of Lansing 35 years.
Cross, Mrs. Mary T.	Lansing	April 1, 1900..	77	A resident of Lansing since 1863.
Dailey, Mrs. Nora	Lansing	May 16, 1900 ..	77	A resident of the city 33 years.
Daniels, Mrs. Almeron	Okemos	Sept. 17, 1899..	85	She came to Michigan in 1853.
Eicher, Mrs. Rebecca	Lansing	Aug. 31, 1899..	76	An old resident of Ingham.
Emmer, Nicholas	Williamston	Feb. 11, 1900..	66	
Felton, Daniel	Alaiedon	June 14, 1899..	82	An old resident of the county.
Finch, Mrs. Leonard	Mason	Aug. 21, 1899..	65	
Finch, Peter		Jan. 31, 1900 ..	90	
Graham, Mrs. E. W.	Lansing	June 27, 1899..	82	
Hammond, Morris	Meridian	May 30, 1900..	80	Had been a resident of the township 30 years.
Hann, Peter	Lansing	April 4, 1900..	70	Settled in Lansing in 1862.
Hart, Benjamin	Williamston	Jan. 4, 1900. ..	73	
Henderson, Mrs. Perry	Mason	April 6, 1900..	82	Lived in Mason 45 years.
Hickey, Edwin	Lansing	Feb. 9, 1900...	62	
Hickok, Thomas T.	Lansing	May 2, 1900 ...	84	
Hocum, Mrs.	Lansing	Jan. 12, 1900..	88	
Hollis, Richard P	Williamston	Jan. 25, 1900..	72	A veteran of the war of 1865.
Hoyston, Phoebe C.	Leslie	March 3, 1900.	79	
Joy, Horace	Lansing tp	Sept. 23, 1899..	78	He lived on his farm 37 years.
Leavenworth, Mrs. A. D.	Lansing	Feb. 9, 1900....	84	
Lewis, Mrs. O. J.	Alaiedon	Dec. 29, 1899..	56	
Linder, Mrs. Eva	Lansing	Feb. 9, 1900...	76	A resident of the state about 35 years.
Loftus, James	Lansing	Nov. 23, 1899..	70	Came to Lansing in 1860.
Loyd, Timothy	Lansing	April 27, 1900.	79	He put up many buildings in the city.
Lucas, Sallie	Lansing	July 5, 1899....	97	Lived in Lansing 32 years.
Maser, John	Lansing tp	June 23, 1899..	65	Had lived on his farm many years.
Mason, Delivan	Lansing	Sept. 10, 1899..	74	
Miller, Loren	Mason	Feb. 20, 1900..	70	A pioneer of the county.
Miller, Mrs. K.	Lansing	Jan. 18, 1900..	80	Resident of the city over 40 years.
Mitchell, Calvin	Lansing	April 7, 1900..	75	Resident of Michigan nearly all his life.
Mitchell, Mrs. Calvin	Lansing	March 10, 1900	69	
Moses, William S	Lansing	July 4, 1899....	70	A resident of the city over 37 years.
Nichols, Mrs.	Lansing	July 31, 1899..	49	
Packard, Mrs. Melinda	Lansing tp	May 12, 1900 ..	73	A resident of the county 53 years.
Perry, Mrs. Mary Ann	Lansing	May 18, 1900 ..	64	She was a resident of Lansing 30 years.
Pilbean, G. W.	Mason	Jan. 7, 1900....	60	
Plummer, Mrs. Margaret	Lansing	Aug. 5, 1899...	86	She came to Washtenaw county 65 years ago and to Lansing 30 years since.
Potter, Mrs. Walter W.	Lansing	June 15, 1899 .	75	
Pratt, Laura Ellen	Lansing	March 3, 1900.	64	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Randall, Mrs. Catherine	Lansing	Dec. 26, 1899	70	
Reeves, Henry	Mason	Aug. 2, 1899	75	He came to Mason when a young man.
Reeves, Mrs. Julia	Lansing	Dec. 23, 1899	79	She came to Michigan in 1836.
Richardson, John M	Lansing	May 18, 1900	48	
Rix, Hiram	Williamston	March 31, 1900	88	
Sanderson, Mrs. Phoebe	Leslie	March 3, 1900	54	
Savage, Joseph H	Lansing	Dec. 28, 1899	73	
Saxton, N. G	Mason	June 14, 1899	76	Had been a resident of the vicinity 40 years.
Scudder, Mrs. Rebecca	Alaiedon	June 1, 1900	95	
Sexton, N. G	Mason	June 14, 1899	76	
Smith, Delevan C	Vevay	Sept. 10, 1899	74	A pioneer of the county.
Smith, Joseph	Lansing	Sept. 13, 1899	78	Had lived in the city 30 years.
Sower, Michael	Mason	Aug. 27, 1899	78	
Speer, Mrs. Joseph	Williamston	Jan. 10, 1900	66	Came to Michigan in 1857.
Stachel, Mrs. Carrie	Lansing	Feb. 2, 1900	85	A resident of Lansing 27 years.
Van Aken, Benj	Lansing	Dec. 29, 1899	79	He had lived in Lansing since 1854.
Van Aken, Mrs. Benj	Lansing	May 8, 1900	77	She had lived in Lansing since 1854.
Van Nest, Mrs. Catherine	Lansing	Sept. 11, 1899	85	She settled near Howell in 1835.
Ward, Peter	LeRoy	June 12, 1899	69	
White, Frank	Mason	March 14, 1899	65	A pioneer of the county.
Wilcox, George	Lansing	May 24, 1900	66	
Wilcox, Miranda	Mason	May 14, 1900	72	Many years a resident of the city.
Williams, Mrs. Franklin	Williamston	April 15, 1900	80	She came to Michigan in her infancy.
Woodford, Mrs. Elizabeth	Lansing	Feb. 27, 1900	82	A resident of Lansing 32 years.

The number of deaths of pioneers in Ingham county in the past year which we have been able to obtain largely exceeds that of any former year, amounting to 102, consisting of 41 women and 61 men. The average of the women was a small fraction of 69 years. The oldest was 95, and the youngest 41. The average age of the men was 68⅔ years.

ADAMS.—Mrs. Helen Case Adams, one of Lansing's most prominent women, died at her home, 613 High street, North Lansing, January 18, 1900.

Deceased was born at Sabula, Iowa, October 21, 1839. She was a daughter of Daniel L. Case, at one time auditor general of Michigan, and always prominent in state and local affairs. She was married 35 years ago to Andrew C. Adams, who died a few years afterward. She was interested in kindergarten work, having given up a school only a

year or so ago. She was also an active worker in temperance circles, a member of the W. C. T. U. and active in woman's affairs generally.

Deceased leaves a daughter, Mrs. Mary F. Collins, of Arlington Heights, Chicago.

ADAMS.—James Madison Adams died at his home in Williamston November 4, 1899. Mr. Adams was an old resident of Williamston, having owned a farm four miles south of there, where he lived until his house was destroyed by fire, when he removed to town in 1869. He was born in the state of New York 84 years ago. It was there he married Nancy Westbrook, who survives him. They have six children now living, two daughters and four sons—Rev. Alfred Adams, pastor of the Wesleyan Methodist church at Mecosta; Mark, who lives in Stanton; Charles in Greenville, and Byron, who has remained in Williamston, and about 20 grandchildren. Deceased was formerly a minister of the church of United Brethren, and recalled many interesting facts of the earlier history of New York, having seen the construction of the Erie canal, etc.

ALLEN.—Abram Allen died October 2, 1899, at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. B. F. Hall, 204 Grand street south.

Deceased was born in Mendon, Monroe county, New York, June 18, 1817. He was married to Miss Vesta Anna Jones of that place in 1847. When a boy of 20 he visited Michigan, and walked from Ionia to Jackson looking for land. He passed through the site of Lansing ten years before the capital was located there. He was afterwards there on a similar trip shortly after Lansing became the capital and was yet a primitive place.

He moved to Michigan in 1854 and settled on a farm near Commerce, Oakland county. He served as supervisor several terms and was a member of the legislature from that county at the close of the civil war.

Mr. Allen removed to Lansing in 1867 and engaged in lumber manufacturing. He was successively a member of the firms of Buckland, Allen & Wise, Allen & Wise and Allen & Hall. He served the city as alderman two terms. Deceased was a prominent member of Central M. E. church and filled a position on the board of trustees over 30 years.

His wife died September 14, 1884. Two daughters survive him, Mrs. B. F. Hall of Lansing, and Mrs. A. R. Thayer of Saginaw.

ANGELL.—Elliott H. Angell died at his late home September 11, 1899, aged 72 years. He was one of the first settlers of Bunkerhill, having lived there since 1854. He was well known throughout Ingham county, having been a prominent member of the grange, G. A. R. and F. and A. M. fraternities. He was a member of the M. E. church. He had held

the office of coroner, drain commissioner and was census enumerator in 1890. He has been postmaster, justice of the peace and was at the time of his death a notary public and pension agent. He was a staunch republican. His aged widow and four children and three grandchildren survive.

APPLETON.—William Appleton died October 4, 1899, at his residence in Lansing, after an illness of three weeks.

William Appleton was born in Bracknell, Berkshire county, England, June 12, 1828. He was an only child and given by his parents the best educational advantages offered by the academy of his native town. His life was an eventful one. At the age of 19 he was married to Miss Elizabeth Johnson, with whom he lived 53 years, and who still survives him. Having a natural love for military training he was chosen one of the twenty picked men to attend Queen Victoria as her personal escort. Six years later he resigned this position and removed to Batavia, N. Y. Two years after he removed with his family to Watertown, Clinton county, Michigan, settling in the woods, bravely enduring the hardships of a pioneer and converting the dense forest into a fruitful farm.

Upon the marriage of his only son in 1871 he came to Lansing, where he built the home on Capitol avenue and where he has since resided. The death of this son ten years later gave him a shock from which he never fully recovered.

After his removal to Lansing he was twice elected to the responsible office of city engineer. He also filled the position of cemetery commissioner and superintendent of public works. These offices he considered as public trusts to be administered with the same economy and thoroughness which characterized his dealings in private affairs.

Deceased leaves a widow and one daughter, Mrs. Edgar Hurd.

BARNES.—Hon. Orlando M. Barnes, pioneer, lawyer and business man, was visited by the angel of death November 11, 1899. So prominent a figure in the developing days of the state and in large business enterprises as was Mr. Barnes deserves a place in the records of Michigan history; therefore a suitable memorial will be read before the next meeting of the society, and will be found in volume 30 of the Historical Collections.

BOAM.—Jacob Boam died October 12, 1899, at his late home, 925 St. Joseph street west, Lansing.

He was 93 years of age and a veteran of the Mexican war. He was born in Vermont July 6, 1806. Forty years before his death he moved

his family to Lansing and had resided there since that time. Deceased is survived by five daughters and five sons.

CHOATE.—S. P. Choate died at his home in Lansing June 27, 1899.

Mr. Choate had been a resident of Lansing for over thirty years, and was well known. He served through the war of the rebellion, and his late illness and death was due to wounds received during that struggle.

CRONKITE.—Mrs. Helen A. Cronkite died June 30, 1899, at her late home in Lansing. Deceased was born September 12, 1842, in Otsego county, N. Y. She came to Michigan when she was 15 years of age. She attended Miss Rogers' female seminary in Lansing for some time. Afterwards she taught school for several years. She was married in April, 1870, to John W. Cronkite of the capital city and had resided there since that time. She left no children, her only living relative being a brother, Washington G. Wiley of Lansing.

FITCH.—Hon. Chas. C. Fitch, aged 60 years, died very suddenly at his home in Mason June 28, 1899. He was a Knight Templar, and served two terms in the Michigan legislature, representing the second district of Ingham county. He served several terms as register of deeds. He leaves a widow, mother, one daughter, one brother and one sister.

GREEN.—Thomas W. Green died April 3, 1900, at the residence of his son-in-law, Capt. H. L. Thayer, 916 Washington avenue north, at the ripe old age of 89 years.

Mr. Green was born at Warwick, R. I., in June, 1811. He came to Lansing in 1855 and settled in North Lansing, which has always been his home, except for a brief season when in Colorado and two years at Mackinac Island. Deceased for many years was engaged in the manufacturing business in the north part of the city, and was instrumental in the building of Franklin street Presbyterian church, of which, for several years, he was an active member. He was also a member of the North Lansing lodge of Odd Fellows. While at Mackinac Island about two years preceding his death he met with a severe accident by a fall, from which he never fully recovered; and that, together with the infirmities incident to old age, was the cause of his demise.

Probably no man in the capital city was better known than Thomas W. Green, and his was a conspicuous figure on the streets of the city.

Deceased is survived by one daughter, Mrs. H. L. Thayer, and a half-brother, C. W. Church, both of Lansing; also a half-sister, Mrs. Rushmore of Cambridge, Mass.

HICKEY.—Edwin Hickey, a veteran of the civil war and an old resident of Lansing, died suddenly at the home of friends, 1034 Michigan avenue west, February 9, 1900.

Deceased was born in Cayuga, N. Y., in 1838. At the outbreak of the civil war he enlisted as a drummer boy in the 31st New York Infantry, serving out his enlistment of three years. He came to Charlotte, Mich., at the close of the war, and was proprietor of the Phoenix house in that city for some time. Later he came to Lansing, where he resided for the last 20 years of his life. He was a member of Charles T. Foster Post, G. A. R.

He is survived by a son, Claude Hickey, and a daughter, Mrs. Maude Harmon of St. Joe, Mo.

HINMAN.—Mrs. Sarah Elizabeth Bush Hinman, aged 69 years, died at her home, 405 Capitol avenue south, April 26, 1900, aged 69 years.

Mrs. Hinman was born in Tompkins county, N. Y., coming to Lansing in 1847, when Washington avenue was still a country road, the trees not having been cut out of the street. On February 22, 1848, she was married to William Hinman, and has since resided in the city. She was a member of St. Paul's Episcopal church. She was literarily inclined, having written many articles for the Pioneer society, one of the latter appearing in the recent Woman's Hospital edition of the State Republican.

Deceased is survived by her husband, William Hinman, three daughters, Miss Jennie E. Hinman of Chicago, Mrs. S. L. W. Bowman of Leavenworth, Wash., and Mrs. Alfred Beamer, and one son, William C. Hinman, both of Lansing.

HITCHCOCK.—James Hitchcock, the ex-convict, dropped dead on the streets of Lansing Saturday afternoon, May 10, 1900, aged 81 years. "Jimmie" was a well known character in the city and throughout this portion of the state.

"Uncle Jimmie" was a quaint character and one whose life had been almost wholly devoid of sunshine. A convict for more than 33 years, and a homeless old man without money and without a relative to administer to his wants after he was released from prison, he spent the last years of his life in absolute want. It was only the kindness of casual acquaintances, made as he wandered about the streets from day to day in quest of food to keep life in his old body, that saved his remains from being sent to the university pickling vat.

Hitchcock was born in England in 1819, and came to Ingham county in 1852 with his wife and two children. In November of the latter year

he attended a lawsuit in the village of Stockbridge with a man named Stevenson. On their way home in the evening all went good naturedly until Hitchcock banteringly remarked to his companion that he had "never been tracked for mutton." For this he was given a severe beating, the companion having had an experience which made mutton a tender subject with him. A few moments after this encounter the two men separated at a fork in the road, but Stevenson was bent on having further revenge. He took after Hitchcock and renewed the quarrel, and during the fracas that ensued a sharp stick in Hitchcock's hand penetrated Stevenson's groin and inflicted a wound that caused death before assistance could be procured. The wound was near an artery which the man's violent exertions caused to burst. This affray took place a few weeks after Stevenson had been stabbed six times in a fight at Dexter, and the wounds then made had not yet healed.

One of the principal witnesses against Hitchcock, as shown by the record submitted with his application for pardon, was a man named Ackley, with whom he had just had a lawsuit concerning some pork. Years after Hitchcock was sent to prison Ackley, while on his deathbed, testified that he swore to a lie on the witness stand in order to get even with the prisoner. Another witness named Wright swore that he saw Hitchcock stab Stevenson six times, but he, too, during his final illness, admitted that his testimony was false.

Hitchcock gave himself up at the time of the killing, and he was tried in May, 1853. Being without means, he was unable to retain proper counsel or secure witnesses, and so his case went practically by default. A young attorney was appointed just as the trial was about to commence to defend him, but owing to the short time for preparation, he was unable to be of much service. Under the law then in force the prisoner was not permitted to take the stand or make any statement in his own behalf. The result was that Hitchcock was convicted of murder in the first degree and sent to state prison for life.

Hitchcock spent the first four years of his imprisonment in solitary confinement, and for the three years thereafter he shuffled about dragging behind him two iron balls which weighed nine pounds each. He was required to wear these manacles day and night, and at times they almost chafed his heels off.

After Hitchcock had been in prison for something more than 20 years an effort was made to have him pardoned, but no governor could be persuaded to investigate his case fully until it was brought to the attention of Gov. Russell A. Alger, who became interested in him while visiting

the prison one day, and who upon learning that the old man had been there for a quarter of a century and had always protested his innocence, made an investigation, which resulted in his granting him a pardon on Thanksgiving day, 1885.

The pardon files in the executive office contain an extended history of this case. They show that the testimony taken at the trial was submitted to such eminent jurists as ex-Justices Christiancy and Graves of the supreme court, who reported that the state had done the old convict a grievous wrong. The petition for the pardon was signed by Judge Johnson, who presided at the trial and sentenced the prisoner, Judge Shaw, who assisted in the prosecution, and other prominent men who were familiar with the facts in the case.

The pardon record shows the reasons for granting the pardon were that if Hitchcock was guilty of any crime at all, which was doubtful, it was the result of a sudden and uncontrollable passion, and that there was nothing premeditated about it; that, at the time the crime was committed, he was a young, uncultured man without any evidences of depravity; that his conduct during the 33 years he had been in prison was exemplary, and that he had arrived at an age which reasonably insured the public against any danger from his release.

When Hitchcock found himself a free man, he discovered that his wife and daughter were dead, and that a son was all that remained of his family. The son was living in New York, but being dependent upon his daily labor for the support of himself and family, he was unable to render his father any assistance. The latter was, therefore, compelled to eke out a miserable existence by doing such odd jobs about town as his great age and impaired physical condition would permit.

Being confident of his innocence of the crime for which he was compelled to suffer so many years, Hitchcock contended that the state should reimburse him to some extent for the injury done him, and he had a friend introduce in the legislature a joint resolution authorizing the board of state auditors to pay him $3,000. This resolution was introduced at each succeeding session of the legislature. While the legislature was here the old man haunted the capitol corridors and urged its passage, but all to no purpose. Finally he gave up in despair some three years before death and made no more appeals.

As time went on, the old man was able to do less and less. During the last year of his life he had been unable to do even the small odd jobs which used to bring him in enough to keep him in food. He then became a charge of the city, and the last act of his life was to call upon the

poor director for assistance. He left the poor director's office after making his last appeal for food, and had not proceeded more than a quarter of a mile toward the house of a friend, who gave him shelter, when death overtook him as he walked the street, and his blasted life was done.

KERR.—The life of one of Lansing's oldest and most generally beloved citizens went out at 6:20 o'clock on the morning of December 8, 1899, when Mrs. Polly P. Kerr breathed her last at her home, corner of Grand and St. Joseph streets, and thus was fulfilled the hope she so often expressed during recent months, and which was given public expression only one week before her death, that she might finish her days in the house that had been her home for more than 40 years.

Mrs. Kerr never rallied in the slightest degree from the stroke of paralysis she suffered a few days before, but gradually grew weaker until her weary spirit was gently released. There was no suffering, no struggle. Her end was peaceful.

During the more than 40 years Mrs. Kerr had resided in Lansing her name was a household word throughout the city, and she was held in the highest esteem by all her acquaintances. No woman was better known among the pioneer residents of Michigan, her home having been the center of hospitality for years during the life of her husband, John A. Kerr, formerly state printer. Mr. Kerr's acquaintance among the earlier public men of the state was very extensive, and in the days when hotel accommodations were meagre in Lansing, he entertained on an extensive scale. In this he was ably seconded by his accomplished wife, and the old home was the scene of constant entertainment and sociability.

Mrs. Kerr's charitableness was proverbial in Lansing, and during her years of plenty she gave with an unstinted hand. Even during the later years of her life, when fortune dealt less kindly with her than previously, her great heart would permit no denial of such assistance as she was still able to give the unfortunate even at great personal sacrifice. She was constant in her ministrations to the needy and afflicted, into whose homes she went with words of cheer and encouragement, and many of these were sincere mourners at her bier.

Polly Priscilla Phelps was born in Ira, Cayuga county, New York, January 27, 1827, and was the youngest of 10 children. In January, 1852, she was married to John A. Kerr, then a young book merchant at Rochester. After remaining in Rochester a few years the young couple moved to Detroit, and a year later came to Lansing, arriving there in 1858. Mrs. Kerr is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Dr. F. S. Hull of Gettys-

burg, S. D., a sister, Mrs. Nancy Andrews of Lansing, and a brother, Rufus D. Phelps of Potterville.

LEE.—Mrs. Laura E. Lee, aged 90 years, a pioneer of Lansing, died at her home, May 11, 1900.

Mrs. Lee was born in Pine Plains, Duchess county, N. Y. She was a descendant of an aristocratic family, of whom her great grandfather, Sir Admiral Gambier of the American navy, was the head. She came to Michigan with her father in 1837, locating at Farmington. She resided there until her removal to Lansing in 1858. Since that time she had made the city her home with the exception of a few years spent in Saginaw. Her husband was the late Daniel S. Lee, one of the first business men of the capital city, and one of the proprietors of the old Benton house, the first hotel in Lansing.

Deceased is survived by her daughter, Mrs. Sophia E. Peck of Lansing.

LORANGER.—Mrs. Eli Loranger died in Lansing November 13, 1899.

Mrs. Loranger, whose maiden name was Charity Lobdell, was born in Ingham township about 52 years ago. Her father, William Lobdell, was the proprietor and landlord of the Lobdell hotel at Williamston 35 years ago during war times. The hotel was located where the Andrews house now stands. Two children survive.

MUNSON.—Charles H. Munson died July 27, 1899.

Deceased was 65 years of age and had lived in Lansing for 29 years. A son and daughter survive him. He was a veteran of the civil war, having served in Co. G, 9th N. Y. heavy artillery, and was a member of Charles T. Foster post, 42, G. A. R.

RIX.—Hiram Rix, aged 88, one of the most prominent and highly respected residents of LeRoy, died at his home, two miles southeast of Williamston, Saturday, March 31, 1900. Deceased was born in New Hampshire, was there married to Miss Emily Osborne, and came to Michigan when a young man. He was one of the first settlers in Ingham county, having come to LeRoy when it was a wilderness, and cleared the timber from his farm himself. He was the father of 10 children. He leaves a widow, six children, 25 grandchildren, and five great-grandchildren.

ROBSON.—Robert Scott Robson died August 8, 1899.

Deceased was born at Bellevue, Mich., January 10, 1838, afterwards living at Farmington and Memphis, this state. He came to Lansing in 1856 and entered the store of J. I. Mead, North Lansing, as a clerk, hold-

ing this position until 1861, when he and his brother John formed a partnership with his former employer, under the firm name of Mead & Robson. In 1864 he went into business for himself. The firm of R. S. Robson & Bros. was formed in 1874, and a wholesale grocery conducted in connection with the dry goods business run by himself.

He was married July 29, 1862, to Miss Helen Gibson of Lansing, and they lived in the home in which he died for 29 years. Deceased was one of the public-spirited men of the city, having been closely identified with its interests for the past 40 years. He served several terms as member of the school board and was looked upon as one ready to take the initial step in any enterprise that would enhance the city's welfare. He was a highly respected member of Franklin council, Royal Arcanum.

A widow and two children—Miss Grace Robson of Lansing and Mrs. L. Adelbert Baker of Kenton, Mich., survive. Four brothers, John and Charles of Lansing, William of Williamston and George Robson of Grand Rapids, and two sisters, Mrs. C. E. Brownson of Lansing and Mrs. H. L. Henderson of Mason, are still living, this being the first death of any of the children.

Russell.—Franklin F. Russell died at his home, 501 Grand street south, Lansing, January 24, 1900.

Deceased was born at Walpole, N. H., May 6, 1820. At the age of 20 he went to Rochester, N. Y., where for several years he was engaged in the hat and cap business. He came from Rochester to Lansing in 1856. He was in A. J. Veile's book store for several years, succeeding him when Mr. Veile left the city.

No one was better known than Frank Russell while he was in business as a stationer and newsdealer. His genial and cheery disposition made for him many friends.

Mr. Russell was twice married, his first wife dying in Lansing in 1874. He was again married on December 7, 1876, to Mrs. S. M. Knott, who, with one daughter, survives him.

Savage.—Joseph H. Savage, who died at his residence, 309 Jefferson street west, had lived in Lansing for twenty-two years preceding his demise. He was 73 years old at the time of his death and had been retired from business for twelve years. He was born in Ellenburg Center, N. Y., and served through the civil war with company E, 10th New York volunteers.

Five children are left to mourn his loss, Mrs. Charles Daman, Mrs.

Harry Paul, Lenore Savage and Henry Savage of Lansing, and Mary Savage of Fargo, North Dakota.

SHANK.—Mrs. Frances Phoebe Shank died August 20, 1899, at her residence, 603 Washington avenue south, Lansing.

Frances Phoebe Shank, nee Johnson, was born in Tompkins county, N. Y., September 21, 1823. At the age of 24 years she married Dr. H. B. Shank, moving to Lansing immediately afterwards. Mrs. Shank had always been an active member of the Universalist church, having taken an active part in the building of both churches in the city. Lansing ever had a warm place in her heart, and she watched its growth with much interest. She figured prominently in the charitable work of the city and was a favorite with a large circle of friends. Her husband died ten years earlier.

The four children surviving her are: Dr. R. J. Shank, Mrs. H. A. Farrand, R. B. Shank (since deceased), and Edward H. Shank, all of whom are well known in Lansing.

SHANK.—In the death of Robert B. Shank Lansing lost one of its youngest and most enterprising business men. He was public spirited and filled with pluck, energy and hard work. He carried his heart upon his sleeve and was a loyal friend and a good neighbor. In business circles especially, the deceased will be greatly missed. He was 43 years of age and was born in Lansing, where his entire life was spent and where all his heart ties were centered. He left a wife and two daughters, two brothers, Dr. R. J. and E. H., also one sister, Mrs. Farrand, all of Lansing.

WILCOX.—George Wilcox died at his home in Lansing May 24, 1900, aged 66 years. Deceased had lived in Lansing 27 years. He served three years in the civil war, and the wounds received then were the cause of his death.

During Mr. Wilcox's four years' service in the civil war he was a prisoner for 17 months in Andersonville prison. While the state offices were still in the old capitol he became night policeman, and upon removal to the present building he took up the same duties. Four years previous to death ill health caused by his wounds necessitated his resigning his position. Besides a wife and two daughters, Lizzie and Mrs. W. E. Bement of Lansing, he leaves a son, William Wilcox of Leadville, Col.

IONIA COUNTY.

BY ALBERT F. MOREHOUSE.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Clark, Polly	Portland	April 19, 1900.	98	
Colton, Matilda	Easton	Oct. 9, 1899	87	
Divine, Elizabeth	Belding	May 10, 1900	79	
Gurnsey, Ezra M.	Ionia	Sept. 27, 1899	81	
Hunt, Abram	Portland	May 19, 1900	78	
Jennings, Elizabeth	North Plains	April 26, 1900.	89	
Krup, Charles		May 19, 1900	76	
Morehouse, Sarah C.	Portland	Sept. 7, 1899	82	
Pierce, Geo. H.	Orange	May 27, 1900	83	
Ransom, Rev. Geo.	Muir	Dec. 22, 1899	68	
Reed, Otis H.	Portland	May 8, 1900	78	
Russell, Edwin A.	Portland	Nov. 14, 1899	73	
Sabin, Caroline	Belding	Dec. 29, 1899	79	
Shaw, Martha	Belding	Dec. 29, 1899	75	
Spencer, Wm.	Belding	May 9, 1900	79	
Way, Daniel	Otisco	July 24, 1899	84	

Divine.—Mrs. Westbrook Divine, one more of the earliest pioneers of the section, was called to her final rest May 10, 1900. She was well known to all the older residents of Ionia and adjoining counties.

Elizabeth Roosa was born in Ulster county, N. Y., January 9, 1826, and came to Michigan in the year 1839, and lived in the family of her uncle, Charles Broas.

She was united in marriage to Westbrook Divine of Eureka, Montcalm county, January 27, 1845, and they commenced housekeeping in the pioneer days, when the red man roved the country. She was always pleased to relate her experience of their visits and of the many hardships that had to be endured when there were no railroads and the nearest trading stations were Ionia and Grand Rapids. She was often physician and nurse for those who were sick and helpless.

Two daughters and three sons were born: Sarah C., wife of D. P. Fargo, who now resides in Dolan, South Dakota; Monroe B., who resides in Portland, Mich.; Asher A., who resides in Mapleton, North Dakota; Addie B., who died in infancy, and George E., who died July 30, 1898.

Her husband, Westbrook Divine, died September 10, 1888, and after his death she resided with her son George until his death, when she accompanied her daughter, Mrs. Fargo, to Dolan, South Dakota, with whom she resided until her death. Her request was that she be brought back to her old home and laid to rest by the side of her husband and son.

Freeman.—Sarah C. Freeman was born at Waterford, N. Y., December 3, 1817, and died at Portland, Michigan, September 7, 1899. By the untimely death of her father in 1825 her mother was left a widow with two small children, the deceased and a younger brother who died in 1838. Subsequently the subject of this article went to reside with a married sister at Bennington, Vt. At the age of fifteen she was converted and joined the Baptist church at Shaftsbury, Vt. Afterwards she transferred her membership to Newark, N. J., thence to Troy, N. Y., where she was married to Albert F. Morehouse November 6, 1839. This union continued nearly 60 years. The family came to Portland, Mich., May 24, 1843. The deceased, with her husband, united with the Portland Baptist church August 20, 1843, but in 1871 she transferred her membership to the M. E. church, where she was a consistent member for 28 years, until her death. In her christian experience, as exemplified in her family, in the neighborhood and in the church, she gave evidence that the christian life was more than a form—was a power controlling the whole being. She, with her little family, came to Portland when the country was new. Their home was in a dense forest, with no road as yet opened, and no church edifice in the township for many years afterward. They were pioneers, and none but pioneers can tell of the privations of those early years. With no physician near, the sick settler could only wait with as much patience as possible the development of disease, and hope for the best, which always seemed to be a long time in coming. All this the deceased experienced. Her funeral was attended by three daughters from Arizona, Louisiana and Grand Rapids, Michigan, and a son from Illinois.

Spencer.—William Spencer died at the residence of his nephew, J. A. Spencer, in Belding, May 19, 1900.

Uncle William, as he was familiarly known, was born in the town of Richmond, Ontario county, N. Y., September 17, 1821, and was therefore in his 79th year. He came to Michigan in an early day, and before railroads became so numerous used to run boats on Grand river. He also ran on Lake Michigan, and during the last years of his active business life spent each summer in New York city, where he was engaged

with a navigation company during the season. He formerly owned a fine farm in the northwest corner of Otisco township, but about a dozen years before his death took up his residence in Belding. His wife died about five years earlier. They had one child, which also died many years before.

CLARK.—Mrs. Lewis Clark died April 19, 1900, aged 98 years.

Polly Soles was born at Alburg, Vt., February 8, 1802. She was married at that place August 23, 1818, to Lewis T. Clark, a soldier of the war of 1812, who was one of the storming party at the capture of Fort Erie near Buffalo. In 1840 the family came to Ann Arbor, and in 1842 to Portland, Ionia county, where they continued to reside until death. Mrs. Clark was of a long-lived family; her father lived 88 years, her mother 85 years, her sister 82 years, her brother died at Portland at the age of 92 years, and she herself more than 98 years. Of a cheery disposition, her presence was always welcome, especially so in those early years of the new settlements, when the land, denuded of its sheltering trees, developed a deadly miasma, permeating the physical system and prostrating the settler on his bed of sickness when his active labor was most sorely needed. Remote from neighbors, with no physician near, what wonder, then, if the family of the immigrant gave way to despondency. Then it was that Mrs. Clark's presence and services were always desired and appreciated. Nor were her cheery counsels confined to words alone. With alert step she tidied up the home and provided some little delicacy, so grateful to a weakened patient, and when the light of that household was darkened by the entrance of death, the words of sympathy which she expressed alleviated the sorrows of the stricken family. Thus, while she lived, three generations of the human family were born, fulfilled their destiny and passed away. For more than half a century she was a consistent member of the Congregational church, though for many years preceding her death the infirmities of age precluded her attendance at the sanctuary. She waited patiently, and when the summons came she responded to the Master's call. Her funeral was attended in the same church edifice where in her younger days her seat was rarely vacant.

KALAMAZOO COUNTY.

BY HENRY BISHOP.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Alcott, Mrs. Deborah		May 17, 1900	82	
Barnes, Reuben		April 8, 1900	88	
Blodgett, Jerred	Pavilion	May 12, 1900	79	
Briggs, Jane P		April 23, 1900	73	
Burson, Abner		April 19, 1900	96	Resided on same farm 62 years.
Bush, Henry W		April 22, 1900	82	Supt. county poor 14 years.
Campbell, John P	Cooper	April 29, 1900	89	
Carman, Wm		April 5, 1900	84	
Cave, James		Mar. 18, 1900	74	
Coleman, Mrs. O. F		Aug. 24, 1899	66	Wife of a Mexican soldier.
Crose, Alvira	Prairie Ronde	April 24, 1900	75	A resident of Prairie Ronde 72 years.
Cutler, J. W	Portage	May 22, 1900	64	
Dorrance, Mrs. A. B		Oct. 27, 1899	79	
Doolittle, John S		July 14, 1899	71	
Douglas, Hosea B	Texas township	May 6, 1900	82	
Fellows, Solomon		Feb. 9, 1900	71	
Fletcher, Chas. M		April 19, 1900	77	
Freer, William		April 21, 1900	66	
Goddard, Phillip		July 13, 1899	80	
Hackley, Julius			91	
Harper, Geo. M		April 8, 1900	89	
Hatch, Mrs. O. R		Mar. 19, 1900	79	
Holman, John S		July 16, 1899	80	
Hoyt, Henry E		Feb. 11, 1900	72	
Hubbard, Mrs. Silas		June 4, 1899	71	
Kirkland, Hugh		Oct. 13, 1899	83	
Lusk, Harrison J		April 27, 1900	60	
Miller, Eli R	Richland	Mar. 18, 1900	81	
Osborne, Samuel S	Charlestown	April 25, 1900	79	
Phillips, Gibson		June 12, 1899	77	
Pursel, Mrs. Helen		May 22, 1900	69	First white child born in township of Schoolcraft.
Stone, Mrs. Lucinda H	Kalamazoo	Mar. 14, 1900	85	A woman of great prominence.
Tallman, James V		April 2, 1900	76	
Taylor, James	Kalamazoo	June 20, 1899	78	
Weed, Abraham		April 20, 1900	96	
Wheeler, George		May 24, 1900		

STONE.—Mrs. Lucinda H. Stone died at the ripe old age of 86 at her home in Kalamazoo, March 14, 1900. She had lived to see her most cherished ideas worked out into general practice. Co-education in the higher institutions of learning is now common in many parts of the country. Woman's clubs have multiplied almost as rapidly as the loaves and fishes of scripture, and give promise of an indefinite increase. Their founder, the "mother of woman's clubs," as she was called, was fortunate beyond most prophets.

But it is a noticeable fact that other pioneers in the "emancipation of women" have been almost as fortunate. Though Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Howe and Miss Anthony have insisted especially on the suffrage, they have had an interest in every development of the woman's rights movement, have watched it from the beginning, and have had many of their hopes fulfilled. Nor is this merely because, like Mrs. Stone, they are exceptionally long-lived. If it is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that Mrs. Stanton should be 85, Mrs. Howe 81 and Miss Anthony 80, they might have passed away years ago and still have beheld much of that progress upon which they were intent.

They and Mrs. Stone were all peculiarly blessed in the time of their endeavor. The world, or the United States at least, was ready to let woman work out the most of her own problems. Hence in the accomplishment of a change decades became the equivalents of centuries. Though the sentiments or prejudices of tradition remained, they soon lost their effectiveness in the face of argument. Modern man had gone too far with his liberal preachments to dissent from the abstract proposition that woman should have the right to enter the professions and business —the right to his own opportunities. He may still have his doubts about the value of the right or the propriety of its use, but he had to concede the principle.

In referring to these obvious truths we would not try, however, to deny the pioneers the credit they deserve for their labors. They have met with much stubborn and stupid resistance, have worked with great disinterestedness and ability, have been the chief promoters of certain needed reforms in our laws, have been an immense help to their sisters through the methods of association and organization. Mrs. Stone ranked high among them and will be long remembered.

KENT COUNTY.

BY WM. N. COOK.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Barnaby, James T.		Oct. 22, 1899.	77	
Bodlack, Anthony.		July 9, 1899.	78	
Brown, James W.		Dec. 2, 1899.	64	
Chadwick, Geo. W.		Jan. 17, 1900.	61	
Childs, Henry B.		Jan. 17, 1900.	85	
Clark, Mary A.		Oct. 28, 1899.	81	
Comstock, Chas. C.		Feb. 20, 1900.	81	
Cook, Maria		Feb. 19, 1900.	90	
Crissman, John V.		Mar. 1, 1900.	85	
Dart, Elijah		Dec. 23, 1899.	86	
Deane, Mary L.		Sept. 11, 1899.	89	
Elet, Chas.		Jan. 3, 1900.	81	
Field, Bethana		Jan. 4, 1900.	90	
Fisher, James		Nov. 12, 1899.	93	
Gay, Geo. W.		Sept. 24, 1899.	62	
Godfrey, Silas F.		Dec. 8, 1899.	71	
Green, Martin		July 21, 1899.	77	
Haxton, Elenor M.		Sept. 8, 1899.	95	
Howard, Charles I.		Oct. 2, 1899.	54	
Hoyt, Edwin, Jr.		Sept. 3, 1899.	71	
Hughes, Patrick		Sept. 9, 1899.	64	
Hunt, Eliza S.		Sept. 7, 1899.	86	
Ives, Calvin L.		Oct. 2, 1899.	55	
Jenison, Luman		Oct. 7, 1899.	76	
Lankester, David		Dec. 21, 1899.	64	
Ledyard, Harrison T.		Aug. 11, 1899.	58	
McCue, Michael		April 15, 1900.	100	
Miller, Jane R.		Mar. 14, 1900.	84	
Miller, Margaret		April 3, 1900.	79	
Noble, Alfred D.		Sept. 28, 1899.	66	
Norton, Mrs. Asa		May 20, 1900.	91	
Oom, John M.		Mar. 11, 1900.	87	
Reeves, Andrew J.		Oct. 17, 1899.	70	
Riley, Geo. B.		Dec. 9, 1899.	74	
Saunders, Dr. H. G.		Dec. 22, 1899.	80	
Scranton, Vallina E.		Feb. 9, 1900.	76	
Shaw, John Lewis.		Mar. 18, 1900.	67	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Smith, Israel C.		Nov. 27, 1899..	60	
Strang, Michael		Jan. 2, 1900....	80	
VanDriele, Francis		Feb. 3, 1900....	83	
Whalen, Mrs. Karan		Oct. 25, 1899...	84	
White, Charles B.		Feb. 12, 1900..	83	
White, William B.		Dec. 2, 1899...	73	
Young, Trumble C.		Feb. 28, 1900..	75	

BLAKELY.—Mrs. Mary L. Blakely died April 20, 1899, aged 77 years, 1 month and 9 days.

Mary L. Green was born in West Winfield, Herkimer county, N. Y., March 12, 1822. She came with her father, Hezekiah Green, and family in Michigan in 1836 and located in the Grand river valley. She taught school in the Indian mission house situated on Front street, one block south of Bridge street, on the west bank of the river, during the summers of 1839 and 1840, succeeding Miss Bond, the missionary, who taught the first school exclusively for white children in the valley. In 1842 she married William C. Blakely. One son, of Grand Rapids, survives her. A twin brother, Martin Green, of Ottawa county, survived his sister but three months, when he, too, joined "the innumerable caravan."

CHILDS.—Henry B. Childs, well known as a citizen of Kent county for over 70 years, died January 17, 1900, at his home in Rockford. Deceased was the promoter of the Childs paper mill in Rockford and had large farm interests in that part of the county. Of late years he lived in Grand Rapids.

COMSTOCK.—Ex-Congressman Charles C. Comstock died at his home, Riverside, Grand Rapids, half a mile from the soldiers' home, February 21, 1900.

Charles Carter Comstock was born in Sullivan, N. H., March 5, 1818. He lived with his parents on a farm until he was 24 years old, when he went into the lumber business in his native state. The New Hampshire field, however, was small and, in 1853, he came to Grand Rapids. With E. T. Ward & Co. he brought the first machinery to the city for the manufacture of sash, doors and blinds. Later he bought the Winchester furniture factory, but was forced to the wall by the panic of 1857. By resort to what was known for many years as "Comstock scrip" he pulled through, however, and in 1862 he sold a half interest in the business to James M. and Ezra T. Nelson. Three years later he sold

the other half and devoted himself to lumbering and farming, his lumber output for many years being ten million feet a year. In 1863 he was elected mayor. In 1870 he was the democratic nominee for governor of the state. In 1878 he was the people's candidate for congress and in 1884 he was again a candidate for congress for the democratic and greenback parties, and was elected, succeeding the late Julius Houseman.

Mr. Comstock was liberal in both thought and action, and had the happy faculty of making friends of all acquaintances. It may be truly said of him that he was most highly esteemed and respected by those who knew him best, and by none more sincerely than his employes, of whom he had a great number during his long business career. At the age of 22 years he was married to Miss Mary M. Winchester in their native town. She was a devoted wife and a christian woman, whose influence made a strong impression on his life. She died in Grand Rapids in 1863, and three years later he married Mrs. Cornelia Davis of that city, who survives him. His eldest daughter and her husband, Albert A. Stone, were lost with the steamer "Brother Jonathan," which foundered in a gale off the coast of California in July, 1865, and his only son, Tileston A. Comstock, a young man of rare promise and ability, died in 1870, leaving a widow, who was a daughter of Aaron B. Turner.

Mr. Comstock met few reverses in his business career. He passed through several panics and crashes, but always maintained his honor and integrity, and leaves a valuable estate as a result of industry, honesty and energy.

He also leaves a widow and four daughters—Mrs. John Goldsmith, Mrs. Franklin Konkle, Mrs. Lucius Boltwood and Mrs. Huntley Russell, all of Grand Rapids; also an elder brother, Dauphin W. Comstock, of the same city.

The Grand Rapids Herald of May 28, 1900, contains the following interesting article regarding one of its old settlers:

Henry Genia was one of the first, and in many respects the most remarkable citizens Grand Rapids ever had. Mr. Genia was the father of Joseph C. Genia, of Spring Lake, who was born on the rapids of Grand River over 60 years ago. He and Louis Campau came to these parts about the same time. Both were Canadian French by birth, and Detroit was their last hailing place. Mr. Genia's most remarkable characteristics were his great physical courage and remarkable personal strength. His height was only five feet four, but his muscular frame pulled the balance into the two-twenty mark.

Old timers remember many marvelous stories of Mr. Genia's performances. It is said that on one occasion Louis Campau offered to give him a barrel of pork if he would wade Grand river with the meat on his head and carry it in that manner to his home, half a mile farther.

"How many times can I rest?" asked Mr. Genia.

"As often as you please."

"Done."

The pork was raised to his head and the husky Frenchman started on his toilsome journey.

The bed of Grand river does not afford the best walking under favorable circumstances, but Genia got his load to his home with only three rests.

Returning to the store, Genia offered to take a barrel of flour on the same terms, agreeing to pay for both in case he failed.

Campau declined, however, saying:

"You ought to be satisfied with making forty-five dollars in one day."

On one occasion Genia was attacked and badly lacerated by a savage bear. He succeeded, however, in breaking the brute's jaws with his hands, and thus saved his life.

Fighting and wrestling men from near and far came to try conclusions with Genia, but they always got the worst of it. The Frenchman could pretty nearly floor an ox with a blow of his fist. He was a good natured man and would take an insult rather than strike a man of ordinary strength.

Henry Genia's wife died in 1839, and Michigan lost its charm. Leaving his little children in the family of his brother Joseph, Henry struck out for the Mississippi river, where he again became famous for his physical prowess.

Early in the war Genia went west, and in 1863 he secured a contract for laying a section of track of the Union Pacific. While getting out ties he was ordered off the land by three men, who finally attacked him, but were badly whipped by the Frenchman. The next day the fellows renewed the fight with revolvers, Genia having in the meantime armed himself with a rifle. A bloody wild western affray ensued, in which Genia lost his life. The body, which had been ever invincible before animate creation, became vincible indeed when a leaden bullet entered it.

GREEN.—Martin Green, twin brother of Mrs. Mary L. Blakely, died July 21, 1899, three months after the death of his sister, aged 77 years, 4 months and 9 days.

He was born in West Winfield, Herkimer county, New York, and came to Michigan with his parents in 1835, locating in the Grand river valley. Later he married Harriet Freeman, and on Christmas day, 1896, they celebrated their golden wedding anniversary.

His wife, a son and a daughter survive him.

JENISON.—Luman Jenison, the veteran democrat, one of the pioneer lumbermen, mill owners and farmers of the Grand river valley, died October 8, 1899, at his home in Jenison. Mr. Jenison had been despondent and not entirely himself in health or spirits since the death of his twin brother, Lucius Jenison, in March of the same year, and during the last two weeks had been failing rapidly. The cause of death was a general breaking down of the system from grief and old age, he being in his 77th year.

The Jenison twins were born in St. Lawrence county, New York, on April 25, 1823. They followed their brother, Hiram Jenison, to Michigan in 1836, and settled on the banks of Grand river, about seven miles from Grand Rapids, in Ottawa county. With their father and brother they engaged in the lumber business near the present site of Jenison, which was named after the family. The twins formed a partnership in their boyhood, and they lived and worked together all their lives. All that they had was held in common. The two prospered in the lumber business, and afterward, when settlers began to locate on the lands they had cleared, they started a mill and store. A village grew up around the two institutions, and was named Jenison.

The two were so prominently identified with the growth and development of the Grand river valley and of Grand Rapids that they were looked upon as quasi citizens of the Valley City. They were well known there, both in business and social circles. Luman was perhaps better acquainted in the city than Lucius. Luman looked after the store at Jenison and the manufacturing interests of the firm. Lucius managed the farming interests of the two. The twins never married, and were never separated until death took Lucius away six months before Luman's death. Lucius caught cold when his house burned in March and died in three weeks. The death was a shock from which Luman never recovered.

The remains were laid in the Jenison mausoleum by the side of his brother.

NORTON.—Mrs. Asa Norton, who died May 20, 1900, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. D. N. Beebe, on Gold street, Grand Rapids, was among the oldest women alive in Michigan, having been born in 1809, three years before the war of 1812. Her native state was Connecticut. When 19 years old she married and came to Michigan. After a brief residence at Plymouth Mr. and Mrs. Norton went to Cooper, near Plainwell, where they established the tavern so well known to the old settlers who traveled the old stage road between Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo.

Fire destroyed the building in 1868, and they moved to Dorr, where they lived until Mr. Norton died in 1885. Since then Mrs. Norton had lived with her daughter in Grand Rapids. Five of her nine children survive her, Edward Norton, of Fort Scott, Ark.; Mrs. C. M. Belcher, of Ann Arbor, Mich.; Frank and Fred Norton, and Mrs. D. N. Beebe of the Valley City.

SARGENT.—James and Thomas Sargent, Jr., twin sons of Thomas Sargent, early pioneer of Kent county, died a few years ago, but their death was not chronicled in the memoirs of the pioneers of the county. Yet they were conspicuous figures of the earlier days, because of the close resemblance of each to the other. So marked and close was this appearance that their most intimate friends could not name them correctly with any degree of certainty. For several years they were employed on a steamer plying between Grand Rapids and Grand Haven, and when referred to by travelers or teamsters were always as "Tom or John, I declare I don't know which."

After the death of their father they succeeded him in the street-sprinkling and ice business, and for years were well known figures upon the streets of that city. The close resemblance continued through life.

SMITH.—Gen. Israel C. Smith was shot and instantly killed by the accidental discharge of his own gun while hunting, November 27, 1899.

Israel Cannon Smith was born in Grand Rapids March 12, 1839, his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Cannon Smith, having settled there two years previous to his birth. The family was of Quaker descent, having lived up to 1837 in Rhode Island. Mr. Smith was educated in the public schools of Grand Rapids and completed his education at Albion college. His first commercial experience was gained in the lumber business in Muskegon, but later he conducted the same kind of an enterprise in Chicago. This business venture lasted a year, when he returned to Grand Rapids and began the study of law. This he pursued for another year, when he succumbed to an attack of the gold fever, and in 1859

joined a party bound for Pike's Peak, but finally landed in California. After a short but exciting experience in the mining camps of California, he returned home via the Panama isthmus. After a short experience as bookkeeper on a Mississippi steamer, he settled down to the study of law in Grand Rapids. His studies were, however, interrupted again, this time by the outbreak of the civil war, at the beginning of which he enlisted as a private in Company E of the "Old Third" Michigan infantry. Before the command left the state he was promoted to a second lieutenancy, and after the first battle of Bull Run he was again promoted, this time to first lieutenant and adjutant. In January of the next year he was made captain of Company F of his own regiment which had already established a national reputation as a body of the fiercest kind of fighters.

He saw hard service and the stiffest kind of fighting with his regiment in the siege of Yorktown, the Peninsular campaign, and was mentioned in general orders by Gen. Phil. Kearney for gallantry at the battle of Fair Oaks. Soon after this he was wounded twice, while leading a desperate charge at the second battle of Bull Run, and one of the bullets he carried with him to his death. For his gallantry he was again promoted, this time to the rank of assistant inspector general. At the battle of Chancellorsville he again distinguished himself, and later, at the battle of Gettysburg, at a decisive moment in the great charge of Longstreet, rallied his men, who were weakening under the dreadful onslaught, leading them back to their original position, and incidentally being wounded in the leg with a ball which fractured the bone. This bullet he also carried with him all the rest of his life.

Later in the year he was appointed a major of the Tenth Michigan infantry, and with it saw hard service in the south. When the war ended he was colonel of his regiment, and shortly after its close he was breveted a brigadier general. He refused a commission in the regular service, preferring to return to civil life.

After being mustered out he returned to Grand Rapids and assumed the management of the National hotel, which stood where the Morton house is now located. In 1867 he married Ada Elizabeth Meeker. He had only one child, Morton Fitz Smith, who is now serving as a second lieutenant in the Twenty-second United States regular infantry in the Philippine campaign.

Gen. Smith was appointed city fire marshal in 1876, and in 1881, when the police and fire board was first organized, he was appointed one of

the members. In 1887 he was appointed superintendent of police, serving in that position for two years.

In 1892 he was appointed collecter of internal revenue for the western district of Michigan by President Cleveland, and served a full term of four years.

Gen. Smith, upon the organization of a National guard in the city, took command of the local company, and was appointed the first colonel of the Second regiment when it was organized. In 1884 he was made brigadier general of the state troops, serving in that capacity for five years. Gen. Smith was also active in fraternal life of the city, and for a number of years occupied the position of commander of the Michigan division of the Loyal Legion.

LENAWEE COUNTY.

BY BENJ. L. BAXTER.

ARMSTRONG.—Henry H. Armstrong died at his home in Adrian July 2, 1900, in his 78th year.

Mr. Armstrong was born in Pawlet, Rutland county, Vt., November 23, 1822. He came from good old revolutionary stock. His grandfather, Joseph Armstrong, settled in Vermont in 1776. His grandfather on his mother's side was Capt. Zebadiah Andrus, who was an officer in the revolutionary army and afterwards was appointed by Gen. Washington a land commissioner for Vermont. His commission, signed by Washington, together with many historical things connected with that early period, are still preserved by the family.

Phineas Armstrong, his father, was one of the first men in his native town to enlist in the war of 1812, and was in the service until its close.

On September 12, 1844, Mr. Armstrong married Mary A. Robinson, daughter of Ephraim Robinson, and they came the same fall to what was then called the far west, Michigan. They located in Marshall, and for some years they endured the hardships of early pioneer life in a new country, sickness, toil and privation being their lot.

They moved to Albion in 1871, and since then resided there.

Six years ago they celebrated their golden wedding, and Mr. Armstrong's death was the first to occur in the family in nearly fifty-seven years.

BREWSTER.—Henry Brewster was born at Stoe, Summit county, Ohio, May 10, 1838, and died at his home in Clinton December 30, 1899. He, with his parents, moved to Michigan in 1844, and was married in 1866 to Miss Alice G. Brown, who died six years earlier after a long and painful illness.

Mr. Brewster was taken suddenly ill and died in a few hours afterward with heart failure. He had spent nearly all his life in the community, and was an honest, upright citizen who will be greatly missed.

Three daughters survive him; also a brother, who lives near Owosso.

CRITTENDEN.—Henry Crittenden, a prominent citizen of Adrian for many years, was found dead in a cistern. He rose at 4 o'clock and went down stairs. Not returning, search was made, and displacement of the cistern cover finally led to his discovery. He had been in poor health some time. He was 74 years of age and for 30 years was a popular conductor on the Lake Shore, but quit the road about 15 years before death.

DOWLING.—Thomas Dowling was born in England October 7, 1830, and died in Hudson township September 11, 1899. His boyhood days, till the age of 20, were spent in England, where, at that time, educational facilities, except for the privileged classes, were quite limited.

Early in life Thomas Dowling developed a remarkable talent and love for music. Under very discouraging difficulties he obtained a proficient knowledge of that subject. His parents were much opposed to his spending valuable time in pursuing what, to them, seemed a useless acquirement. The only time he could devote to music was on Sundays and odd times during the intervals of his daily labor. But few things have contributed more to the enjoyment of his life than vocal and instrumental music.

He possessed mechanical genius, when but a mere boy, far above the average, but the opportunities for satisfying his ambition in this direction were wanting till he came to this country with his father's family in the spring of 1851. He then learned the trade of carpenter and joiner and took pleasure in the study of architecture. Many buildings are now standing which attest the thoroughness with which he did whatever he undertook.

He was married to Cordelia Root July 4, 1857. Three children were born, two sons and one daughter. The daughter died when three years old.

Mr. Dowling was well known in the county, having lived on the same farm about 40 years.

Besides his wife and two sons, Fred of Kalkaska and Hugh of Clayton, he leaves three brothers and two sisters.

Durling.—Mrs. Augusta Durling, wife of Henry Durling, died at her home in Wise township, Isabella county, December 12, 1899. She was born in Tecumseh August 9, 1850, and was married March 24, 1869, and moved to the place she made her home until her death.

Exelby.—George Exelby died in Britton December 30, 1899, aged 63 years, 9 months and 22 days. Mr. Exelby was born in the township of Ridgeway March 8, 1836, and lived there until he came to Britton, twelve years before his death, when the village was in its incipiency. He was married to Miss Ann Palmer March 2, 1862. The widow and three children survive him, viz.: Walter, Edgar and Mrs. Ella Exelby Gripton. He was one of Britton's most enterprising citizens, and a liberal supporter of all public enterprises.

His name may be found on nearly every bond of the treasurer of the township for many years.

Gamble.—Frederick W. Gamble died December 7, 1899, at his country home, aged 70 years.

The subject of this brief sketch was a native of Ireland. At the age of 16 years, attracted by the opportunities which were open to young men in the United States of America, he decided to emigrate. Arriving in New York city, the youth found profitable occupation for a time and then went to Buffalo. Here he was employed in an extensive flouring mill for several years. He came to Michigan in 1852, locating at Tecumseh. Three years after, in 1855, he married Miss Maria Gray, daughter of J. W. Gray. Purchasing a farm southwest of Tecumseh some three miles, the young couple moved to the home where for forty-four years they lived. Here their five children were given them, and two were taken to the home beyond.

Howland.—Jonathan Howland died at his home in Adrian township on Monday, December 11, at the age of sixty-seven. Mr. Howland was born at Manchester, Ontario county, N. Y., September 5, 1832, and came with his father, Jonathan Howland, Sr., to reside in Michigan in May, 1849. They took up their residence upon the farm where Mr. Howland died, and which had come into possession of a member of the Howland family from the territorial government. At this homestead Mr. How-

land had resided for more than fifty years, except for a few years' residence in the city of Adrian.

He married, November, 1854, Emeline A. Snediker, who with four sons, David L., Frank A. and Fred J. of Adrian and Nicholas A. Howland of Tecumseh, survive him.

HUNT.—James S. Hunt was born in Monmouth county, N. Y., June 3, 1821, and died at his home in Tecumseh January 9, 1900. Since 1832 he had lived in Lenawee county, spending the latter years of his life in Tecumseh.

James Hunt started in his business career with no capital, and by hard work and good business ability acquired a competency. His hope for many years had been to settle his own estate and to owe no one as much as a penny, and he was able to gratify this desire.

A daughter, Mrs. Floyd Freeman of Tecumseh, and two brothers, W. H. Hunt of California and A. D. Hunt of Franklin, survive him.

JONES.—Mrs. David Jones, nee Anne Meredyth, was born in Breconshire, Wales, September 29, 1829. She was married to David Jones August 12, 1851, and a few days later started for this country. That same year she came with her husband to Tecumseh, where they had since made their home, and where they reared a large family. To them were born ten children, seven of whom survive the mother and remain to console the father. Mr. and Mrs. Jones united with the Presbyterian church of Tecumseh July 4, 1858, under the pastorate of Rev. Blinn.

KEMP.—Harriet Della Langthorn Kemp died suddenly at her home in East Macon on Saturday, January 20, 1900. She was born on the same farm January 18, 1858, consequently had lived on or near the same spot for 42 years and two days. She was married to John Kemp October 18, 1882. She was the mother of six children, three of whom survive her.

KISHPAUGH.—Peter Kishpaugh was born in Sussex county, N. Y., June 6, 1833, and died at his residence in Clinton January 1, 1900. He came to Michigan in 1849, and in August, 1856, was married to Eliza Lambert of Dundee. The following September they moved to their farm in Franklin, where they resided until the fall of 1882, when they moved to Clinton, where they since lived. He leaves a wife, four sons and two daughters to mourn his loss.

MILLARD.—A. L. Millard of Adrian, president of the Lenawee county bar association and oldest practising lawyer in the county, passed away January 11, 1900, aged 84 years. For years Mr. Millard had been a

leader of the Lenawee county bar and one of the foremost lawyers in Michigan. As an advising lawyer his counsel had been sought and advice followed by all the present generation of Lenawee lawyers. He was admitted to the bar of this state the same year Michigan was admitted to the union, and was before the supreme court at its first session, and for many years was the honored president of the bar association of the county. For over 60 years he was a member of the profession he adorned and loved. He gave the years of a life prolonged far beyond the average of the days of man to the trying, laborious duties of a lawyer.

MILLER.—Mrs. Isaiah C. Miller died November 3, 1899, aged 84 years.

Deborah F. Pratt was born near Palmyra, N. Y., September 13, 1815. At the age of 13 she came with her parents to Michigan, who settled in Lenawee county. She was married at the Adrian Baptist church in 1833 to Isaiah Curtis Miller. They were among the pioneer settlers of Rollin township, where they took land from the government, and in the wilderness they made them a home where they resided until the end of life. Mrs. Miller was by birthright a Quaker. When the M. E. church of Rollin was organized she became a member and continued as an earnest worker.

PARKER.—Harvey M. Parker, an old and esteemed resident of Blissfield, passed away January 6, 1900. Deceased was in his sixty-third year. Death was due to heart failure. He is survived by a widow, one son, Alpha, and one daughter, Miss Cecilia Parker.

Harvey Myron Parker was born in Plessis, Jefferson county, N. Y., February 16, 1837. His early life was passed on a farm, and while here he obtained a common school education. He was a sailor on the lakes when the war broke out. July 15, 1861, he enlisted at Freeport, Ill., as a private in Co. A, Eleventh Illinois Infantry. His regiment took a prominent part in the winter campaign of 1861-2 under Grant, burying seventy-two of its men in one grave at Fort Donelson, and is included in Fox's History of Three Hundred Fighting Regiments. He was detailed by Gen. Tuttle, commanding the district of Cairo, on August 23, 1862, to serve as ordnance sergeant under Capt. James O. Churchill, acting ordnance officer. He served as such at Cairo, Ill., Columbus, Ky., and Helena, Ark., until appointed first lieutenant in the Forty-eighth U. S. C. I., March 14, 1864. He was mustered in as such at Vicksburg, Miss., March 18, 1864, and was assigned to Co. A, Capt. Harding. He was in command of the company from May 5 to June 30, 1864, and was detailed

and served as quartermaster from April 21 to May 31, 1865. He then resigned on a surgeon's certificate, and was honorably discharged for physical disability by general order No. 365 from the adjutant general's office at Washington, July 12, 1865.

Mr. Parker was married to Miss Mary Tredway in Adrian in August, 1866, settling on a farm near Blissfield in the spring of 1867. To them were born a son and daughter, both of whom are alive. He was a charter member and past post commander of Scott post No. 43, department of Michigan, G. A. R., and was a delegate to the twenty-first national encampment at St. Louis, in 1887. During his stay there he was the guest of his old commander, Col. Churchill. He prepared for publication the proceedings of the regimental reunion held at Ottawa, Ill., in 1875, and also of the company reunion held at Freeport, Ill., in 1885. He enjoyed to an unusual degree the society of his comrades, and never missed a gathering of old soldiers when possible to be present.

Robinson.—Walter Robinson, one of the pioneers of the county, passed quietly away at his home in the township of Adrian, September 14, 1899, aged nearly 81.

He was born in Wayne county, N. Y., December 17, 1818, and had lived in Michigan since 1846, he first located in Adrian, engaging in business for 12 years, when he purchased the farm on which he died. He was a man of high character and strict integrity, and was a member of the legislature of 1867, being a staunch republican in politics. He also served as deputy revenue collector in 1864. His wife and family of ten children survive him.

Scofield.—William B. Scofield passed quietly away December 16, 1899, at his home two and a half miles west of Tecumseh. Mr. Scofield was born in Steuben county, N. Y., in 1848. At the age of 15 he enlisted in the 14th N. Y. V. Heavy Artillery and was honorably discharged at the close of the war. On December 19, 1879, he was married to Miss Laura L. Bryan. Mr. Scofield leaves, besides his wife, four daughters and three sons.

Slater.—Wm. Slater, an old pioneer of Adrian township, passed into the great beyond January 14, 1900, after an illness lasting comparatively but a few days.

The subject of this sketch came to Michigan with his parents in 1833, and settled on a piece of land on the Monroe turnpike in the township of Franklin.

In 1852 he bought a farm in the then wilderness on section 12 in Adrian township and cleared it up and put the buildings on it, where he lived until his death.

Wm. Slater was born in Sussex county, New Jersey, January 12, 1823. February 14, 1844, he married Mercy M. Hill. There was born to them three children, Walter, living on the farm, one dying in infancy and Delia, the wife of Frank Schieble of Adrian township, who with the wife and mother survive him.

SMELTZER.—Mrs. Maria Smeltzer died December 25, 1899, aged 79 years.

Maria Neal was born in Seneca county, N. Y., July 20, 1820. There her early years were spent with her parents until she married Arnold Smeltzer in 1842. They came to Michigan and began their wedded life in Macon township, where they resided for a number of years. They moved to Raisin where she was left a widow, her husband dying twenty-eight years before her death. In 1872 she moved to Tecumseh where she resided ten years and in 1882 she, with her daughter, Maggie, went to Detroit, where she spent the remainder of her days, passing away Christmas morning after a brief illness. The deceased was a member of St. Peters church, Tecumseh. She was a grand-daughter of the revolution, her grandfather Neal having served in the revolution and war of 1812. She was the mother of five children, one dying in infancy, three daughters and one son survive her.

SMITH.—Henry Smith, an old, well known and highly respected resident of Tecumseh, died at his home in Brownville November 25, 1899, aged 69 years.

Mr. Smith was born in the town of Usehendorf, Bavaria, November 2, 1830. When 17 years of age he left his home in Germany to seek his fortune in the newer country across the Atlantic. He first located in New York city and three years later made the trip to California, where he remained four years. He returned and located on a farm in Macon, Mich., in 1857. After successfully conducting the farm for a period of ten years, he sold it, moved to Tecumseh and purchased the furniture factory of David VanTyne. Two years later this factory was destroyed by fire.

The firm of Smith Bros. & Lovett was established in 1869, and the Tecumseh paper mill was founded. Two years later Smith brothers bought Mr. Lovett's interest, and in 1878 Mr. Smith purchased his broth-

er's share and became the sole proprietor of the mill, and has successfully conducted the business until the present time.

Mr. Smith was married to Miss Christina Schmidt in 1856, and their union was blessed by four children: Mrs. Emma Kloffenstein and Mrs. L. B. Schneider of Adrian; Miss Lizzie Smith and George Smith of Tecumseh, all of whom survive him.

WALDO.—Mrs. James L. Waldo died November 25, 1899, at the age of 79 years.

Susan Rowley was born in Cayuga county, N. Y., August 10, 1820, where she spent her childhood. In 1836 she removed with her parents into Genesee county, N. Y. In 1846 she was married at Batavia to James L. Waldo. In 1852 they removed to Albion, Mich., and in 1855 to Jackson, where for eleven years they were connected with the management of the state prison. In 1864 they moved to Tecumseh where they resided for thirty-five years. Mrs. Waldo leaves a husband, also one adopted daughter, Miss Celia F. Waldo, now living in Jackson, and five brothers and two sisters.

MACOMB COUNTY.

BY GEORGE H. CANNON.

In presenting this memorial report of Macomb county covering the period since the last annual meeting of the society in this city, it may be well to consider the question which must soon arise, and be taken into account, as to who are the pioneers. Of all those who took up land of the general government scarcely any now remain, especially is this the case in the older counties of the state. While we "who danced our infancy upon their knee" can hardly be classed as pioneers, although many of us have seen or experienced much of pioneer life; still the fact remains that the real pioneers have gone—they have passed over the divide; the lengthening shadows of the setting sun hide them from our view, while the glory and honor of their useful and well spent lives remain as a benediction to all posterity; and it is fitting that so far as possible a faithful record of their doings should be preserved in the transactions of this society.

BABBITT.—Mrs. C. A. Babbitt died at her home in Washington, October 26, 1899, aged 87 years.

Clarissa Andrus was born in Middlebury, N. Y., July 27, 1812. She was the third child of Elon and Nancy Andrus who, with seven children,

came from New York to the wilderness of Michigan in September, 1822, taking up land on section 33 that afterward became a part of Washington village, where they lived and died, and which is still owned by their descendants, the subject of this sketch having lived on the same land continuously for 77 years.

She early learned the lessons of privation and toil incident to pioneer life, bearing a large share in the settlement of the new home and in the rearing of the family of ten children.

May 13, 1836, she was married to Dr. Dennis Cooley, of Washington, who had one daughter two years of age. The same year Dr. Cooley was appointed postmaster of the village, an office that he held continuously for twenty-three years. So the young wife took up all the cares that would fall to the lot of the wife of a physician of a very extensive practice and postmaster of a large extent of country, their one-roomed house containing all the belongings of such a public man, and from which place she dispensed such broad hospitality as the mistress of a mansion, with many servants, seldom accomplishes at the present time.

The little daughter died in 1844, and soon afterward a seven-year-old motherless niece of the doctor was adopted into the family and received faithful parental care and training. (The wife of Prof. O. D. Thompson of Romeo.)

A few years later the message came again from the former Massachusetts home of the doctor that twin babies of his friend were left motherless, and the great mother heart of the wife yearned for them, so at the age of four months the two sick infants were brought to them. The boy lived but a few weeks, but the girl still survives as the wife of Mr. E. V. Preston, of Kentwood, La.

After building up a large practice and a beautiful and commodious home and the accumulation of a competence, the good old doctor died in 1860, after which his widow presented his extensive and valuable herbarium and scientific collection to the State Agricultural College at Lansing.

In 1862 Mrs. Cooley was married to Dr. S. A. Babbitt, of Ypsilanti, who lived in the Washington home, dying there in 1892.

Of the ten children of the Andrus family, all of whom lived to marry, but two remain, Loren Andrus of Detroit and Dr. Wm. Andrus of Utica.

Mrs. Babbitt was a quiet home-loving woman of such natural timidity that she shrank from every form of public action, but she was possessed of a distinctive queenly dignity that would have graced position.

CHAPMAN.—Mrs. Caroline Rice Chapman died at her home in Utica, October 30, 1899, aged 85 years and 7 months.

Caroline Rice was born in Jewett, Green county, N. Y., March, 1814. Twenty-two years later she and her husband braved the vicissitudes of territorial Michigan and located in Macomb county near Utica. Those were days for brave hearts and determined minds, and she met her new surroundings as few others did. Not only in her home but throughout the community was her sweet influence felt. They established and maintained for some time the first religious work in the neighborhood in which they lived. They also aided in forming and upholding the old Presbyterian church of that place, and later when the present Congregational church was organized, they each took a leading part. She was, with one exception, the last of its original membership to be called into the life beyond.

HARVEY.—James B. Harvey who died in Romeo, July 16, 1899, was born in Monroe county, N. Y., September 4, 1828. He came to Michigan with his parents when a child and settled at Frederick, near Mt. Clemens, afterward removing to Utica where the family resided many years. In his death Romeo loses one of its most respected and honorable citizens.

HINTZ.—Louis Hintz, an old resident of the county, 71 years of age, died July 14, 1899.

LEWIS.—Daniel W. Lewis died at Utica, August 29, 1899, aged nearly 80 years.

One by one the hardy pioneers of Michigan are passing away. Conquerors of a wilderness, they lived to see as the outcome of their toil fruitful farms, happy homes, populous villages and cities over all the fair Peninsular state.

Mr. Lewis was born in the state of New York February 11, 1820, and emigrated to Michigan and Macomb county with his father's family when a small boy. He married Miss Esther Galpin February 18, 1846. Four children survive him, Mrs. A. C. P. McLellan, Mrs. A. F. Leech and Mrs. G. W. Ruby of Utica, and N. B. Lewis of Boston, Mass. Of his father's family of ten, only two are living, Lafayette Lewis of Vassar and Mrs. Harriet Needham of Kansas.

Mr. Lewis settled on land two miles east of Utica, in those days called the "end of the road," the highway not being opened farther for many years afterward. He literally hewed himself a home out of the wilderness. At the close of the war he disposed of his farm and moved to

Utica, residing there until his death. Mr. Lewis was a mason by trade, and much of his handiwork is scattered over the surrounding country. Mr. Lewis enlisted in the 22d Michigan Infantry and served honorably with that regiment during the rebellion, and was a pensioner at the time of his death.

Mr. Lewis was a familiar figure on the streets of Utica. He was a great lover of the woods, and to hunt and fish or seek the rich deposit of the little busy bee was his greatest delight. The blood of the hunter was in his veins and you could almost find his counterpart in the "Leather Stocking" tales of Fenimore Cooper.

He was innocent of books,
But rich in love of fields and brooks,
The ancient teachers never dumb,
Of nature's unhoused lyceum.
In moors and tides and weather wise,
He read the clouds as prophecies,
And foul or fair could well divine
By many an occult hint or sign,
Holding the cunning warded keys
To all the woodcraft mysteries.
A simple, guileless, childlike man,
Content to live where life began,
He told how teal and loon he shot
And how the eagle's eggs he got,
The feats on pond and river done
The prodigies of rod and gun.

PALMER.—Mrs. Ruth Palmer, relict of the late Amos Palmer, died at her home on north Bailey street, Romeo, November 12, 1899, aged 87 years.

Mrs. Palmer was born in Granville, N. Y., June 6, 1812. She was married and settled in Romeo with Mr. Palmer in 1834, where she continued to reside until her death. Mr. Palmer died in 1895. One son, Mr. A. W. Palmer of Rochester, N. Y., survives her.

PALMERLEE.—Mrs. Lucius Parmerlee died at her home in Bruce October 26, 1899, aged 81 years and three days.

Louisa Stone Palmerlee was born in Monroe county, New York, October 22, 1818. She was educated at Gaines academy and at the Monroe female seminary. At the age of nineteen she began teaching school in her native state, and taught there eight years before coming to Michigan. In 1843 the family moved to Michigan, settling near Richmond. She taught for two years in this state, and there are many still living who can testify to her success as a teacher.

In 1845 she was married to Lucius Palmerlee, and settled in the home which was still her's at the time of her death. They had one son who survives. They also reared his two children who were left motherless in their infancy.

Rose.—Mrs. Hannah Rose, wife of Joseph Rose, died November 9, 1899, at her home one mile south and three and one-half miles east of Romeo, aged 76 years.

Sibley.—Mrs. Corbin Sibley died at her home of her son, Ezra T. Sibley, in Armada, Sunday evening, November 12, 1899, aged nearly 97 years.

As one of the oldest pioneers of this village, her history is inseparably connected with the growth of the village and all of its higher interests, and the sweet influences of her noble life will live long after the century, over nearly all of which the years of her life were spread, has closed.

Mary Corbin Sibley was born in Connecticut on the 4th of March, 1803. Her husband, Alvah Sibley, was born in Berkshire, Mass., in 1796. They lived in Brighton, near Rochester, N. Y., until 1835. In this place were born two sons, Alfred J., in 1824, and Ezra F., in 1827. In 1835 the family moved to Michigan and settled on the farm now occupied by Mr. Austin Phillips. In 1838 Wm. H. was born. Alfred died in Anamosa, Iowa; Wm. H. died in the army in 1862. She has two brothers living, both of whom are in the Episcopal church—Rev. Wm. Corbin, D. D., of Quincy, Ill., and Rev. Joseph Corbin, of Anamosa, Iowa. Her husband died in 1870. She leaves one child, Ezra Sibley, two grandchildren, and eleven great grandchildren. She has made a home for many others, it being estimated that she is the foster mother of twenty children. She and her husband with seven others were charter members of the Armada Congregational church, Mr. Sibley having been the deacon and Mrs. Sibley the chief promoter of the enterprise, and during her life the church was her center of interest. Mrs. Sibley was one of the comparatively few pensioners of the war of 1812 in which her husband was a soldier, and she was the last representative of the head of a family that took up land from the Government in Armada township.

Whitney.—Mrs. Harriet Veer Whitney died June 26, 1899, at the advanced age of over 90 years. She was born in the town of Withington, Hampshire county, Massachusetts, in December, 1808, and came to Michigan in 1833, settling with her parents in Washington township, Macomb county. She married Mr. Whitney, and to them were born eight children—four sons and four daughters—four of whom, two sons and two daughters, are living. Mr. Whitney died thirty years before his wife.

OAKLAND COUNTY.

BY JOHN M. NORTON.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Anderson, John W.	Springfield	Jan. 29, 1899.	85	
Ascomb, Thos. C.	Troy	Feb. 2, 1899.	81	
Ashman, James	Waterford	June 10, 1899.	84	
Bailey, Joseph	Commerce	Dec. 4, 1899.	85	
Barkham, Mrs. Mary	Commerce	April 11, 1899.	88	
Belford, Flora			83	
Bigler, Hannah	Orion	April 24, 1899.	81	
Briggs, Mrs. Anna M.	Royal Oak	Jan. 27, 1899.	83	
Chapin, Barton B.			91	
Cuneen, Mrs. Mary	Holly	June 8, 1899.	84	
Daines, John A.			85	
Duckering, Sam'l	Highland	Sept. 25, 1899.	90	
Edgar, Mrs. Agnes	Royal Oak	Feb. 17, 1899.	70	
Eldred, Mrs. Sarah	Royal Oak	Dec. 20, 1899.	87	
Fay, Rev. J. F.			83	
Fisher, John	Lyon township	April 14, 1899.	91	
Freeman, Green	Pontiac	June 27, 1899.	82	
Frost, A. P.			83	
Fuller, Orville			80	
Gillespie, Thomas	Southfield	Dec. 8, 1899.	84	
Green, Leland	Farmington	Mar. 4, 1899.	98	
Grimley, James H.	Birmingham	April 11, 1899.	85	
Griswold, Geo. G.			88	
Hanna, Robert, Sr.	Birmingham	June 14, 1899.	84	
Hunt, Mrs. Julia	Troy	Feb. 18, 1899.	82	
Knapp, Mrs. Ruth	Oxford	Oct. 24, 1899.	82	
Morgan, Nelson	Independent	March 8, 1899.	85	
Parsons, Charles			80	
Porter, Dr. James	Oxford	April 12, 1899.	87	
Proud, Joseph			80	
Quackenbush, Mrs. Eliza	Milford	Nov. 21, 1899.	84	
Robinson, Mrs. Mary	Milford	Mar. 21, 1899.	92	
Rose, Melvina	Bloomfield	Feb. 2, 1899.	84	
Rounds, Harley	Commerce	Feb. 22, 1899.	95	
Rust, Mrs. Lydia			86	
Smith, Mrs. Abigail	Orion	Mar. 29, 1899.	80	
Smith, Mrs. Lura	Farmington	March 6, 1899.	83	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Smith, Mortimer	Birmingham	March 1, 1899.	83	
Snyder, Cornelius	Addison	May 27, 1899	83	
Stanton, Hannah			82	
Stryker, Wm. W	South Lyons	May 6, 1899	84	
Summers, Mrs. Laura			89	
Sutherland, Mrs. Polly	Oxford	April 17, 1899.	83	
Sutton, Mrs. E	Pontiac	June 13, 1899	81	
Trent, Mrs. Cordelia			80	
VanWagner, Lorenzo	Oxford	Aug. 22, 1899	82	
Waldo, C. C	Holly	Jan. 6, 1899	90	

SHIAWASSEE COUNTY.

BY A. H. OWENS.

BIRDSLEE.—John M. Birdslee died at his home in Bennington township, September 4, 1899.

Mr. Birdslee was born at Hardston, Sussex county, New Jersey, June 3, 1830. His father, Henry Birdslee, came to Michigan in 1839 and located land in Bennington, one and one-half miles from any trail. There, with his parents, John lived until he reached man's estate; when he married and bought a farm of his own. He added to this from time to time until he owned a farm of 220 acres, which was brought under a state of high cultivation by his own energy and thrift.

He was the father of six children, four of whom survive him, Charles H. and Mrs. Elvert Place, who live in California, Mrs. George Kenny and Lauson G. Birdslee, of Sciota.

DORRANCE.—Charles A. Dorrance of Vernon Village, died May 22, 1900. He was born at Bristol, N. Y., May 11, 1823. In 1849 he was united in marriage to Miss Mary Pierce, and from this union three children were born, two of whom survive their father. They are Mrs. Delia Craig, of Webberville, and Mrs. Nancy Bennet of Elsie. He was married the second time in 1863 to Mrs. Sophia Burt. To them two children were born, but only Victor Dorrance, of Wyandotte, remains.

The subject of this sketch was a resident of Vernon since 1865. For a long period he was engaged in the furniture business with John Long.

This partnership was dissolved in 1881 and a new firm, Dorrance & Burt, was formed, Mr. Dorrance having entered into partnership with his stepson, F. E. Burt.

In 1868 Mr. Dorrance became a member of the I. O. O. F. and advanced to the highest degree of the order.

FRAIN.—David Frain was born in Harrisburg, Penn., February 29, 1816, and died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. C. D. Smith in Corunna, April 26, 1900, aged 84 years.

In 1832, when but sixteen years of age, he came to Michigan. Six years later he married Miss Harriet Campbell. Four children blessed this union and still survive their father. They are Harrison, of Owosso, and Albert and Mrs. Mary C. Smith, of Corunna, and Mrs. Ella Keith, of Mt. Clemens.

HAGAN.—John Hagan, a prominent resident of Bennington township, died March 10, 1900.

Mr. Hagan was born in Hinchinbrook, Lennox county, Ontario, 49 years before. At the age of eighteen he came to Bennington township, where, with untiring industry and energy, he acquired for himself and family their present home.

MASON.—William Henry Mason died at his home in Owosso, June 27, 1899. Mr. Mason was born in Owosso township, May 24, 1843. He was married in 1866. In 1867 he moved to Owosso and engaged in the lumber business and erected and operated a planing mill. A widow and one son, Marion, also one brother, George T. Mason, and one sister, Mrs. Esther Whaly, of Ada, survive him.

PATTERSON.—Captain Andrew Jackson Patterson died May 13, 1900, at his home in the city of Owosso. Mr. Patterson was born in Clarkston, Monroe county, New York, May 31, 1833. He came with his parents to Lapeer county, Michigan, in 1844. Later he learned the printer's trade. He was married to Miss Nancy Griswold, of Holly, N. Y., in 1855, and came to Owosso soon after, where for a few years he worked at his trade on the old Shiawassee American. In 1861 he enlisted in Company H, Fifth Michigan Infantry, and served as corporal for about a year, and was discharged for disability. He was commissioned captain of Company E, Twenty-fifth Michigan Infantry, and remained with his company until the regiment was mustered out of service. After the war Captain Patterson was engaged in general merchandising till 1871, when he became owner and manager of the National

hotel. His wife, one son, Fred R., and one daughter, Mrs. I. M. Turnbush, survive him.

PRIEST.—George W. Priest, of Venice township, died September 8, 1899, at the ripe age of 85 years. Mr. Priest was born in Jefferson county, New York, March 14, 1814. He obtained there the meagre education afforded at the district schools. He drove a team to Michigan in 1836 and settled with his parents in Washtenaw county, where, on May 18, 1839, he married Miss Judith A. Luther. Soon after the young couple came to Shiawassee county and located 80 acres of wild land in Venice township. Five children blessed this union, Mrs. Laura Youngs of Corunna, Albert Priest of Houghton, Mrs. Helen P. Leland of Durand, and Joseph Priest of Owosso, and George T. Priest living at the homestead. An adopted daughter, Mrs. Minnie Lyons, also lives at the homestead. Mrs. Priest died five years prior to her husband's death.

SALISBURY.—Mrs. Martha Salisbury, widow of the late Ezekiel Salisbury, died in Owosso November 3, 1899, aged 84 years. For 33 years she had been a prominent resident of the city, and had been associated with much of the social and religious life which have been such prominent factors in making Owosso what it is. Mrs. Salisbury was born in Vermont and was married there, coming to Michigan 60 years before her death. The family settled on a farm seven miles south of Owosso. Of eight children born to her, the mother leaves three, Mrs. B. W. Brewer and D. R. Salisbury of Owosso and John Salisbury of Corunna.

SOPER.—Timothy R. Soper died August 3, 1899, aged 71 years.

He was born at Penn Yan, Yates county, N. Y., October 28, 1828. He moved to Michigan in 1844 and settled in the township of Burns, Shiawassee county, where he resided until 1888, when he moved to Vernon, where he spent the remaining years of his life.

He married Miss Rhoda A. Keyes, a resident of Burns, in 1867, who, with their five children, survive him.

VAN DUSEN.—Lawrence Van Dusen of Owosso died February 24, 1900, at the age of 74 years.

He had resided in the vicinity of Owosso for more than 30 years, and was one of the best-known figures on the streets. For many years he was prominent in politics. For 12 years, up to 1889, he was justice of the peace. In 1882 he was elected to the legislature. At different times he was member of the school board, alderman, deputy sheriff, constable and coroner.

He leaves a wife and three sons, Judson, Charles and Steven T., all residents of Owosso.

YERKES.—Joseph W. Yerkes died at his home in Vernon November 30, 1899.

Joseph Watkins Yerkes was born at Romulus, Seneca county, N. Y., May 5, 1824, and came to Michigan with his parents in 1838 and settled on a farm six miles east of Vernon. He was married March 4, 1848, to Miss Sarah Emeline Sawtelle of Venice township. They moved to Vernon village in 1864, where he was ever after engaged in active business. He leaves a widow and three children, Mrs. Len I. Clark of Chicago, Fred Yerkes of Lorain, Ohio, and Albert Yerkes of Vernon.

YOUNGS.—Thomas R. Youngs, an old pioneer of Caledonia township, died November 3, 1899. Mr. Youngs was born September 26, 1815, at Hampton, Windham county, Connecticut. In 1826 he came with his father's family to Michigan, when they located in Lapeer county. Thomas, at the age of 18 years, went to the state of New York and worked on the Erie canal two years, then sailed on the ship Rambler from Nantucket on a three years' cruise. He saved three hundred dollars by the trip (a good large sum for a young man in those days), and then came to Michigan and settled upon 160 acres of wild land, where he lived for 60 years and where he died. At the time of settling there his nearest neighbor was two miles away. He was married to Miss Nancy M. Hart in 1841. At one time Mr. Youngs owned 600 acres of land, which he divided with his children until he reduced it to 160 acres. He leaves a widow and three children, Mrs. I. Parling of North Star, Mrs. I. Angus and Albert Youngs of Caledonia.

WHEELAN.—Clark Wheelan was born in the town of Clarkson, Monroe county, N. Y., February 18, 1820, and died September 25, 1899. His parents having died when he was eight years old, he was adopted by a man by the name of Trumble Granger, with whom he lived until grown. He was married November, 1843, to Miss Laura B. Akin. In 1846 they moved to Michigan and purchased 160 acres of land in Shiawassee township, afterwards adding to the farm by purchase 208 acres more. He leaves two sons, Frank M. and Charles A. Wheelan, and two adopted children, Mrs. Rev. I. McLain and John I. Wheelan.

WOOD.—John Wood, a pioneer resident of Corunna, died August 1, 1899.

Mr. Wood was born at Duddington, Scotland, May 20, 1819. In Sep-

tember, 1856, he was united in marriage with Miss Mary Blee. In 1857 they came to America and located in London, Canada. In 1868 the family came to Corunna. Four children were born to them, John, Lilly and James, who reside at home, and Annie, a married daughter, who lives in Detroit.

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.

BY CALVIN H. STARR.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Arnold, Henry G.	Leonidas	——, 1899.	86	Settled in the county in the early thirties.
Butler, Mrs. Richard	Centreville	——, 1899.	80	An early resident.
Knox, Mrs. Charles	Nottawa	——, 1899.	84	Came to the county in the early thirties.
Moore, Alfred B.	Three Rivers	May 1, 1900	84	Came to Three Rivers in 1836.
Moore, Horace	Sherman	——, 1900.	80	Came to St. Joseph county in 1843.
Morrison, Mrs. Nancy H.	Centreville	Feb. —, 1899.	81	An early settler.
Waters, Chris	Nottawa	——, 1899.	82	

Fletcher.—Mrs. John Fletcher died at Centreville during the year 1899, at the advanced age of 88 years.

She was one of the early pioneers of Michigan, coming into the state and locating in St. Joseph county in 1829. In 1831 she married J. W. Fletcher, and they were life-long residents of the county. Mrs. Fletcher was a member of the State Pioneer and Historical Society and one of the vice presidents for 1877.

Gray.—Barber Gray died in March, 1899, aged 87 years.

Mr. Gray came to the territory of Michigan in 1835 and took up the farm in Lockport township which was his home for more than sixty-four years.

Hecox.—Hamden A. Hecox died October, 1899, aged 73 years.

When but three years of age he came from the east with his parents, who settled in St. Joseph county, and three years later they took up their residence in Nottawa, where the seventy years of the life of the subject of this sketch were spent.

He was a member of the State Pioneer and Historical Society, and one of its vice presidents in 1890.

THOMAS.—James Thomas died at his home in Lockport township April, 1900, aged 87 years.

Deceased was a native of France, but came to America when a young man, and took up land in St. Joseph county in 1834, and continued a resident of the county until his death, a period of sixty-six years.

All of the eleven persons who died during the year were pioneers who bore the burdens in the heat of the day when luxuries were an unknown quantity and the meagre comforts of life were few. The average age is 83 years.

TUSCOLA COUNTY.

BY W. A. HEARTT.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Archer, Sylvia	Ellington	Nov. 23, 1899	67	A native of Ontario.
Bastone, John	Almer	March 1, 1900	69	A native of England.
Beardsley, Ebenezer	Caro	May 5, 1899	80	A native of Vermont.
Beardsley, Mary	Kingston	Nov. 28, 1899	40	A native of Michigan.
Bearup, Eli	Dayton	March 10, 1900	75	A native of New York.
Beecher, Caroline	Juniata	March 3, 1900	75	A native of New York.
Bentley, James	Elmwood	Aug. 22, 1899	67	A native of Ontario.
Black, Lucinda	Akron	Sept. 19, 1899	83	A native of Rhode Island.
Booth, Diantha M.	Juniata	Aug. 31, 1899	62	A native of Michigan.
Britten, Martha A.	Juniata	May 13, 1899	51	A native of Pennsylvania.
Burse, Abel	Almer	March 19, 1900	74	A native of Ontario.
Calloway, Orpa	Kingston	Sept. 14, 1899	62	A native of Ohio.
Chambers, Ann	Indian Fields	Feb. 28, 1900	68	A native of Canada.
Chapman, Thos	Almer	Feb. 16, 1900	77	A native of England.
Clark, Arnold B.	Dayton	Aug. 27, 1899	67	A native of Canada.
Clark, Elizabeth	Dayton	Sept. 15, 1899	75	A native of Canada.
Clark, Geo.	Juniata	March 1, 1900	58	A native of Michigan.
Clark, Nancy A.	Kingston	May 28, 1899	46	A native of Canada.
Dale, Martha	Caro	Jan. 21, 1900	45	A native of Michigan.
Delling, Mrs. W.	Caro	Jan. 4, 1900	61	A native of Michigan.
Everett, Thos	Kingston	Feb. 20, 1900	78	A native of England.
Green, George	Dayton	Oct. 31, 1899	77	A native of England.
Harmon	Almer	March 17, 1900	57	A native of Michigan,
Haskins, Elizabeth	Indian Fields	Sept. 10, 1899	64	A native of New Jersey.
Hawkins, Wm. L.	Elmwood	Feb. 26, 1900	74	A native of New York.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Higgins, George	Elmwood	May 9, 1899	84	A native of England.
Hillar, Nancy	Almer	April 26, 1900	80	A native of New York.
Hutchinson, Ozias	Ellington	May 22, 1899	84	A native of Canada.
Imerson, Thomas	Akron	Feb. 5, 1900	50	A native of Canada.
Kile, Nancy A	Juniata	Sept. 7, 1899	86	A native of Pennsylvania.
Klock, George	Vassar	Feb. 14, 1900	73	A native of Canada.
Knight, Joel S	Juniata	Nov. 15, 1899	52	A native of New York.
Longyear, Nancy J	Columbia	Sept. 26, 1899	70	A native of Ontario.
Lossen, Nicholas	Caro	July 27, 1899	68	A native of Germany.
McBain, Elizabeth	Caro	July 16, 1899	48	A native of Michigan.
McKinney, Paulina	Ellington	May 31, 1899	89	A native of New York.
Miller, Nelson	Juniata	Sept. 24, 1899	57	A native of Michigan.
Moreland, Willard	Fairgrove	April 14, 1900	73	A native of New York.
Morris, Wm	Caro	March 27, 1900	80	A native of Ireland.
Myers, Harriet A	Dayton	Sept. 27, 1899	55	A native of Ohio.
Newton, S. B	Arbela	June 3, 1899	78	A native of Connecticut.
Ogger, Mary A	Almer	Feb. 14, 1900	78	A native of Germany.
Ormsbee, Wm. B	Vassar	Sept. 20, 1899	69	A native of New York.
Pattison, Wilson	Ellington	Oct. 8, 1899	60	A native of Ontario.
Perry, Chas. F	Tuscola	July 29, 1899	50	A native of Michigan.
Pettiprine, Jos	Almer	Feb. 9, 1900	66	A native of Switzerland.
Randall, Elisha P	Almer	Oct. 29, 1899	79	A native of New York.
Rich, Silas	Almer	June 30, 1899	86	
Riddle, Albert	Caro	July 4, 1899	70	A native of New York.
Sadler, John	Watertown	July 27, 1899	72	A native of England.
Smith, John L	Akron	Oct. 19, 1899	83	A native of Canada.
Stevenson, John T	Caro	July 13, 1899	44	A native of Michigan.
Tart, Nancy	Caro	Oct. 10, 1899	69	A native of Ontario.
Town, Stephen	Denmark	Jan. 6, 1900	96	
Welch, Lorenzo D	Caro	Feb. 13, 1900	71	A native of Vermont.
Westbrook, Eliza	Caro	Feb. 4, 1900	54	A native of Michigan.
York, M. D	Arbela	March 11, 1900	52	A native of New York.
Young, Samuel	Kingston	March 11, 1900	89	A native of New Jersey.
Zinn, Elias	Almer	May 10, 1899	65	A native of Ohio.

WASHTENAW COUNTY.

BY M. D. OSBAND.

OSBAND.—Edgar Emmet Osband died in Ypsilanti December 24, 1899, aged 68 years, less 59 days.

Mr. Osband was born in Nankin, Wayne county, Michigan, February 21, 1832, and was educated in the common schools of his locality, supplemented by a short term in a college then located in Leoni, Jackson county, but subsequently removed to Adrian, Lenawee county.

On September 28, 1857, he married Sarah E., daughter of Harcourt and Louisa (Harris) Ferguson, who was also born in Nankin, September 28, 1835. They settled on a farm in their native town.

To them were born two children, William Weaver, May 14, 1861, and Meda Louise, September 16, 1866.

In 1884 they removed to Ypsilanti to give their children the educational advantages of the normal school. In 1887 they removed to Ontonagon, where their children were then engaged in teaching. Two years later they returned to Ypsilanti and built a pleasant home on Summit street, where they resided till his decease.

Mr. Osband was a carpenter and joiner by trade, and he worked at that business till a few weeks before his death. He was a man of undoubted integrity in all his relations of life, and he uniformly retained the love and respect of all with whom he came in contact.

His remains were buried in the old cemetery near his native town, where lie many of his father's family.

Rev. A. F. Bruske, D. D., president of Alma college, a life-long friend of the deceased, conducted the funeral services. There was a large attendance of old-time friends. Dr. Bruske in his discourse referred to his early association with the deceased, when he was a young man and the speaker was a boy. He said, "I have never forgotten that Edgar Osband always had a pleasant word for the poor little barefoot German boy, who couldn't speak a word of English, whenever they met." He spoke of him as a member of his church, as a chorister in his choir, and as a general peacemaker. He recalled his recollections of the father of the deceased, and of the Rev. Marcus Swift, whom he characterized as "that grand, great-hearted christian minister," and he paid a loving tribute to the memory of Daniel Straight and others of the old neighbors, and illustrated his remarks by appropriate anecdotes of them, all

of whom lie in the cemetery across the street from the church in which he was speaking, and to which, he said, "I brought my own mother from Saginaw and buried her beside my father over there."

Mr. Osband is survived by his wife, son and daughter and three older brothers. He was the fifth of six brothers.

His parents were William Osband, born in Palmyra, N. Y., June 1, 1796, emigrated to Nankin, Michigan, in October, 1825, where he died November 24, 1861; and Martha (Reeves) Osband, born in West Hampton, Long Island, N. Y., 1798, and died in Nankin November 17, 1848.

MEMORIAL OF GEORGE H. GREENE.

It is most fitting that an official of a society, who was proven worthy of holding his position so long as did our late secretary, should receive more than a passing word of recognition when he lays down his work, completed; and when that end comes by reason of a touch of our grim, yet sometimes welcome friend, death, the only thing left us to do is to record his faithfulness that those who come after may recognize our appreciation of his work. So today at our first meeting after he has gone out from our midst, we bring our tribute to the memory of our friend and brother, George Henry Greene.

The first representative of the family in America, one John Greene, a surgeon, came in 1635 to Salem, Massachusetts, but after a time was banished from this colony and joined Roger Williams in Rhode Island. Braving all the hardships, privations and dangers of that early pioneer life, he and his sons and daughters left to future generations a courage and energy which have made many of the representatives of the family prominent in the history of our country. Christopher and Nathaniel Greene, revolutionary patriots, are names known in every home; Julia Ward Howe, whose "Battle Hymn of the Republic" perhaps comes the nearest to a national anthem that we shall have for many years, and William H. Prescott, whose researches into Aztec and Peruvian history, which read like a romance, are the pioneers of all study in this direction, are also members of the family who in the literary world will live as long as the American nation exists, and there are several others perhaps less known, who have filled responsible positions.

Augustus Greene, the father of our friend, came to improve his fortune near what was then the western frontier early in the century, and at

his home on Grosse Isle, Wayne county, October 12, 1836, George H. Greene was born. When a boy the family moved to Raisinville, Monroe county, and here he attended school, preparing for a year's work at Yates' academy in Orleans county, N. Y., after which he taught in Monroe county for nine years. He was married April 8, 1862, to Julia Lucretia Baldwin of Raisinville, and a year later they came to Lansing, where he started a chair factory. In 1866 he entered the reform school, now industrial school for boys, as overseer of the cane shop, but it was soon evident that he could fill a higher position, and he was appointed the principal teacher, but soon this was short of his merits and he was offered the position of assistant superintendent. In 1871 he entered the office of the secretary of state to assist in the compilation of the census, and when this work was finished obtained a clerkship in the auditor general's department, his faithfulness to his duties being soon rewarded by his appointment as chief of a division, which position he filled for more than twenty years.

Of his church relationships but little can be said, as for the most part he was rather a silent force than an active worker. His parents were Methodists, or at least he attended that church in his youth, but he was inclined to Congregationalism. Living at the north end of town where there was no church of that denomination, and but few of any others who preferred their ritual, he joined a band of men and women in the founding of the Franklin Street Presbyterian church, and was for several years connected with its management as an elder, and also as superintendent of its Sunday school. In 1885 or 1886, however, he became identified with the Plymouth Congregational society.

Early in life he joined the Masonic fraternity, and as it is quite probable that a majority of the men pioneers are also Masons, I cannot do better than quote what his lodge says of him. "In all his activities in life it was in Masonry where his influence and example were most felt and appreciated. His depth of research in the great principles of Masonry, which he ever exemplified by his daily life, his ripe experience and profound judgment in Masonic jurisprudence, will ever stand as monuments to his superior intelligence and moral worth in the annals of Michigan Masonry, while his pure and well spent life will be a shining landmark in its history.

"Brother Greene was made a Master Mason in Lansing Lodge No. 33, F. & A. M., on May 1, 1865. During four years, 1871 to 1874 inclusive, he was Worshipful Master of the lodge; nine years, 1874 to 1883, he was Excellent High Priest of Capitol Chapter No. 9, R. A. M., one-

year, 1879, Thrice Illustrious Master of Lansing Council No. 29 of Royal and Select Masters; nine years, 1877 to 1886, Prelate of Lansing Commandery No. 25, Knights Templar. In 1883 he was Most Illustrious Grand Master of the Grand Council of Royal and Select Masters of Michigan, and at the time of his death was Grand Treasurer of said body.

"For over a quarter of a century he was one of the leaders in all the Masonic grand bodies in Michigan. While he never sought preferment, his good sense as well as thorough knowledge of Masonic history and jurisprudence caused his advice to be frequently sought. He was repeatedly called on for important committee work at the annual communications of the several grand bodies. In his mother lodge, No. 33, especially during the last ten years, he was repeatedly honored. In behalf of this, his lodge, Chief Justice McGrath presented him with a beautiful gold-mounted cane in 1895. Later the lodge procured his portrait and hung it in the lodge room. He was lodge historian and compiled a complete register of the Masonic history of all members ever connected with the lodge. He was without question one of the most beloved Masons in Lansing." These are the words of intimate associates who feel an individual loss and speak from their heart.

He at one time joined the I. O. of O. F. society, but afterwards dropped all active connection with it from individual preference for the Masons. In 1888 the national centennial celebration of the establishment of the Northwest territory was held at Marietta, Ohio, and Mr. Greene was one of the five commissioners appointed by Governor Luce to represent Michigan in this convention.

His tastes were those of a student and historian, and three years after the founding of the Michigan Pioneer Society he became interested in its work, joining the association in 1877. In 1879 he became the corresponding secretary, to which was added in 1892 the duties of recording secretary and charge of the pioneer room at the capitol. His interest in the work was as great as if it were bringing him a fortune, instead of being almost a labor of love, and every one of the quaint possessions of the society was as precious in his eyes as a family heirloom might have been. As the legislature of 1897 declined to appropriate any money for the publication of the records of the society, nothing could be done with them at that time and Mr. Greene devoted much of his leisure for a couple of years towards the compilation of a family genealogy, but had not quite finished it when failing health compelled him to stop all work.

During these two years he made extra effort to have the annual

meetings interesting, enlisting the services of the younger generation so as to perpetuate the society when the real pioneers shall have passed away.

At the next session of the legislature an appropriation was granted but so small that it would be necessary to omit some of the less important papers, and he commenced the laborious task of reading, cutting and sometimes putting entirely aside the manuscripts which had accumulated. His part in this was brief, however, for about a week or ten days before the time came for our meeting a year ago he became confined to the house. His mind, however, was here, and he was literally "faithful unto death," for only about two hours before his spirit passed beyond he gave instructions about papers and work. This was June 22, 1899.

It is at once an easy and a difficult task to write a history of such a man. His daily life is so simple and uniform that only a few events stand out more prominently than the rest, and these few are easy to record, but the matter between these lines is the part we must read if we would come to realize his work or his influence upon the world. This is the intangible, elusive part, so nearly impossible to describe, but so clearly felt by all who come in contact with such a nature.

In the physical world when men come to the open prairie or the gently rolling country they build their homes, till the fertile soil and the love of it enters their hearts, becoming a part of their lives, while the mountains, grand and beautiful as they may be, are left for the occasional traveler who admires, or the few who seek them for the medium of wealth they contain.

So in lives, the man who towers above his fellows, making his mark for a day the wonder and admiration of the world for a time, is sought out by the ambitious ones who wish his help, and perhaps appreciated by a very few whose lives touch his closely. His influence is great, it is true, sometimes for good, often not so fortunately; but the gentle, quiet men and women, whose lives are level and even, and whose characters we can see clearly, who think deeply, love humanity strongly, and live their appointed days simply are the great moral force that moves mankind. They are the ones whose friendship we seek, the rock upon which all society rests.

When each of the circles in which a man moves feels that to their own particular work he has given his best efforts, it denotes a strong personality and a broad mind, and this was certainly true of Mr. Greene. In each society with which he was connected his task was so faith-

fully performed that that particular thing seemed to be the work in which he was especially interested. The opinion of the church and lodge is repeated in our own organization. His word was good, his opinion valued, his work true, and it is a personal loss to every member that we are to meet him no more.

My own acquaintance with him was very slight, and was almost wholly confined to his work here, and there was more than one evidence to me that the society was very near his thoughts; its success, which seems imperiled by the passing of the old pioneers was a serious matter to him, as he recognized its value to our state, and no better monument can be raised to his memory than to go on with the work of gathering and compiling the records of our early settlers, and instilling into the minds of their children's children the ideas of bravery and perseverance in overcoming all the difficulties of life.

For our daily walk let his life be an example, taking his guide for ours, that we may at the end come, like him, to the "peace which passeth all understanding."

THEODATUS TIMOTHY LYON.

A Biographical Sketch Prepared by his Executor.

CHAS. W. GARFIELD.

Theodatus Timothy Lyon was born at Lima, Livingston county, New York, January 23, 1813. He lived a reputable and very useful life. He died at South Haven, Van Buren county, Michigan, February 5, 1900. This in brief is the record, and one of which any of us might well be proud. It is desirable, however, in the transactions of the State Historical Society, to have something more than this with reference to citizens who have had to do with the building of the state. For the following account which I shall give of Mr. Lyon I am indebted largely to notes that I found among his private papers, which came to me as executor of his estate, and observations of my own made during the intimate acquaintance of more than a quarter of a century with Mr. Lyon's career.

Thomas Lyon, the paternal grandfather of T. T. Lyon, was a native of Connecticut, and for a time held a commission in the army during the revolutionary war. At an early day he removed with his family to western Massachusetts, and subsequently to Avon, Livingston county, New

York, where he died in 1838 at an advanced age. Timothy Lyon, one of his sons, and the father of the subject of this sketch, was born in 1788, probably prior to the removal of the family from Connecticut. He served an apprenticeship as architect and millwright, and followed this business, together with the management of a farm, until his removal to the then territory of Michigan in 1828. On January 1, 1812, he married Mary, the daughter of Jonah Davis, an immigrant from Delaware county, New York, who had settled upon a farm in the adjoining town of Lima, in which town he founded his home and remained until the removal of the family to Michigan. There were four children in this family, two sons and two daughters, the oldest being Theodatus Timothy.

"Theo," as he was familiarly called, was born at Lima, January 23, 1813, and until the removal of the family to Michigan in 1828, enjoyed the life of a happy boy on the farm, and was educated in the schools of the town. Mr. Lyon often recalled the fact that he heard the booming of the cannon stationed along the line of "Clinton ditch," which telegraphed to the people of Albany the fact that the waters of Lake Erie had been admitted to the western end of the canal. This event occurred during the last visit of Lafayette to the United States. Although he was quite young, at the date of the occurrence, he had a vivid recollection of the intense excitement growing out of the alleged abduction of Morgan by the Free Masons, and of the heated political contest which followed it.

It was only four years after the completion of the canal that the family decided to remove to Michigan, and embarked on the "line boat" for Buffalo on this new waterway. From Buffalo a passage was secured on the schooner "United States" for the voyage to Detroit; the trip from Detroit to Plymouth was made on foot through the Bucklin and Nankin woods. Plymouth, at that time, was an ambitious village, consisting of two log houses and the body of an unfinished log shop. The father had collected a small stock of goods, which were soon offered for sale in a log building near what has since been known as "Plymouth Corners." It was in this commercial venture that T. T. Lyon acquired his earliest experience as a clerk. For some years the practical occupation of the young man was the management of an ashery, made possible by the clearing of the heavily timbered land in the vicinity. For a short time he carried the mail weekly on horseback between Maumee City, Ohio, and Pontiac, Michigan; and semi-weekly between Tecumseh and Monroe.

After the lapse of several years "Theo" returned to his former home at Lima, New York, and in 1834 avowed his purpose of adopting teaching as a life work. He made a rapid review of the branches in preparation for his first certification by the school commissioners, and engaged a school in the village of Conesus, the consideration being thirteen dollars per month. After teaching the winter school successfully he re-entered a select school at Lima, and devoted himself diligently to a review of the usual branches taught in the common schools, and in addition took up algebra, geometry and Latin. The following winter, that of 1835-6, he taught the village school in the thriving village of Penfield, a few miles from the city of Rochester. During this interval, while he was engaged as student and teacher in New York, a rush of immigration to Michigan had set in, and under the stimulus of the inflation of that period his father had widened his scheme of merchandizing at Plymouth, and had established several branches in other places. In conjunction with an enthusiastic New Yorker he had established a grist and saw mill, and the two had become prominent factors in the development of the new country. "Theo" was needed at home and reluctantly gave up for a season his determination to follow pedagogy and assisted his father in closing up the inflated affairs of the company of which he was a member, and which had collapsed in the general depression of the period.

As a result of this financial disaster his father became very despondent; abandoning his old habits of business, he pre-empted a parcel of land east of Saginaw bay, living for some time alone. He built a log house, and a forest fire sweeping over the region destroyed all the improvements he had made; and in the effort to save some of his belongings he inhaled smoke and flame, the result of which was his death very soon after at the age of seventy-three years. Mr. Lyon's mother remained at Plymouth, surviving her husband eleven years, dying in 1872 at the age of eighty-one.

After closing up the affairs of his father in the vicinity of Plymouth young Lyon ventured upon the purchase of a saw mill with a farm attached near Plymouth, to which his energies were devoted for several years. While engaged in this undertaking he married Marilla Gregory, daughter of Hon. William S. Gregory of Plymouth, in December, 1838. The alliance with the Gregory family was a most fortunate one, and in a large measure moulded the future career of public spirit into which Mr. Lyon entered. Late in 1841 he disposed of his mill and farming interest, and in the spring of 1842 was appointed keeper of the

Wayne county poorhouse. This institution consisted of a log building upon an eighty acre farm, and the duties of the position included the management of the farm and the care during the winter of about eighty paupers, most of them from Detroit. A change in the political complexion of the appointing board occasioned his retirement from this position in the year 1843. The ensuing four years were spent upon the farm of his father-in-law and in teaching the district school in the village of Northville. It was during this period that he planted a small nursery of root grafts which mainly supplied the trees for the extensive trial orchards which afterward became so famous.

Mr. Lyon during his lifetime occasionally recalled, in conversation with his friends, his first effort in the propagation of fruits. The incident occurred about 1827 while living at Lima. One day, while visiting a grown-up orchard of a neighbor, he found in the top of one of the apple trees a man employed in inserting buds in the smaller branches. He watched the process with the closest attention, and on his return home procured and sharpened an old case knife—the best implement available for the purpose—and proceeded to cut buds from his favorite apple; these were inserted in other trees in the old farm orchard and were successful. This was the first lesson in pomology of the man who afterward became a world wide authority in the science.

During the year of 1847-8 he became possessed of fifty acres of land—a portion of the Gregory farm; nearly all of this was covered with heavy timber, and he commenced clearing and planting immediately thereon the trial orchards which subsequently became the basis of a long line of investigation and experimentation which established his reputation as a pomologist. He gathered from near and from far all of the known varieties of apples and pears that were grown in this country. He soon discovered the fact that there was a great deal of confusion in the nomenclature of these varieties which he obtained, and in many cases, under different names from different localities, he secured scions which were identical. At that time the only work on fruits of America was the first edition of Downing's "Fruits and Fruit Trees of America." He entered into a voluminous correspondence with Charles Downing, John A. Warder, John J. Thomas, Marshal P. Wilder, Patrick Barry and many other leading lights in American pomology; and through this correspondence was able to secure a wide range of information which he classified in his inimitable way for use in his future work for the public. While it was expected that the orchards planted would furnish a living for his family, he gave very little thought to mere money

making; and in obtaining varieties for insertion in these trial orchards he paid absolutely no attention to the commercial needs of the orchard. Numbers of varieties known to be worthless commercially were planted out for simple purposes of study. During the growth and fruiting of these trial orchards he was several times appointed by the State Agricultural society as its representative to the meetings of the American Pomological society.

At a session of the society convened at Philadelphia he exhibited from his orchards over one hundred and twenty varieties of apples in excellent condition. This exhibit attracted a great deal of attention, including as it did nearly all of the known varieties recognized for high quality. The collection was subsequently turned over to Dr. Warder, who exhibited it at the national capitol. Two years later, the managers of the American institute at New York made an earnest request for a similar collection for exhibition at their fair in New York city. The collection was finally sent, with a great deal of hesitation, however, for the reason that the crop of fruit that season was considerably below the average in size and appearance. The collection was exhibited in three lots. Patrick Barry complimented the work as the most valuable lesson in American pomology, and the three collections were awarded the gold, silver and bronze medals of the institute. At the time of this writing they are in the custody of the state, and on exhibition in the state library at Lansing. It was while engaged in the occupation of caring for this fruit farm that the father and mother of his wife, being advanced in years and in feeble health, after having disposed of their farm, became inmates of his family, the mother dying in 1861 at the age of seventy-two, and the father in 1863 at the age of seventy-three. From 1861 to 1865 Mr. Lyon was chosen to the position of member and secretary of the board of superintendents of the poor for Wayne county. Since his earlier appointment as keeper of the county poorhouse the number of inmates had very largely increased, and it was during his occupancy of the position of clerk of the board that his methodical ways led to the establishment of a very perfect system of records for the institution. His work in this capacity was a model of accuracy and perspicuity. It was while occupied in this work and attending the regular semi-monthly meetings of the board that the importance of railroad communication was strongly forced upon his attention, and he mapped out the project of a railroad from Detroit to Howell, Lansing, Allegan, Paw Paw, St. Joseph and Chicago, and as the initial step opened correspondence with persons at Brighton, Howell and Lansing. Like many

other new projects this one was not received with any promise of success. But Mr. Lyon was a persistent man, and ultimately the response from Brighton and Howell proved so encouraging that the initial meeting was convened at New Hudson, a village intermediate between Howell and Brighton; and it was due to this meeting that steps were taken for the organization of a railroad corporation which finally resulted in the building of a railroad that developed into a magnificent system. Mr. Lyon was elected as president of the organization, and in conjunction with Mr. John Allen and William Taft, both of Plymouth, worked out the early details of the Detroit, Lansing & West Michigan Railroad. It was while engaged in railroad matters, which engrossed a great deal of his time and energy, that his orchards became largely entrusted to others. His wife became quite feeble in health, due in large measure to the care of her parents during their last protracted illness; and he moved from the farm and became a resident of the village of Plymouth.

His connection with the railroad enterprise closed in 1872. His active and earnest devotion to other things diverted his attention for some years from horticultural and orchard interests, and his trial orchards, having passed into other hands, he was induced to accept a proposition to assist in the establishment of a nursery at South Haven, Michigan. The argument which had the greatest force in leading him to the adoption of this plan was the hope of restoring his wife's health by the change of residence to the shore of Lake Michigan. This hope was to a considerable degree realized. The contemplated nursery association was organized in 1874, and Mr. Lyon was chosen president. Following so closely after the panic of 1873, the venture proved to be an unfortunate one. In 1877 the association closed up its affairs by the appointment of Mr. Lyon as receiver, and soon thereafter the property was sold at public sale, subject to many incumbrances.

The experience in connection with this unfortunate venture emphasized the fact that Mr. Lyon, although a very careful and painstaking student and wise adviser in all matters of orcharding, was not a financier. He became quite seriously involved in many ways, but while losing the confidence of many business associates, as far as his ability to manage the affairs of a nursery was concerned, he lost nothing in integrity of character or in influence as a skilled pomologist.

Immediately after the organization of the Michigan Pomological society in 1870 Mr. Lyon became a member of the executive board, and continued his close connection with the affairs of the society until within a year of his death. One of the early efforts of the Pomological

society was to frame a list of fruits to be recommended for general cultivation throughout the state. An important committee was established to carry out this project, and Mr. Lyon was made chairman. The report of this committee was adopted by the society, and was the initiatory movement in the most valuable work accomplished by the society in later years, which was the framing of a fruit catalogue for the state, and keeping it up by the use of the added data to be secured in the progress of pomology in our country. Mr. Lyon became permanent chairman of the committee in charge of the preparation of this catalogue, and was continued in charge of this work until within a short time previous to his death.

In 1876 Mr. Lyon was elected president of the Michigan Pomological society, which in 1880 became the Michigan Horticultural society. He was continuously re-elected to this office until 1893, near the close of the eighty-second year of his age, when the increasing infirmities of age compelled his retirement as acting president. The society, however, continued him as honorary president during his lifetime.

The record of Mr. Lyon's career in horticulture, as far as it affects the state of Michigan, is found in the volumes of the Michigan Horticultural society. He prepared very many papers upon technical subjects, the full text of which has been preserved in these volumes, and his annual messages to the society are documents of inestimable value to the fruit growers of the state for all coming time. Among other documents that he prepared during his occupancy of the presidential chair of this society was "the history of Michigan horticulture," which is embodied in one of the annual reports of the society, and which was published by the state as a separate volume and distributed very generally among the pomologists of the country.

His relationship to the American Pomological society became a very intimate and important one after his earlier exhibit of fruits before the society, which brought his merits as a pomologist into recognition. In the biennial volumes of this organization are recorded some of his best technical papers and some of his most valuable reports upon matters referred to him by the association. It was his master hand that promoted the policy of the society which resulted in the uniformity of nomenclature adopted in this country. After the death of Mr. Patrick Barry, who had for years been the chairman of the committee in charge of the catalogue of American fruits, Mr. Lyon was chosen to succeed him, and this position Mr. Lyon occupied until infirmities compelled him to give up all work of this character, near the close of his life.

Mr. Lyon's known reputation as a skilled pomologist led to his selection on many occasions for important and delicate tasks connected with the judging of fruits at expositions. It was at the great New Orleans exposition that occurred a most serious controversy with regard to the relative merits of the citrous fruits exhibited from Florida and from California. It was Mr. Lyon's diplomacy that framed the report which gave proper credit to all parties and prevented an estrangement of localities which would have been exceedingly unfortunate. Mr. Lyon was a wide and keen observer of fruits at all exhibitions he attended, and as a result of these observations he became greatly impressed with the capabilities of Michigan in the production of high grade fruits adapted to the climatic conditions of the state. His conviction amounted to a certainty that in certain species of fruits Michigan could excel her competitors, if her fruits were exhibited properly. It was a source of keen chagrin to him that at the World's Fair held in Chicago, Michigan fruits were inadequately represented, owing to mismanagement on the part of the commission in charge of the Michigan exhibit.

Mr. Lyon's connection with the state experiment station was the result of an active campaign begun by him some years previous to the establishment of the station, which looked toward the recognition of the special adaptability of the west shore of Michigan to fruit growing. He maintained in public speeches and in communications to the press that for the proper development of the unusual capabilities of west Michigan there should be an experiment station established on the west shore for the testing of fruit and the giving of counsel to planters of orchards. It was in recognition of Mr. Lyon's ability to advise in this matter that the board of agriculture finally established at South Haven a sub-station devoted to the testing of fruit for the region of the lake shore, and Mr. Lyon was made the agent of the board in immediate charge of the station. Under the leadership of Mr. Monroe, Mr. Lyon and some others, the people of South Haven secured a piece of land adjoining Mr. Lyon's own place, which was turned over to the board of agriculture for the purposes of the sub-station, and subsequently the board leased of Mr. Lyon his ten-acre fruit farm, and the whole area was converted into a fruit testing station, which is still continued under the management of the board of agriculture. The bulletins of this sub-station are recognized as authority, and are considered by horticulturists everywhere in our country as models of well-classified and methodical observation and experiments in the testing of fruits. Mr. Lyon retained his position in charge of the station until his impaired health

compelled him to reluctantly ask relief from the work. His successor, however, consulted him in matters of station work as long as his faculties remained unimpaired.

Another important work undertaken by Mr. Lyon was at the suggestion of the division of pomology at Washington. It was during the incumbency of Mr. Coleman as commissioner of agriculture that Mr. H. E. Vandeman was selected to be the head of the division of pomology. Mr. Vandeman knew well the wonderful capabilities of Mr. Lyon, and used him as special agent for the division. Afterward the importance of having a carefully prepared card catalogue of American fruits was brought to the attention of the division by Mr. Lyon, and during his last years a large portion of his time was occupied in the preparation of this catalogue, which was not completed at the time of his death.

Very early in his career as president of the Michigan Horticultural society he developed an interest in forestry, because of the importance of this subject as connected with the future of Michigan as a horticultural state. In his messages to the society, he hammered away at this matter until he compelled people to listen to him, and was greatly rejoiced when, near his end, he knew that a forestry commission had been established in the state.

Mr. Lyon's business career was not a success from the standpoint of the acquirement of property. He was a philanthropist rather than a business man, an intelligent student rather than a successful money maker. This was because of the habit of mind of the man; it was impossible for him to keep the business end of things constantly before him. As a lover of mankind and a public-spirited citizen he was constantly making his business subserve what he believed to be the higher motives. This meant helpfulness to a great many people, but at a sacrifice of money in his own pocket. Again, he was too painstaking in the details of things to make a successful venture in business, and in the absorption of his mind with these details he was very apt to neglect the matter of margin. Again, it was impossible for Mr. Lyon to handle help as machinery, and he was not successful in utilizing men for the making of money. In truth, Mr. Lyon minimized money values all along the line; he had no time for money making, because other things seemed to him so much more important in the building up of a career.

There were some personal characteristics of Mr. Lyon that are worthy of crystallization in a biographical sketch. He had great equanimity of temper under very trying circumstances; he had what we generally term poise, and rarely, if ever, lost his head under the most exciting

conditions. He had a deeply religious nature, and saw the spiritual side of movements and magnified them in his estimate of values. He had extraordinary firmness, insomuch that, having once taken a position, it was with great difficulty that he was moved from it by any argument, however convincing. In his own controversies, and he had many, his strength lay in his accuracy of statement. He rarely had to take anything back, and he was not equivocal in his method of putting things. In his public papers, given before associations and public gatherings, he was rather prosaic in his expression and not attractive in his enunciation, so that many people, not especially interested in the topics he discussed, considered him dull. This was not true with people who were interested in the things he discussed, because he was so thorough in his development of a subject. One characteristic that was uppermost and very noticeable to all people was the old-time, gentlemanly courtesy that always characterized his relationships with men and with women. He was mild and thoughtful of others, careful to avoid injuring feelings, and always made prominent the delightful amenities of life.

Mr. Lyon was a man of wonderful pertinacity; his continuity of purpose found its expression in never giving up a plan until it was absolutely certain that it could not be carried out.

His chirography was very perfect, even until within a short time of his death; his articles for the press, and his public papers in handwriting, punctuation and orthography were as nearly perfect as one ever finds documents of this kind. He was greatly interested in the typewriter, and for years gave some thought to the development of a machine of his own. He learned the art of typewriting after he was eighty years old, as an assistance to his failing eyesight.

There are some general observations with regard to the life of Mr. Lyon that one will be excused for making, even if they seem somewhat fulsome. He had extraordinary probity of character, and was thoroughly intrenched in his righteousness; he was not willing to be a good citizen simply, but delighted to be something more; he was a public-spirited citizen, and was constantly in advance of his fellows in his suggestions of public undertakings for the welfare and happiness of people. There was not a lazy thing about Mr. Lyon; he was continuously active, and while not a rapid worker was so continuous in his work that he accomplished a great deal. He was a man of clearly defined opinions upon things outside of his specialties. In politics there was no uncertainty to his views. In religious matters he was not satisfied to deal with generalties, but had clearly defined views upon the technicalities of the-

ology; he was in line with the prophets of old in that he was constantly giving expression to advanced views upon all public matters, even against the notions of the general public that had not reached to his level of insight.

He had great facility of expression and a wide vocabulary; his sentences were always very perfect and his expression of thought was never involved. As indicated in what has been said heretofore Mr. Lyon was strongly partisan in his views, and because of this had the reputation of being somewhat intolerant of the views of those who opposed him in thought; it was always true of him, however, that he gave credit to whom credit was due. Sometimes his friends considered him somewhat lacking in diplomacy because of his directness of expression and unwillingness to yield a point for the acquirement of another.

With all his decision of character and clearly-cut opinions, he did not prove to be a good presiding officer, largely because he had so great a measure of courtesy that he was constantly using that he could not bring himself to shut a fellow member off from debate, even if he was over-reaching time and had become thoughtless of the feelings of other people. But Mr. Lyon was eminently fitted for the position of secretary, first, because he had genius, second, accuracy of statement and clearness in his expression of details, and as chairman of a committee to make exhaustive investigation and report fully upon any subject or method he was unequaled.

In recognition of Mr. Lyon's eminent ability as a pomologist and his wide influence in moulding the horticulture of Michigan, the state agricultural college, in 1896, conferred upon him the honorary degree of master of horticulture.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF GENERAL JOHN R. WILLIAMS.

BY J. R. WILLIAMS.

John R. Williams, first mayor of Detroit under the charter, was the only son of Judge Thomas Williams, a native of Albany, who came to Detroit shortly after the surrender of the town to the English, as early as 1767, and perhaps as early as 1765. The mother of John R. Williams was Cecile Campau, sister of Joseph Campau, to whom Thomas Williams was married by Colonel De Peyster, the British commander of Detroit, May 7, 1781. John R. Williams was born May 4, 1782, and was

baptized by Col. De Peyster, in his father's lifetime, in the absence of an English clergyman.

Thomas Williams died November 30, 1785, leaving a large property for the time. All his property, with the exception of some real estate in Albany, N. Y., was lost or dissipated through the carelessness, or perhaps rascality, of John Casety, his partner and former clerk, and the lavishness of his wife, Cecile, and her second husband, Jacques Lauzon, or Lozon, whom she married May 1, 1790. When at the age of 15 or 16 John R. Williams started out to make his own way in the world, nothing was left of his father's estate in Michigan but a farm of about 600 acres on the River Huron, of Lake St. Clair, where he and his mother and her family had been living for some years.

His first employer seems to have been his uncle, Joseph Campau, but he soon seized the opportunity which was presented to him of entering the army. In the spring of 1800 he received an appointment as cadet in the 2d regiment of infantry, probably through the influence of his uncle, Mr. Robert McClallen of Albany, who was then state treasurer of New York. Williams joined his regiment at camp Allegheny, near Pittsburgh, in April or May, 1800, and appears to have served as a cadet about six months, and for about a year more in the commissary department, first as a civil employe and later as the agent for the contractor for commissary supplies.

Early in 1802 Williams is found associated as a partner in business with his uncle, Joseph Campau. There is a story that the young man made his way back to Detroit unattended through the wilderness from camp on the Ohio near Fort Massac. He probably did follow the old French trail, via the Wabash and Miami rivers, but it is likely that he was alone throughout the journey.

When Detroit was incorporated as a township of the county of Wayne, in January, 1802, Williams, then only twenty years old, was one of the officers chosen at the first town meeting on the fifth of April of that year. His office was that of town clerk. Shortly afterwards, in the same year, he was appointed adjutant of the militia of Wayne county.

In the autumn of this year he went to Montreal to buy goods on account of the firm of Campau & Williams. After passing the Niagara portage, and while on board of a small sloop in the river, he engaged in a duel with a Frenchman or French Canadian named LaSalle, said to have been a descendant of the famous explorer of that name. The opponents exchanged shots in the tiny cabin of the sloop, from oppo-

site sides of the cabin table, and LaSalle received a wound, supposed to be mortal.

For his part in this affair Williams was arrested and confined first at Niagara and afterwards at Montreal; but as LaSalle did not die of his wound, his opponent was finally released.

In 1803 he is again found in Detroit. He dissolved partnership with Joseph Campau as soon as he returned, and from that time on conducted business for himself.

In August, 1804, he succeeded in having himself appointed guardian of his two sisters, Catherine and Elizabeth, and about the same time he obtained from Peter Audrain, judge of the court of probate for Wayne county, letters of administration on the estate of his father, Thomas Williams, and a revocation of the "curatorship" on this estate, formerly granted to James Frazer by Judge Powell of Canada. This revocation aroused so much opposition from certain persons, among whom was Elijah Brush, attorney for Thomas Williams' English creditors, that the letters of administration granted to John Williams* were speedily revoked, and the record of the same was expunged.

In 1804 he was one of the trustees of the town of Detroit and appears to have been re-elected the following year. After the arrival of Governor Hull, he was made captain of artillery in Col. Brush's legion, and was also made a justice of the peace shortly afterwards. On account of differences with Gov. Hull and the judges he resigned his appointments as captain and justice June 26, 1807.

From this time until after the war of 1812 he held no public appointments in Michigan. He was simply a private of militia in 1812,† having been drafted as a twelve months' man for the legion, and though he furnished a substitute, he went with his company whenever it was turned out. He appears to have been at the battle of Brownstown, August 5, 1812, and was certainly with his company when Hull made his disgraceful capitulation.

He was paroled after the surrender of Detroit and allowed to proceed east with his family. He fixed himself in Albany for the remainder of the war, conducting a mercantile business in that city.

For about a year, he held an appointment as captain of a company of militia of the city of Albany.

His company was turned out for the defense of New York at a time when it was supposed to be threatened by the British, but saw no active service.

*The middle initial "R" was not inserted into his name until about the year 1807.

†He was not a major during the war of 1812. Statement in Farmer's History and other authorities, to the effect that he held such a commission, are erroneous.

Shortly after the close of the war he returned to Detroit and resumed his business in that town.

In 1817 he was appointed one of the associate justices of the county court, and in the same year was appointed adjutant general of the militia of the territory. When the bank of Michigan was organized in 1818 he was elected its first president, and was several times re-elected.

He drew the first charter of the city of Detroit and was elected its first mayor in 1824, and was five times re-elected, serving in 1825, 1830, 1844, 1845 and 1846.

In 1829 he was appointed by the president and confirmed by the senate as major general of the militia of Michigan. General Cass announced his appointment to him in these words:

"Washington, March 10, 1829.

"Dear Sir—I have the pleasure to inform you that your nomination as a major general has been confirmed by the senate. I shall now confidently rely upon your exertions to place our militia on a respectable footing, and I am well satisfied that this confidence will not be misplaced. Larned and Stockton are the brigadiers.

"Sincerely your friend,

"Lew. Cass."

"Major Gen. Williams."

The Detroit Gazette, the democratic organ in Michigan, was burned out in April, 1830, and in order to provide the faithful of that political party with sound news and doctrine, John R. Williams and Joseph Campau bought out the Oakland County Chronicle and moved the type and presses to Detroit, where, under the firm name of Joseph Campau and Co., they commenced the publication of the "Democratic Free Press and Michigan Intelligencer," May 5, 1831. John P. Sheldon, the former editor of the Gazette, was the first editor. After Mr. Sheldon's resignation, which occurred in about three months, Ferdinand Williams, eldest son of John R. Williams, acted as editor for a short time. The paper soon changed hands, but not its politics, and the "Free Press" of today is its direct descendant.

The "Black Hawk" war grew out of the removal of the Sac and Fox Indians to the west of the Mississippi. Black Hawk was one of the principal chiefs who opposed the removal, and being in communication with the British authorities at Malden, below Detroit, seems to have relied on some support from Canada. A broil with a band of Menominee Indians, in which a number of the latter were butchered, was followed

by a demand for the surrender of the murderers. The troops dispatched to enforce this order were under the command of General Atkinson, but before they reached the spot Black Hawk was already in motion. He had crossed the Mississippi into the present state of Wisconsin, then part of the territory of Michigan, and had moved down upon Illinois.

Hostilities soon commenced and threw the border into a great state of alarm. Governor Mason of Michigan, acting under orders from Washington, issued a call for volunteers. Two companies responded from Detroit, the Detroit City Guards and a troop of light dragoons. They were placed under the command of General John R. Williams, the senior militia officer of the territory and ordered to march to Chicago. On arriving at Saline they found other companies of infantry concentrated there and at this point the infantry were ordered to return, but General Williams and the dragoons pushed on to Chicago. The command made an excursion to the Naper settlement, which was threatened by the savages, but with this exception remained at Chicago without active employment, and after the defeat of Black Hawk by General Atkinson received orders to return to Detroit. Other Michigan volunteers were in the field during this war from the Wisconsin part of the territory, and some of them saw very exciting times. A very readable account of the campaign by Col. E. Buckner (Board?), U. S. army, is contained in Michigan Pioneer Collections XII, 424.

General Williams presided over the "snap convention" which assembled at Ann Arbor in December, 1836, (otherwise known as the "frost-bitten convention"), which accepted the terms imposed by congress for the admission of Michigan into the union. The holding of this convention was a very venturesome and rather revolutionary proceeding, but the peculiar condition into which the community had gotten—neither state nor territory—made a revolutionary move of some sort almost indispensable.

While in active business in Detroit Gen. Williams was a steady purchaser of real estate. He erected one of the first business buildings of any size in Detroit, the Williams block, long since torn down, which formerly stood at the corner of Bates street and Jefferson avenue. He was enabled by his prudent methods of business and untiring energy to carry this real estate through various periods of depression, and at the time of his death, in 1854, had accumulated a considerable fortune. Several of the streets of the city, laid out through his property, bear his name and names derived from his family.

He was married at the age of 22 to his cousin, Mary Mott, daughter

of Capt. Gershom Mott of Lamb's regiment of the revolutionary army. Capt. Mott married Elizabeth Williams of Albany, sister of Thomas Williams, in 1779 or 1780, Mary (Mott) Williams died January 18, 1830.

The children of John R. Williams and Mary Mott Williams were: 1. Ferdinand; 2. Theodore; 3. G. Mott; 4. Elizabeth, first wife of Col. John Winder; 5 and 6. Thomas and Cecilia (twins)—Cecilia died in infancy; 7. John Constantine; 8. James Mott; 9. Mary Catherine Angelica, married first to David Smart and second to Commodore J. P. McKinstry; 10. John C. Devereux.

All of these are now dead. The last survivor was Ferdinand Williams, who died in November, 1896, aged 90.

General John R. Williams died at Detroit October 20, 1854. A long obituary order issued by the adjutant general of the state, John E. Schwartz, will be found in the Detroit Free Press of October 24, 1854.

General Williams is buried in the family lot in Elmwood cemetery, Detroit.

HON. WILLIAM L. WEBBER.

A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE, ACTIVE CAREER AND CHARACTER.

For many years Hon. William L. Webber of Saginaw, a prominent citizen of Michigan and a pioneer of the Saginaw valley, has been an influential and useful member of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, taking part in its meetings and contributing to its collections until the infirmities of age prevented further attendance and effort; and now, as his earthly career is nearly ended, it seems to the committee of historians an appropriate occasion to put into permanent form a sketch of his life, active career and character, for which we are largely indebted to the Daily Saginaw Courier-Herald of July 31, 1900, and for additional information relating to the election of Hon. Isaac P. Christiancy to the United State senate in 1875, and also relating to Mr. Webber's connection with early coal mining in the Saginaw valley, to Mr. John W. Billings—the data he has kindly furnished not having been heretofore published.

BIRTH AND BEGINNING.

William L. Webber, by his strong individuality and important achievements, has been a large factor in developing the resources of Saginaw and the state of Michigan, and in shaping their destinies, and his name will ever be prominent among the great leaders in the indus-

trial progress and development of the natural wealth of the state of Michigan. He was born in Ogden, Monroe county, New York, July 19, 1825, the son of James S. and Phoebe Webber. The family removed to Ogden in 1824, remaining until 1836, when they came to Michigan and settled in Hartland township, Livingston county. Mr. Webber assisted his father in clearing the land and cultivating its soil, giving his days to hard labor and his evenings to study. When circumstances permitted he attended the district school in winter, supplementing the meager rudimentary studies of the pioneer school by close application at home. In 1844-5 Mr. Webber taught a neighboring school. In the latter year his mother died and the members of the family became separated.

In 1846 Mr. Webber entered the office of Foote & Mowry, at Milford, Mich., with the intention of taking up the practice of medicine, but after two years spent there he decided to study law. In 1848 he opened a select school at Milford, giving his leisure to the study of law, and was admitted to practice at Milford in 1851. In 1849 he married Miss Nancy M. Withington of Livingston county, New York. March 15, 1853, he removed to East Saginaw, where he began a general practice of the law, combining with it for some time the business of handling fire insurance. In June, 1857, he formed a law partnership with John J. Wheeler, the firm being styled Webber & Wheeler, and continued until December 31, 1860. The firm of Webber, Thompson & Gage, with Mr. Webber as senior partner, was formed in 1861. On July 1, 1863, he formed a partnership with Irving M. Smith under the firm name of Webber & Smith which existed for six years, when Mr. Webber retired from general practice.

On the 15th day of February, 1859, the East Saginaw Salt Co. was organized with a capital stock of $50,000. Mr. Webber drew up the articles of association for the company, circulated the subscription for its stock, and was its secretary for some time. Work on the shaft began in August, 1859, and at a depth of 670 feet a fine quality of brine was struck in May, 1860. In June, 1860, was turned out the first salt from their block.

CONNECTION WITH RAILROADS.

In 1857 the Flint & Pere Marquette Railroad company was organized and its charter perfected, and in the following year work on the line was begun. Shortly after its organization Mr. Webber was employed as its attorney and counsel, and continued in that capacity until March 1, 1870. To promote the building of the railroad the company received

a grant of 500,000 acres of land. Mr. Webber was now appointed its land commissioner and general solicitor, which office he held until June 1, 1885, administering the trust with fidelity, judgment and success. During the fifteen years there were sold 329,308 acres of land at an average price of $11.53 per acre. Sales of timber from these lands brought the receipts up to $4,041,839.24, and with interest charges added made a total of $4,440,045.60. This enormous business was transacted at an expense of only four and one-half per cent of the collections. On June 1, 1885, Mr. Webber retired from the office of land commissioner, but retained the position of general counsel which he held until January 1, 1892, when he retired.

In 1856, Mr. Jesse Hoyt, of New York, made large investments in Michigan lands, including the site of the village of East Saginaw. Mr. Webber was his attorney until 1870, when he took charge of the F. & P. M. land interests. In 1875 Mr. Hoyt became president of this company, and, on its reorganization, Mr. Webber, as attorney for the bond holders of the road, foreclosed the securities, bid in the property and drew up the articles of association for its successor. Mr. Hoyt, who had acquired a large fortune in lands, etc., died on August 12, 1882, leaving an estate in Michigan valued at about $4,000,000. Mr. Webber had been Mr. Hoyt's confidential friend and adviser, and on his death Mr. Hoyt left his vast and varied interests to his friend's care.

Since Mr. Hoyt's death the various enterprises which he had inaugurated have been conducted by Mr. Webber, and the portion of the estate not yet closed is still in Mr. Webber's charge. Included in the property of the estate were large interests in the S. T. & H. R. R., which, during Mr. Hoyt's life was built from Saginaw to Sebewaing. From its inception the superintendence of construction, purchase of materials, letting of contracts and other details were left to Mr. Webber, as Mr. Hoyt was most of the time at his home in New York. In 1884 Mr. Webber extended the line to Bay Port, then to the Bay Port quarries, and in 1886 to Bad Axe. Mr. Webber was president and general manager of the road from the death of Mr. Hoyt in 1882, to February, 1900, when he resigned on the purchase of the road by the Flint & Pere Marquette Railroad company. Mr. Webber was also for some time president of the Saginaw and Mt. Pleasant railroad, and has also held other positions of like character, filling them with fidelity and ability, as president of the East Saginaw Gas company, vice president and later president of the American Commercial and Savings bank, president of the Academy of Music association, and president of the Hoyt Public Library board. The latter two positions he still holds.

Mr. Webber not only witnessed the beginning of railroad construction in the Saginaw valley, but he took an active part in the development of the lines that radiate therefrom in various directions and contribute to its growth and prosperity. With the merging of several railroads into the Pere Marquette system, the number of independent companies operating to Saginaw have been reduced, but this does not affect the total of mileage nor the facilities offered patrons. There are now three trunk lines tributary to this city. Of these the Pere Marquette has six divisions, the Michigan Central three, the Grand Trunk one. These roads include three lines to Chicago, three to Detroit and two to Toledo. A choice of several lines may also be had in reaching scores of Michigan towns. Taken all in all, Saginaw outflanks any city in the state in accommodations it offers for shipping and traveling purposes. Its railroads reach out to the large cities, the small towns, the summer resorts and the lumber and mining regions of Michigan, and tap the very best agricultural districts of the commonwealth.

FIRST IN DEVELOPING COAL.

Ever alive to the commercial interests of the state of Michigan, Mr. Webber spent much of his time and money in the experimental stages of various enterprises. He was the first to practically develop coal mining in the Saginaw valley, which is now one of its greatest industries, and the hope of the commercial development of the valley. The first discovery of coal was at Sebewaing, in Huron county, on the line of the Saginaw, Tuscola & Huron railroad, of which Mr. Webber was president. Mr. John Russell, a well borer, reported to Mr. Webber that he had drilled through a vein of coal about four feet thick, and submitted specimen of the coal in fine particles which was taken from this drill hole. Mr. Webber tested the specimen, and finding it good coal, directed several test holes to be made at his expense; these revealing that the coal was all right, Mr. Webber directed that a shaft be put down in order to take out enough coal to test its quality as compared with other coal, and the comparison proving satisfactory, a coal company was formed, of which Mr. Webber became the principal stockholder, and was elected its president. The mine was finally closed down on account of "flooding." Mining was actually commenced in the latter part of 1890, and closed down in 1894. The amount of coal raised and shipped during the time of its operation was about 66,000 tons. The amount of coal sold did not compensate him for the expenditure, but the discovery then made and pushed forward proved an incentive for others to follow,

until the Saginaw valley has become dotted with mining shafts, from which is being hoisted daily thousands of tons of coal.

POLITICAL AFFILIATION.

Politically, Mr. Webber has always been connected with the democratic party, and has always stood high in the councils of his party. From 1854 to 1856 he was circuit court commissioner of Saginaw county; later he was prosecuting attorney, and in 1874 was elected mayor of East Saginaw. While he was mayor, the board of police commissioners was created, and his office made him a member of it. The lumbering industry had drawn to Saginaw a rough element, and crime was rampant. The conditions called for intelligent action; an efficient police force was organized and the lawless element subdued, while a warfare was waged against the haunts of sin, by which most of them were closed and hundreds of disreputable characters forced to leave the city. The records of that year show that from this city twelve convicts were sent to the state prison, over 120 to the house of correction, and many lesser offenders to the county jail.

Mr. Webber was elected state senator in 1874, and in all matters of legislation displayed the same ability and integrity that had characterized his legal and business careers. At the time he was state senator, during the session of 1875, the term of Zachariah Chandler, then United States senator, was about to expire. He desired a re-election, and this seemed probable, as his party had a good majority of the legislature. Mr. Chandler had for years been the leading man of his party in the state, and had controlled its affairs with so little regard to others that he had alienated a number of leading republicans, who now declared that he would not receive their support. Party pressure, it was believed, would bring these back to his support, and, in their minority, there was no hope for the democrats who, together with the party throughout the country, were bitter against Chandler, Senator Carpenter of Wisconsin, and Senator Ramsey of Minnesota, for their prominence in forcing republican "bayonet" rule in Louisiana. By defeating Senator Chandler's re-election they hoped to create an influence that would also defeat Senators Carpenter and Ramsey, and retire their three political opponets to private life with a stinging rebuke. To elect a senator 67 votes were needed; the democrats had 60. There was one independent and six uncompromising anti-Chandler republicans, who could not be induced to give him support. If these diverse elements could be united the defeat of Chandler was assured. The six anti-Chandler republicans held secret meetings, and the democrats did like-

wise. At a conference it was agreed that if a man satisfactory to the latter and to the independent should be selected, they would unite in a vote and secure his election. Available candidates were discussed, and the republican coterie proposed the acceptance of supreme court Judge Isaac P. Christiancy as a suitable candidate. Before the war broke out he had been a democrat, but the question of slavery had caused him to leave that party and affiliate with the republicans. Mr. Webber was sent by the democrats to interview Judge Christiancy and ascertain how he stood on important matters, and to him Mr. Christiancy stated frankly that he left the democracy because of the slavery question, that in other respects his political opinions were unchanged. He stated his views in writing, and intrusted them to Mr. Webber for the consideration of the democrats. They were satisfactory, and as the independent member also agreed to support Judge Christiancy, his election and the downfall of the Chandler regime were practically assured to the small circle thus acting in concert. A few days later the election of a senator was taken up, and the carefully planned program carried out to the consternation of the Chandler faction. Mr. Chandler never regained his lost prestige, and at the elections in Wisconsin and Minnesota Carpenter and Ramsey were also relegated to the background.

As a legislator Mr. Webber always acted in accordance with his convictions of duty. For twenty years the prohibitory liquor law had been a dead letter on the statute books of Michigan. When in the senate he was active for its repeal and the passage of the high-tax law. At the democratic national convention in 1876, Mr. Webber was chairman of the Michigan delegation. He introduced the resolution recommending the various state conventions to abolish the two-thirds rule, and it was adopted. In that year, also, he received the unanimous nomination as the democratic candidate for governor of Michigan. A vigorous canvass might have overcome the large republican majority of the state, but his nature revolted from the undignified and questionable methods so often used to court popular favor, and he made no effort to gain votes for himself. Although failing of an election, nearly 3,000 more votes were cast for him than were given in the state for Samuel J. Tilden for president, thus showing the general appreciation of his worth.

In other lines Mr. Webber's life has been one of usefulness by the good example he has set for others. He has been prominent in the development of the agricultural interests of the state, and taken a deep interest in practical farm work, especially as related to the soils of

Michigan. His pen has not been idle, and many pamphlets and papers on topics of interest to the people have emanated from his fertile brain.

His writings on agricultural subjects have been favorably received by the press, and widely read by progressive farmers. When preparations were being made in 1886 to celebrate the semi-centennial of Michigan, he was invited to prepare the paper on "Agriculture," which was one of the best read on that occasion. For a number of years he was connected with the executive board of the State Pomological society, and in 1878 was elected president of the State Agricultural society. In August, 1892, he was appointed by Governor Winans, under a joint resolution of the legislature, chairman of a board of highway commissioners to formulate a plan of legislation looking to the improvement of the highways of this state, and to report as to the practicability of using convict labor in connection with such improvement. Elaborate recommendations were submitted, amended to some extent by the legislature, an amendment to the constitution to meet the exigencies of the case submitted to the people, which was adopted, resulting in the present county road system. In 1895 he was appointed by Governor Rich as a delegate to the good roads parliament to be held at Atlanta, Ga., in October of that year, which he attended, and in his report to the governor recommended the calling of a mass meeting of public-spirited citizens throughout the state in the interests of good roads, which was done, resulting in the organization of the Michigan League for Good Roads, of which Mr. Webber was elected president. Much good work was done by this league, and from it have sprung several county leagues and township leagues, having for their aim the betterment of the highways of the state.

A MASON AND ODD FELLOW.

Mr. Webber is prominently identified with the Masonic order in all its branches; he was made a Mason in Saginaw lodge No. 77, in 1855, being the third member to undergo the rites of initiation. He survives the two brothers who preceded him (Mr. Norman Little and Mr. W. L. P. Little), and is thus the oldest member of the lodge in point of priority. He was elected master of this lodge in 1857, which position he held for three years. He was made a Royal Arch Mason in Washington chapter, at Flint, and, with others, organized Saginaw Valley chapter No. 31. He was the first high priest of the new chapter, which position he held for three years, and was raised in 1865 to the position of grand high priest of the grand high chapter of Michigan. Still higher Masonic honors were accorded him when, in 1874, he was elected grand master of the grand lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Michigan. He was

made a Knight Templar in St. Bernard commandery No. 16 of Saginaw, and afterward served as eminent commander; he is also a member of Saginaw council No. 20, Royal and Select Masons, is a member of Saladin temple, N. M. S., and has also received the thirty-second degree A. & A. S. rite.

He become a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in 1847.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Viewing Mr. Webber in whatever light we may, the result is a satisfactory one. As a business man he has shown a broad mind, quick of discernment, and careful of the details of his undertakings, thereby insuring their success. To Saginaw, especially, will his name ever be a bright and honored one, as his enterprises awakened an interest in the coal deposits of this locality and laid at her feet a fertile tributary country, large in its promises for the future. As a citizen he has been honored and his individuality has stamped itself on his home in an enduring manner. His efforts have ever been for the suppression of vice and crime and the cultivation of those municipal characteristics that make a city and its people honored. As an exponent of the law he showed a grasp upon those fundamental principles that underlie it, viewing cases clearly and upon their merits, and readily arriving at a correct solution of new points, only to be sustained by the courts of last resort. In manner he is affable and approachable, to friend or stranger, rich or poor, and possesses a kindly disposition that gives him an interest in the affairs and well-being of others.

FIRST "YANKEE" FAMILY AT GRAND RAPIDS.

BY ALBERT BAXTER.

The permanent settlement of Grand Rapids began sixty-seven years ago, June 23, 1833. The story of the Dexter colony, which came from Herkimer county, New York, into the Grand river woods, has often been told. Those colonists numbered sixty-three persons, nearly all of whom stopped at Ionia and were the founders and organizers of that town. Only one family—that of Joel Guild—himself and wife, one son and six daughters kept on down the river, "Uncle" Louis Campau providing bateaux, from which they landed on the east bank of the rapids at Mr. Campau's Indian trading post, where now is the foot of Huron

street, Sunday the 23d of June. Inasmuch as none of them are now living, it is the purpose of this paper to speak chiefly of that family, as the real founders of the town (after Mr. Campau, the trader). The latter had come to the rapids in 1826, and at about the same time came Leonard Slater, the missionary, establishing his mission on the west bank of the river, a little south of Bridge street.

Mr. Guild's children were then all unmarried—the eldest being Harriet, who was twenty years old that day, and was married in the following spring to Barney Burton, and who survived all the rest, reaching the age of eighty-three years. Her husband died April 17, 1861. Consider Guild married Phœbe Leavitt, who died in 1853; he died in Ottawa county, July 22, 1883. The other daughters, in the order of their ages, may be chronicled in their marriages and deaths as follows: Emily O., married Leonard G. Baxter, she died August 9, 1861, he died February 3, 1866. Mary L. became the wife of Robert Barr, who is yet living, eighty-seven years of age. Olive, married Frederick A. Marsh, who died March 19, 1856, and survived him until November 7, 1867. Elvira E., was the wife of Albert Baxter, she died June 5, 1855, he is yet living. Lucy E., married Daniel S. T. Weller, and died January 13, 1867. Mr. Weller died November 26, 1882. Elvira was married February 22, 1849, Lucy was married April 30, 1848.

Joel Guild built the first frame dwelling at Grand Rapids. He purchased of Louis Campau the first two lots sold on the latter's village plat, which was not at the time recorded—being the ground now occupied by the National City bank and the Wonderly block and between the two, at the junction of Monroe and Pearl streets; and his house was built on that bank site—begun in June, and the family moved into it the last day of August, 1833. It stood at the west base of what was called Prospect hill, and among the oak trees of the forest there. He, at about the same time, went to the land office and entered the forty known as "Kendall's addition," and some two years later sold the entire property to Junius Hatch, of Buffalo, N. Y.

I may add to this very brief sketch a mention of two or three others of the early settlers. Luther Lincoln came into the Grand River valley in the fall of 1832 with a little son and daughter, leaving the children at the Slater mission, while he went down to Grandville and improved some land. As soon as the Guild family came he transferred the children there. Young Luther Lincoln afterward married, and was killed in his doorway by a stroke of lightning, at or near Greenville, Montcalm county. The daughter, Keziah Lincoln, was adopted and reared by

"Aunt Hattie" Burton, and is now living in the city, the oldest continuous resident there. She is Mrs. Benjamin Livingston. Wm. R. Barnard, now at the Masonic home, came to the Rapids in 1834, and is about eighty-six years of age. There are now, I think, not more than half a dozen residents of Grand Rapids left who were there when Michigan was admitted to the union.

THE WEATHER BUREAU.

BY C. FREDERICK SCHNEIDER.

Some months ago I was requested by my esteemed friend and coworker, Hon. L. D. Watkins, to read a paper on the "weather bureau" before the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Considering the objects of the organization which occasions this meeting, I deem it a proper and fitting time to present as briefly as possible a synoptical sketch of the progress of meteorology, particularly in the United States, and thus show the development of the present well organized government department.

From the beginning of time the changing seasons and the irregular recurrence of weather conditions has interested and engaged the attention of man. The book of Job and some of the books of the New Testament contain formulated weather wisdom, which we speak of as weather proverbs, and the ancient philosophers gave much of their thought to the study of weather phenomena.

In early savage times there is no doubt that keen observations and weather guessing was practiced by the wise men of the Nomadic peoples. In New Guinea they had a dwelling in a tree from which they scanned the horizon to determine the chances of their next meal of fish and game.

It is a long step from the outlook tree of the savage to the more scientific efforts of the Egyptians and Greeks who made systematic observations in special buildings. The great pyramid has been claimed as such a building, and it is supposed by some writers that from an opening in its side the learned priests observed the stars and the moon to determine the proper times and seasons for the irrigation of the fertile Nile valley. They had nilometers at various places along the river by which they took accurate note of its height; the oldest of these nilometers is located on the island of Rhodes opposite Cairo, and remains in full operation to this day, having existed for more than eleven centuries.

The nilometer is usually well connected with the bed of the river; in the center of the well rises a marble column whose base is level with the bottom of the river and upon which are graduations showing the height of the river. On the nilometer at Elphantine, erected 847 A. D., the actual heights were marked from time to time during the rule of the Cæsars. The older nilometers are mentioned by Herodotus, Strabo and others, while the immortal Shakespeare thus speaks of them in the play of Anthony and Cleopatra:

"They take the flow of the Nile by certain scales in the
Pyramid; they know by the height, the lowness, or the mean, if dearth or foison follow.
The higher Nilus swells, the more it promises. As it ebbs, the seedsman upon the slime
and ooze scatters his grain
And shortly comes the harvest."

—Act II, Scene VII.

He was probably mistaken in placing a nilometer in a pyramid, but it is wonderful that he should have known of it at all.

The Greeks, who inherited the wisdom of the Egyptians, have in the very heart of Athens a building which may be claimed as *the* original observatory, and which yet remains standing in the modern city. I refer to the temple of the winds, a little octagonal marble tower almost under the shadow of the Acropolis. This temple is so built that its eight sides face the eight principal winds, and on each side is sculptured a human figure in high relief that represents, as far as a figure can, the character and quality of the particular wind which it faces. The north wind, which is cold, fierce and stormy, is represented by the figure of a man warmly clad and fiercely blowing on a trumpet made out of a sea shell. The northeast, which wind brought and still brings to the Athenians cold, snow and hail, was represented by an old man with severe countenance who is rattling sling stones on a shield, to set forth the noise and power of a hailstorm. The east wind, which brought and still brings to the Greeks, a gentle rain favorable to vegetation, is expressed by the image of a young man with flowing hair and open countenance, having his looped-up mantle filled with fruit, honeycombs and corn. Zephyros, the west wind, was indicated by the figure of a slightly clad and beautiful youth with his hat full of flowers. And so on with the other winds; each has its qualities and character fixed in stone by an appropriate sculptured figure, and today meteorologists have in the temple of the winds most interesting evidence that the climate of Greece has not materially changed, at any rate in respect to winds, during the last 2,000 years.

The tower had a vane on top made to represent a Triton who turned with the wind and pointed a rod over the figure who portrayed it.

The initial point of meteorology as a physical science, however, is

determined by the invention of the barometer and thermometer. Before these discoveries there existed only desultory observations, generally unrecorded except in the folklore of weather proverbs and the shepherd's calendar, and these irrational predictions, to a certain extent, remain popular today in the patent medicine almanac.

The mercurial barometer, an instrument for measuring the weight or pressure of the atmosphere, was invented by Evangelesta Torrecelli, an Italian mathematician and physicist in 1643.

The thermometer was invented by Galileo at some date prior to 1611, and was developed by his pupils through the first 30 years of the 17th century. In 1641 the Florentine philosophers were using a thermometer consisting of a bulb filled with alcohol with sealed stem and graduations on the stem according to an arbitrary scale. Sagredo adopted a scale of 360 divisions like the graduation of a circle, and it was he who fixed the application of the word degree to thermometer graduations. No means of comparing observations made with different thermometers containing different fluids, or of different manufacture, were possible until Fahrenheit adopted a graduation between two fixed temperatures. For the zero he adopted the lowest temperature observed by him during the winter of 1709 and for his upper fixed point he took the temperature of the body and marked it 96 degrees. By this system the temperature of melting ice became 32 degrees and the boiling point of water at sea level 212 degrees. This is the scale of the Fahr. thermometer now in use by English speaking people. In 1720 occurred the first general distribution of comparable thermometers.

At this time the royal society of England had already provided for a permanent record of scientific labor and research, and its transactions from the beginning contain many notices of weather study by the aid of the barometer. Within three years after the first general distribution of comparable thermometers, it issued to the world Dr. James Jurin's scheme of an association for forming meteorological diaries, and thus Jurin has claim to be regarded as the father of statistical meteorology. Even earlier than this is found the first attempt at meteorological record in the pre-instrumental period: Walter Merle, fellow of Merton college, Oxford, England, kept a daily record of the weather for seven years, 1337-44. This record was originally kept on skins of vellum and written in contracted Latin.

The scheme of the royal society possesses a direct and intimate relation to meteorological study in the United States, because one of Dr. Jurin's circulars found its way to Charleston, S. C., where a Dr. Lining

in 1738 began to maintain a record of temperature and precipitation which he reported to the royal society.

American interest was not confined to following out the plans of English investigators, for in 1738 Isaac Greenwood, professor of mathematics at Harvard college, presented a form of meteorological observations at sea, and thus in a way anticipated by more than a century the efforts of Lieutenant Maury, assigning as a reason for his suggested plan, that marine observations "already are by far more numerous than what were ever made ashore, or indeed what can be expected for some ages to come."

The Charleston observations were followed by several other series of greater or less extent and completeness in different parts of the country, and which slowly increasing in number prepared the way for the systematic collection of climatic data. The observations were the outgrowth of private interest, which often flagged in the absence of any directing influence. The time was ripe for some enthusiast, who by representing a central and directing agency should keep alive the interest in meteorological record and secure the preservation of the results.

The enthusiast came forward in the person of Josiah Meigs, commissioner of the general land office. Meigs was a good man for the purpose. Trained in the rigid discipline of Yale college of the period, he served that institution as tutor in natural philosophy and later occupied the chair in the same department. His interest in meteorology was displayed during his residence in Bermuda from 1789-94, during which period he made observations on the meteorology of the islands and communicated them to the royal society. On account of a life of hardship and poverty he was unable to give meteorology the administrative attention he much desired, until his appointment to the commissionership of the general land office placed him for the first time in his life in easy circumstances.

On January 31, 1817, he wrote an influential member of congress suggesting the passing of a resolution to provide for the keeping of meteorological registers at each of the land offices, and that observations should be sent in each month to the general land office. His plan contemplated the issue to each land office of instruments for observation of temperature, pressure, rain and wind. He failed to secure the sanction of congress but issued a circular April 29, 1817, in which he asked several registers to take regularly certain meteorological observations for which he supplied blank forms. Purely voluntary as the service was,

and without any financial support, it fell somewhat short of the plan suggested to congress, for barometers were both rare and expensive. The system, however, attained considerable proportions, but it seems to have lapsed on the death of the founder in 1822. The records have never been collected, but it is interesting to note that Meigs, from comparison of the voluntary reports sent him, was able to recognize the area of several cold waves, even though the insufficiency of his information precluded the discovery of their motion in progression.

The next system of observations was established by the surgeon general of the army, and has been maintained as a system to the present day, although subject to the various modifications made necessary by changing or altered conditions of meteorological study. The office of surgeon general was created in 1818, and Dr. Lovell was its first head. His first instructions directed hospital and post surgeons to keep a diary of the weather; the first reports under this system were filed in January, 1819. For the first few years the only instruments furnished were a thermometer and wind vane. In 1836 the rain gauge was added to the equipment, and in 1841 barometers and hygrometers were supplied to a few stations. In 1843 a new and more complete system was put in operation, and military posts and hospitals were called on to maintain the record of the barometer, thermometer, rain gauge, wet bulb thermometers and cloudiness of the sky.

The results of 1820 and 1821 were published at the end of each year, but thereafter the results were grouped in convenient periods and published in the Army Meteorological Register until 1854, when the records were handed over to the Smithsonian institute.

Within a few years the subject, which had been too important for congress to consider in 1817, had attained a recognized position as entitled to public support. In 1825 the university regents of New York directed that each of the academies under their jurisdiction should be furnished with a thermometer and rain gauge and that the diligent report of observations should be an essential condition of their receipt of state funds.

The observations began in 1826 and were continued until 1850. During this period sixty-two academies reported observations, of which three are complete for the whole term. In 1849 the legislature made an appropriation for the purchase of improved instruments in order to conform the state system with the more comprehensive system then recently instituted by the Smithsonian institution; a small sum was appropriated for pay of observers. The system went into effect in

1850 and thirty-five academies began observations. In 1863 the legislature failed to make the small salary appropriation, and from that time the system rapidly declined, both from that cause and from the greater weight of the Smithsonian observations, which covered much of the same ground. The observations were published in the reports of the regents.

Pennsylvania was the next to feel the influence of the new study. In 1834 the American philosophical society and the Franklin institute formed a joint meteorological committee, of which James P. Espy was chairman, and A. D. Bache was a leading member. At this period less attention was paid to securing continuous records than to gathering information concerning individual storms that had attracted the attention of the committee. In 1837 the legislature appropriated $4,000 for the advancement of meteorology, and intrusted its expenditure to the joint committee. Out of these funds were authorized to be purchased for each county, in the state, a barometer, two common thermometers, a self registering thermometer and a rain gauge. Thirty-five stations were operated under this grant during the ten years following 1839, but most of the records were brief and irregular. The observations were published by the two societies which joined in the committee of administration.

In 1841 the bureau of topographical engineers began the survey of the northern and northwestern lakes, but meteorological observations in connection therewith received little consideration at first. In 1857 Capt. Geo. G. Meade in his report recommended the observation of meteorological phenomena over the whole lake region. This recommendation was approved and instruments were ordered in sufficient quantity to equip each station with a barometer, thermometer, psychrometer, rain and wind gauge. Three stations were established on Lake Ontario, four on Lake Erie, five on Lake Huron, three on Lake Michigan and four on Lake Superior. The observations began July 1, 1859, and were published and in some instances discussed in the annual reports of the survey. They ended in 1872 when the signal service took up the work.

The patent office was the next department to manifest interest in the recording of climatic data. The seeming inconsistency of this with the legitimate objects of the office disappears when it is remembered that at that time agriculture formed a division of the patent office. In the early reports of this office occur brief memoranda of notable weather conditions which exerted a greater or less influence upon the

crops then under investigation. Year by year these memoranda became fuller, and in 1847 they took the form of tabulated data for one or more years from different stations.

The Smithsonian institution in 1849 began its great work in the field of American meteorology along several parallel lines of research. As a bureau of record the institution, under the direction of Joseph Henry, gathered up from all sources past records of observations, assisted the few systems then in existence and instituted its own system throughout the country. Thus it came about that in 1870 this great institution controlled all the meteorological records of the country.

Next in order of time came the signal service, and a brief review of the principal events leading up to its organization as a meteorological bureau for the collection and compilation of meteorological statistics, and particularly for the prediction of weather conditions, is of interest.

It was the telegraph that transformed meteorology and made it possible to make daily tests of the theories of early physical investigators, among whom Benj. Franklin was the leader, for he is on record in 1747 as having deduced, from such observations as were available, that the northeast storms were generated in the southeast, but it was not until nearly 100 years later that the really formative period of American meteorology began, and when such men as Redfield, Espy, Ferrel and Loomis finally evolved the weather map.

The first to recognize the great field of practical work in meteorology was Lieut. Maury of the national observatory. In 1851 he originated the plan of what he named farmers' meteorology by enlisting the farmers throughout the country to report weather observations. Two years later he assembled a meteorological congress of maritime nations at Brussels and recommended a plan for a series of international observations by land and sea. In 1855 he addressed many agricultural societies of the south and west on this topic, and urged them to memorialize congress to establish a central office where weather reports might be digested and telegraphed to all parts of the country warning farmers of the approach of storms and frost. The first bill framed for the action of congress failed to pass, and before further action could be taken the nation passed into the turmoil of civil war.

The Smithsonian institution early recognized the possibility of the telegraph, and in 1856 it made a practical application of simultaneous weather reports received by wire and began maintaining a daily weather map at the institution. The first attempt at a published prediction was in 1858, when Prof. Henry stated to the American academy that when

the map showed rain at Cincinnati in the morning it was considered an indication of rain at Washington in the evening sufficiently trustworthy to warrant the postponing of the lectures at the institution. But the war interfered with the development of the plans of Prof. Henry, and when he was about to resume in 1865 the great fire at the institution crippled the resources at his command.

The idea, thus by unfortunate circumstances forced into neglect, was revived by Prof. Cleveland Abbe, once an instructor in the Michigan Agricultural college, and at that time director of the Cincinnati observatory. In 1868 he succeeded in interesting the chamber of commerce of that city in the project of daily predictions of weather, and under its auspices began to issue the "Weather bulletin of the Cincinnati observatory," which lasted from September, 1869, to January, 1871, when he was summoned to Washington to assist in organizing the forecast service, then just assigned to the signal corps.

The initial impulse which led the federal government to assume this work of public utility was given by Dr. Increase A. Lapham of Milwaukee. Having had his attention particularly directed to the destructive gales of Lake Michigan, he had studied the early movements of the storm centers with the result that he convinced himself of the feasibility of predicting their oncoming to the great benefit of lake navigation. In 1869 he was able to convince the national board of trade of the value of his suggestion, and in December of the same year he addressed a memorial to Gen. Halbert E. Paine, member of congress from Milwaukee, setting forth the possibilities of the plan and pointing out its commercial importance by a list of 1,914 lake disasters caused by unannounced storms. Gen. Paine introduced a resolution embodying these suggestions, and secured the favorable endorsement of the three great authorities on meteorology, the surgeon general of the army, the secretary of the Smithsonian institution and Prof. Elias Loomis, and in addition the assurance of Gen. Myer, chief signal officer, that it was quite possible to report and forecast storms by telegraph and signal. The resolution was passed and approved February 9, 1870, and thus was created the meteorological bureau of the signal service, which on July 1, 1892, was transferred to the agricultural department and rechristened the United States weather bureau.

The new service went into operation November 1, 1870, with stations fully established, and has been maintained without interruption ever since.

It is thus seen that the purpose of the weather bureau, as originally defined, was the warning of storms on the northern lakes and eastern

seaboard. By a natural extension it became a bureau of record as well, for the reports of its special observers were filed at the central office. In 1872 and again in 1873 its scope was considerably increased by acts of congress, and in the latter year was instituted the publication of the Monthly Weather Review, which was the first attempt in this country to present meteorological data to the attention of students with the least interval after the occurrence of the phenomena discussed.

In 1874 the bureau had given such satisfactory proof of its success and such promise of its permanence that the Smithsonian institution transferred to it all the material collected in a long series of years under their system.

At present the value of this service has been recognized as never before, and its system has been carried to an extent and brought to a perfection which are the admiration and model of the other meteorological bureaus of the world.

To turn for a few moments to the practical side of this subject is to consider a vast field of which the general public has but a vague idea. To the average layman the daily forecast means only a pair of overshoes, an umbrella, or the possible postponement of a pleasant jaunt. But to the great maritime, mercantile and agricultural interests a short forecast of half a dozen words often determines, temporarily, the management and disposition of values aggregating many millions. A census recently taken of the passing of a hurricane along the Atlantic seaboard, which had been fully predicted, showed that between 800 and 900 vessels remained in port as the result of weather bureau warnings; and at Norfolk, Va., the board of trade estimated that the warnings saved $850,000 worth of cotton and other merchandise from damage by high tides. During the spring, fall and winter months perishable property valued almost beyond mention is transported from place to place almost entirely upon the advice of weather forecast.

The statistical feature of meteorology in itself covers a vast field of great importance. Hardly a day passes that my office does not determine some question of fact regarding past weather conditions. For courts of law in a variety of cases, ranging from violation of ordinances regarding riding of bicycles on sidewalks to murder cases. Railroads use it for settling claims for damages to freight. A long series of temperature and of rainfall statistics were very largely essential and instrumental in bringing the great beet sugar industry to Michigan. Engineers have frequent recourse to them for aid in constructing waterworks, power dams and sewers. To the medical fraternity the minute

detail gathered by the state weather service is of universal benefit, for by the study of correct and accurate meteorologic or climatic data the physician can greatly amplify the mere use of medicines.

But my paper has already reached much larger proportions than I at first intended, and in closing I wish to say a few words regarding the accuracy of the forecasts which are issued from day to day, and also the criticism the public gives them. During the past ten years the verification percentage has been about eighty-eight, nearly nine out of every ten, but for a science as new and young as meteorology this is quite satisfactory. Astronomy, a science nearly 2,000 years old, is still imperfect. In criticising these forecasts the public often forgets that the percentage of verification is probably as high as the majority of human ventures where the future is involved. Can a physician or any attorney of thirty years' practice show a much higher percentage of success in all cases they have taken?

The public, however, are appreciative despite the jocular criticism in which it sometimes indulges, as is evinced by the cordial and substantial support accorded the bureau in congress and the various state legislatures. The people understand that the daily predictions are not guesses, but based on scientific data and scientific reasons of recognized standing. If we could hope to make the same wonderful and proportionate rate of advancement in the next 100 years that we have made in the last fifty, then the twentieth century would see weather bureaus that could forecast accurately, not only for the following day, but for several days in advance. Such a possibility is not entirely a dream when we look about and behold the electric light, the railroad engine, the telephone and telegraph, and consider that many men in this audience can remember in their boyhood only the light of the tallow dip, the transportation of the ox team and the distant communication of slow horse posts.

June 6, 1900.

THE GREAT LAKES.

INTERESTING DATA CONCERNING THEM; MICHIGAN'S RELATION TO THEM; GROWTH OF TRAFFIC ON THEM.

WRITTEN AND COMPILED BY EDWARD W. BARBER.

The two peninsulas of Michigan are bounded largely by the Great Lakes in the central portion of North America. The southern line of the lower peninsula separates that section from the states of Ohio and Indiana, while the upper peninsula is partly bounded on the south by Wisconsin. All the rest of the state has the natural boundary lines of one or more of the great lakes and their connecting rivers. No other commonwealth of the Republic has such an extensive water front—composed of Lake Michigan, Lake Superior, Lake Huron, Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie, together with the strait of Mackinaw, the St. Mary's river, the St. Clair river and the Detroit river, leaving only the Niagara river and Lake Ontario, of the most magnificent interior and navigable fresh water system on the globe, untouched by the state.

PROMINENT CHARACTERISTICS.

Of this great system, Lake Michigan is the only one which is wholly included within the national jurisdiction of the United States. It determined the location of Chicago and helped to make that city in half a century the second city of the western hemisphere. So, too, it made Milwaukee possible, as other portions of the splendid commercial waterway gave birth and natural advantages to the prosperous cities of Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland and Buffalo. The dimensions of Lake Michigan as given by Dr. Douglass Houghton are: length, 320 miles; mean breadth, 70 miles; mean depth, 100 feet; elevation above sea level, 578 feet; area, 22,400 square miles. Probably, at some remote period, the waters of the lake found an outlet by the channels of the Illinois and Mississippi rivers to the Gulf of Mexico.

Lake Superior, the northernmost of the border lakes of the United States and the Dominion of Canada, is the largest body of fresh water on the globe. Nature scooped out an immense basin for it. Its greatest length from east to west is 360 miles; its greatest breadth, across the central portion, is 140 miles; its mean depth about 1,000 feet; the level of its surface above the sea is 630 feet; its coast line about 1,500 miles; and its area, 32,000 square miles. Nowhere, border-

ing the inland waters of North America, is the scenery so bold and grand as along the north shore of Lake Superior. On the south shore are the famous natural walls of red sandstone known as the "Pictured Rocks." They are opposite the greatest width of the lake, exposed to the action of the furious storms from the north, and the effect of the wearing waves upon them is manifest in their irregular shapes, and the sand derived from their disintegration is swept down the coast and raised in long lines of sandy cliffs. At Grand Sable these cliffs vary from one hundred to three hundred feet in height, and the surrounding region consists of hills of drifting sand. A person who has not seen a summer sunset, on a calm and clear evening, from the deck of a steamer on Lake Superior has missed one of nature's grandest spectacles.

Lake Huron receives a double supply of water, the discharge from Lake Superior through St. Mary's river for 63 miles and from Lake Michigan through the strait of Mackinaw. It has many picturesque islands. Its length from north to south is about 250 miles; its greatest width, including Georgian bay, 190 miles; its average depth is given as not less than 800 feet; its elevation above sea level 578 feet, and its area is computed to be about 21,000 square miles. It is stated that in the deepest part soundings have been made to the depth of 1,800 feet without finding bottom.

Lake St. Clair is a small and shallow basin, which receives the waters of Lakes Huron, Superior and Michigan through St. Clair river, which is some forty miles long, the lake having a length of thirty miles, and a mean breadth of twelve miles, but at its widest part measuring twenty miles; its average depth is only twenty feet; its elevation above the sea, 573 feet, and its area 360 square miles, making it half the size of Jackson county. With the wearing away of Niagara Falls, an expected event sometime in the far future, the lowering of the water would leave it a lake in name only, but the pushing water of the upper lakes might furrow out a deeper channel for navigation.

Lake Erie is the southernmost body of water of this immense inland system, and the lowest with the exception of Lake Ontario, which lies still farther down the grade to the northeast. Both of these lakes, as if getting into position to send their flood to the ocean, are located nearly in an extension of the line of the river St. Lawrence, which is the outlet for all of them to the Atlantic ocean. The length of Lake Erie is about 240 miles; mean breadth, 40 miles; area, 9,600 square miles, and elevation above the sea 565 feet. Its surface is 333 feet above that of Lake Ontario, this rapid descent being made in the 33 miles length of

Niagara river. A peculiar feature of Lake Erie is its varying depth. United States' engineers found three divisions in its floor of increasing depth toward its outlet. The upper portion, above Point Pelee island, has a level bottom at an average depth of only thirty feet. The middle portion, which includes the principal part of the lake, extending to Long Point, has quite a level floor 60 to 70 feet below the surface. Below Long Point the depth varies from 60 to 240 feet. Detroit river is about 22 miles long, and varies in width from three miles to less than half a mile. The upper portion of the Michigan shore is beautiful, the river itself a thing of beauty, and the city of Detroit, sometimes called "the city of the straits," though the word means "the narrows," as it is located at the narrowest part of the river, has the best harbor, in the open roadstead of a smooth flowing stream, of any city on this great internal waterway of a continent.

Lake Ontario is the lowest and smallest of the five great lakes of the northern United States and southern Canada. The name is Indian, meaning beautiful. The lake extends east and west about 180 miles, with a mean breadth of 35 miles, and a depth averaging in the vicinity of 500 feet. Its surface is 231 feet above sea level, its bottom being about as far below the level of the ocean as its surface is above it, and its area is 6,300 square miles. From its extreme northeast corner its waters are taken by the river St. Lawrence nearly 800 miles to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and thence into the north Atlantic ocean.

Excluding the rivers, this chain of lakes covers an area of 91,660 square miles, and of this area of water the state of Michigan borders on 85,360 square miles, making it the greatest lake state in the world.

A DREAM OF EXPANSION.

It may be a futile dream of expansion, but none the less is it a pleasant one and worthy of Anglo-Saxon thought, that in the not far away future the entire North American continent will be embraced in one government and be under one flag; and that the westernmost of these great lakes, reaching into the heart of the continent will be its commercial as well as its geographical center, furnishing a navigable outlet for the cheap transportation of the products of our farms, factories and mines, without breaking bulk, to the markets of Europe, Asia and Africa. With the waning power of Great Britain from the exhaustion of its coal and iron and the loss of military prestige at the close of the nineteenth century, it is not difficult to forsee that the welfare of Canada will be vastly increased by uniting its fortunes with the American Republic.

Because of the facilities afforded for the development of Michigan and of the entire northwest by this unequaled continental system of navigable lakes and rivers, it seems appropriate to the committee of historians of the State Pioneer and Historical Society to present and preserve in this last volume of its collections prepared for publication during the final year of the nineteenth century, a sketch of the development of traffic on these lakes—the growth of less than a hundred years—which has already reached enormous proportions, the magnitude of which, at the dawn of a new century, is almost bewildering. The data given as to the area of the lake and river system form an appropriate introduction.

HOROSCOPIC.

It is useless to attempt to forecast the future when it is difficult to comprehend the present. Still, it is not improbable, the year 2001 will show changes of greater importance than those narrated in this sketch, which have taken place during the last hundred years, and among them the establishment of ocean lines of steamers from the eastern continents to the commercial cities of these inland lakes, making every one of their harbors a seaport for receiving and loading cargoes from and to foreign countries, with sufficient depths of water at all points to render this practicable. It is also deemed probable that marvelous engineering problems will be solved, and the result will be nearly uniform lake levels from Chicago to Buffalo, by means of great dykes or other works, thus holding the immense waters of these lakes at a fixed surface the season through. Millions of dollars will be needed for the work, but electricity will relieve human muscle of much of the toil. In the expressed opinion of an eminent French engineer, vessels of the year 2001 will reach the enormous length of 1,000 feet and over. Such changes, and others of equal magnitude, seem to be foreshadowed, and may herald the advent of the twenty-first century.

LOOKING BACKWARD.

As for the past, in 1801 the great lakes were navigated by French bateaux, which were not unlike whale boats, open, exposed to rain and snow, and slowly forced along by modern galley slaves, who often grew weary as they tugged at the oars. Salt, furs and military supplies for the distant western settlements were the main articles of lake commerce. The first steamboat, the Ontario, was built at Sackett's Harbor, but the Walk-in-the-Water, 1818, reached Detroit for the first time in September of that year, greatly to the consternation of the Indians, who thought her some hideous monster, breathing steam, smoke and fire.

The first white navigators who saw the great lakes were the French, under Jacques Cartier, 1534, who sailed up the St. Lawrence. In 1641 two missionaries, Jogues and Rambault, reached St. Mary's falls, and in 1658 fur traders pushed to the west end of Lake Superior. In 1665, Allouez came to St. Mary's falls.

None of these explorers, however, placed regular sailing vessels on the great lakes. November 16, 1678, La Salle and Fr. Hennepin embarked on a schooner of ten tons which they built on the site of the present Canadian city of Kingston, proceeding to Lewiston, near the mouth of the Niagara river, where farther navigation was stopped by the rapids. A new ship was built, the Griffin, at Cayuga creek, and launched in May, 1679, to navigate the upper lakes. August 7 she sailed out in Lake Erie, and on September 2 left for Green bay, but was lost on her return voyage.

After the English took Fort Niagara, in 1759, they began building ships, notably a sloop and a schooner, on Navy island, above the falls, a small fleet prominent in the siege of Detroit by Pontiac, 1763. After the siege two of them returned to a little bay at the foot of Grand island, Niagara river, where Sir William Johnson says they were burned.

In 1755, the English built two small ships at Oswego, known as the Oswego and the Ontario. The first American vessel on the great lakes, after the revolution, was the Jemima, constructed at Hanford's Landing, three miles below Rochester. She was built by Eli Granger, 1798, and was sold to Augustus and Peter B. Porter. In 1810, commerce on Lake Ontario was in the hands of two forwarding firms, Porter, Barton & Co., and Townsend, Bronson & Co., and regular trade was in stores, furs and salt, which was sent to the straggling western settlements. The schooner Charles and Ann, 1810, 100 tons, was considered a wonder. By 1818, the fleet on Lake Ontario numbered some 60 vessels, and trade included timber and staves, rafted down the St. Lawrence.

FIRST AMERICAN VESSEL ON LAKE ERIE.

The first American-built vessel on Lake Erie was the schooner Washington, launched at Erie, Pa., 1797. She was soon sold to a Canadian, and carried on wheels around the falls. In 1816, the total tonnage at all ports, including Detroit, was 2,067. In 1817, seven small vessels were enrolled at Buffalo, with a tonnage of 459 tons, and of these one was a steamer. The first steamer was the Ontario, built at Sackett's Harbor, N. Y. She was 110 feet long, 24 feet wide and 8½ feet deep, measuring 240 tons, and was constructed under a grant from the heirs of Robert Fulton. On her first trip she encountered considerable sea, and the

waves lifted the paddle wheels, throwing the shaft off its bearings and causing the wheels to tear off their wooden coverings.

In 1818, the steamer Sophia was built at Sackett's Harbor. In the same year was launched at Black Rock the Walk-in-the-Water. She was floated May 28, and started on her first trip August 25. Her machinery was brought from Albany, a distance of 300 miles, in wagons drawn by eight horses. As she could not run against a swift current, recourse was had to what was facetiously called a "horned breeze," namely, yokes of oxen, which regularly towed her up the Niagara river. She made the round trip from Detroit to Black Rock in 10 days. She was wrecked and lost on the beach at Buffalo, November, 1821, but during the winter of 1822 a second steamer, named the Superior, used the machinery of the Walk-in-the-Water. The first high-pressure steamer was launched at Buffalo, the Pioneer. In 1841 the first propeller was launched at Oswego, known as the Vandalia, 138 tons, and proved successful in all weathers.

UPPER LAKE DEVELOPMENT.

The first vessels on Lake Superior were those owned by the British Fur Co. One was the Recovery, 150 tons. During the war of 1812, so fearful were the owners that she would fall into the hands of the Americans that the Recovery was taken to a small cove on Isle Royale, known as McCargo's cove, her masts removed and her hull covered with logs and branches, to conceal her exact location. On the advent of peace she was again brought from her hiding place, but was not refitted until 1830. Another fur-trading vessel, called the Mink, appeared on Lake Superior before 1812, but the first American boat launched on that lake was the John Jacob Astor, built under the direction of Ramsey Crooks and Oliver Newberry, and placed in command of Capt. Charles Stanard. Her timbers and planks were hewed at Black River, O., shipped to Sault Ste. Marie and carted across the portage to the head of the rapids, where her keel was laid, and she was launched August 1, 1835. It was while in command of the Astor that Capt. Stanard discovered the terrible menace to navigation, since known as Stanard rock, upon which the United States has spent large sums of money to insure the safety of mariners. The schooner William Brewster, 70 tons, was launched in August, 1838. These boats were all open and were propelled by paddles, oars and sails, as circumstances required. The schooner Napoleon was built for Oliver Newberry, 1845, at Sault Ste. Marie. Other boats of this early day were: Independence, 260 tons; Julia Palmer, 1846, hauled across the portage; Algonquin, Uncle Tom, Swallow, Merchant, Trader and Whitefish, Manhattan, Monticello, schooner Geo. W.

Ford, propeller Peninsular, side-wheelers Sam Ward and Baltimore. In 1845 the Chippewa, 25 tons, sailed Lake Superior. She carried 40 passengers, who were obliged to feed themselves and sleep as best they could on bare boards on the open decks. In her day the brig Ramsey Crooks and the schooner Gen. Warren, owned by the late Dr. John L. Whiting of Detroit, were famous. Capt. Eber Ward placed the side-wheeler Detroit on the route between Detroit and Sault Ste. Marie. In the spring of 1846, the Ben Franklin was put on the route, but was wrecked in Thunder bay, four years later. Then followed the Northerner, London, North Star, Tecumseh, Albany, Illinois and E. E. Collins, also two small steamers, the Gore and Ploughboy. Sheldon McKnight of Detroit did the transporting at the portage in the years 1844 and 1845, using only one old gray mare and a cart, but by 1847 the traffic had so increased that he added another team. Before the opening of the canal, in 1855, McKnight usually moved about 300 tons of freight during the season of navigation.

INCREASE OF THE MID-CENTURY.

The rapid growth continued, and in 1862 the following tonnage is recorded:

	No. boats.	Tons.	Value.
Steamers	147	64,669	$2,668,900
Propellers	203	60,951	2,814,000
Barques	62	25,118	621,800
Brigs	86	24,871	501,100
Schooners	969	204,900	5,248,900
Sloops	15	2,800	11,850
Totals	1,502	383,309	$11,866,550

The first cargo of grain for Buffalo was sent in the brig John Kenzie, from Grand river, Mich., 3,000 bushels of wheat. By 1840 a regular trade in grain was established, carried in a large number of small hookers, each about 15 tons. The following table shows the shipments of grain and flour from Chicago from 1840 to 1860:

Year.	Flour.	Wheat.	Corn.
1840	.....	10,000	.....
1845	13,752	956,860	.....
1850	100,871	883,664	262,013
1855	163,419	6,298,155	7,517,625
1860	698,132	12,402,197	13,700,113

ENORMOUS GROWTH FOR 50 YEARS.

Year.	Sailing Vessels.		Steam Vessels.		Canal Boats and Barges.		Total.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
1851	.....	138,000	....	74,000	...	.....	.....	214,000
1862	1,152	257,689	350	125,620	...	.....	1,502	383,309
1871	1,662	267,154	682	149,467	3,169	295,406	5,513	712,027
1874	1,696	336,801	876	198,121	3,028	307,458	5,600	842,381
1879	1,473	307,078	896	203,298	718	86,970	3,087	597,376
1880	1,459	304,933	931	212,045	572	47,159	3,127	605,102
1885	1,322	313,129	1,175	235,859	882	100,966	3,379	749,948
1889	1,285	325,083	1,455	575,307	672	71,881	3,412	972,271
1890	1,272	328,656	1,527	652,923	711	81,484	3,510	1,063,063
1891	1,243	325,131	1,592	736,752	765	92,987	3,600	1,154,870
1892	1,226	319,618	1,631	763,063	800	100,901	3,657	1,183,582
1893	1,205	317,789	1,731	828,702	825	114,576	3,761	1,261,067
1894	1,139	302,982	1,731	843,240	471	81,175	3,341	1,227,400
1895	1,100	300,642	1,755	857,735	487	83,082	3,342	1,241,459
1896	1,044	309,152	1,792	924,631	497	90,284	3,333	1,324,067
1897	993	334,104	1,775	977,235	462	98,763	3,230	1,410,102
1898	960	333,704	1,764	993,644	532	110,152	3,256	1,437,500

In 1899 the total tonnage of vessels on these northern lakes having United States registers was 1,446,348 tons, out of a total of 4,864,238 tons in the coastwise and internal traffic of this country, divided as follows: 2,614,869 tons owned on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts; 539,937 tons on the Pacific coast; 263,084 tons on the western rivers; northern lakes, as above, 1,446,348 tons.

LATEST GIGANTIC STRIDES.

In 1875 the lake tonnage amounted to about 600,000 tons, and the steamer tonnage was about three-fifths of the sailing tonnage. Railroads began a successful competition and rate wars brought a decline in lake equipment and traffic. New construction, which was as high as 73,000 tons in 1874, fell to 7,000 tons in 1877, and averaged only 13,000 tons a year for the five years ending in 1880. In that year the total tonnage aggregated 560,000, being 30,000 less than five years before.

The next decade brought a revival, which is easily connected with lake improvements, the most important being the 18-foot ship canal, which took the place of the 10-foot canal and locks. In 1881 65,000 tons of vessels were constructed, three-fourths of which were steam, averaging 450 tons, where hitherto the average had been but little over 200 tons. From now on, 2,000-ton vessels were commonly built for the long distance traffic. In 1890, the lake shipping increased to 1,000,000 tons and to 1,500,000 tons in 1898; and the maximum size of vessels rose to 5,000, 6,000 and even 7,000 tons. Sailing vessels have almost gone out of use, and the greater part of the traffic is in steamers, or barges towed by steamers.

Before 1888 nine-tenths of the lake vessels were of wood; in that year the iron and steel proportion rose to 20 per cent, and at the present time barely 10 per cent of the tonnage (of new vessels) is of wood.

In 1888 entrances and clearances showed a traffic of 19,200,000 tons; 1890, 37,500,000 tons, about 9,000,000 of which passed through the St. Mary's Falls canal. By 1896 the total traffic was 52,000,000 tons, and in 1898, 62,500,000 tons, 18,000,000 of which passed through St. Mary's Falls canal. Allowing for the Canadian movement (an average of 700 miles of movement to the ton), we have a ton-mileage of 42,000,000,000 for the year 1898—a figure nearly equal to 40 per cent of all the ton-mileage of the entire railroad interests of the country. Ninety per cent of this movement is comprised of grain (including flour), iron ore, lumber and coal.

COMMERCE FOR THE YEAR 1900.

The commerce of the great lakes in the navigation season 1900 has exceeded that of any preceding year. The report of the treasury bureau of statistics covering the business of the principal ports, combined with the reports of the officer in charge of the Sault Ste. Marie canal, for the year ending December 31, 1900, and comparing those figures with those of preceding years fully justifies this assertion. The work of the bureau of statistics during the season of 1900 was the first attempt to classify and study the movements in the great articles from port to port upon the great lakes, and while it was not found practicable in this experimental year to include in this work some of the minor ports, or to obtain data in all cases for the opening month of the season, the figures may be accepted as presenting a fairly accurate view of the port to port commerce of the articles and classes of articles which form the bulk of the traffic on this great internal waterway.

According to the figures secured by the bureau of statistics, there were received by vessels at the thirty-seven principal ports on the great lakes between April 1, 1900, and the close of the year, a total of 1,266,234 tons of flour, 52,834,256 bushels of wheat, 70,805,801 bushels of corn, 33,290,767 bushels of oats, 11,526,501 bushels of barley and 1,840,892 bushels of rye. These figures relate purely to the movements between United States ports, and do not, therefore, include the shipments to or from ports on the Canadian side of the canal or through the Welland canal. The great bulk of the grain traffic originated at Chicago and Duluth and had Buffalo as its point of destination. So far as can be judged from the discrepancy between the figures representative of shipments and receipts respectively, after making allowance for the grain in storage on vessels both at the beginning and close of the season, and their shipments from small ports not included in the season's compilation, the movement of grain via the Canadian water routes did not reach the proportions which had been predicted for it.

The receipts of iron ore by water at the ports embraced in the bureau's compilation reached a total of 16,268,027 tons, and this may be accepted as about 85 per cent of the entire movement of iron ore both by rail and water. All the principal ore-receiving and shipping ports are covered by the bureau statement. Of the 16,268,027 tons handled, 15,843,681 tons are shown to have been shipped from the six ports of Two Harbors, Duluth, Escanaba, Ashland, Marquette and West Superior, and 13,623,609 tons were received at the six ports of Ashtabula, Cleveland, Conneaut, South Chicago, Buffalo and Erie—a remarkable exemplification of the extent to which the iron ore traffic is concentrated.

Many different classes of commodities, such as provisions, dry goods and hardware, are reported under the general head of unclassified freight. This movement at the principal lake ports during the past year reached the aggregate of 3,471,131 tons. In this traffic the city of Chicago led with 842,221 tons. The receipts at other ports were: Buffalo, 668,831 tons; Cleveland, 275,673 tons; Detroit, 234,482 tons, and Milwaukee, 325,124 tons.

In view of the effort being made by the owners of the lumber carrying vessels on the great lakes to effect a combination with the purpose of maintaining rates, it is perhaps interesting, as illustrating the scope of this branch of inland commerce, to note that lumber shipments were made during the season from thirty-two of the thirty-seven ports, the commerce of which the bureau of statistics kept a record, receipts being recorded at an equal number of ports. The total receipts aggregated 2,122,403,000 feet.

According to the report of the chief of engineers for 1900, the total Lake Superior traffic through the American and Canadian canals at Sault Ste. Marie for the months of navigation which commenced April 19, 1900, was 21,678 vessels, carrying 27,520,205 tons of freight and 51,050 passengers. The traffic through Detroit river between Lake Huron and Lake Erie is, however, considerably larger. The freight alone is estimated at 40,000,000 tons, and it is stated that the number of vessels is fifteen times as many as those through the great intercontinental Suez canal. For the calendar year 1898, the last one for which we have an authentic report, the number of vessels was 3,503, of 9,238,000 tons, and the number of passengers who went through the canal was 219,000. This comparison with the world's greatest artificial waterway serves to show the present immense development of the commerce of our great lakes.

A FORECAST OF THE FUTURE.

Hon. George Y. Wisner, ex-deep waterways commissioner, asked to forecast the future of lake traffic and improvements, said:

"To my mind, the 20-foot channel is the limit of depth on the great lakes. Any further depth costs more, for interest on the money, than the gain in profit on freights.

"One of the great problems of the future is to solve the question of fixed drafts, by holding up the low water stage to a constant figure, the season through. At present extreme dry or wet seasons change lake levels from two to three feet.

"The proposed canal from the great lakes to tide water will be an immense factor of the future, and if successfully carried out, will have an effect on great lakes' commerce difficult to forecast.

"I have here a pamphlet in which a French engineer predicts that the vessels of the year 2001 will be 1,000 feet long; but in my opinion that is merely a rosy dream.

"It seems wholly reasonable that the improvement at the Limekiln crossing will eventfully be discontinued and, in the future, we shall have an all-American channel on the west side of Grosse Isle.

"While it is easy to make predictions we should not forget that the future must be based on the present; and it is a fact that between Buffalo and Duluth there are over 60 miles of less than 18 feet of water on the main traveled routes, even with all the money already spent. Considering the enormous cost of every foot over 20, I do not expect to see that depth ever very much exceeded, at least with present appliances; and although the motive power of our lake vessels may possibly change to electricity or other forces, the size of the vessels looks to me as already fixed."

WATER LEVEL OF THE LAKES.

The fluctuation of lake levels has come to be a subject of deep interest, as it may have an influence in the development of commerce by the use of steamers of large tonnage in the near future. As yet there is no complete explanation of the changes. But the tendency of inquiry is to attribute the fluctuations to cosmic causes that have a certain rhythm.

The period of change in level is variable, but it is nearest to the period of change in solar spottedness, which is also variable between ten and sixteen years. In a recent article upon lake levels the Milwaukee Sentinel, passing over ultimate causes, confines attention to records of fluctuation with tentative forecasts of years of high water in the

early part of the twentieth century. These forecasts indicate the recognition of a period of about ten years. The Sentinel names the following years of probable high lake levels: 1906, 1916, 1927 or 1928. These years are selected as following probable years of maximum rainfall.

Low levels are predicted for 1912-13, 1921-22. The period of about ten years is observable in these forecasts. While such a period may be fairly traced it is subject to great inequalities in lake levels during both maxima and minima. There is a longer period that is not so regular as the short one. The high lake levels are set down by the Sentinel as occurring in 1838, 1859, 1876, 1886. Here are two periods of about twenty years and one period of ten years. It may be said of the short period of ten years that two sun spot maxima of unusual spottedness were involved, the maximum of 1871 to 1874 and the maximum of 1883 to 1885.

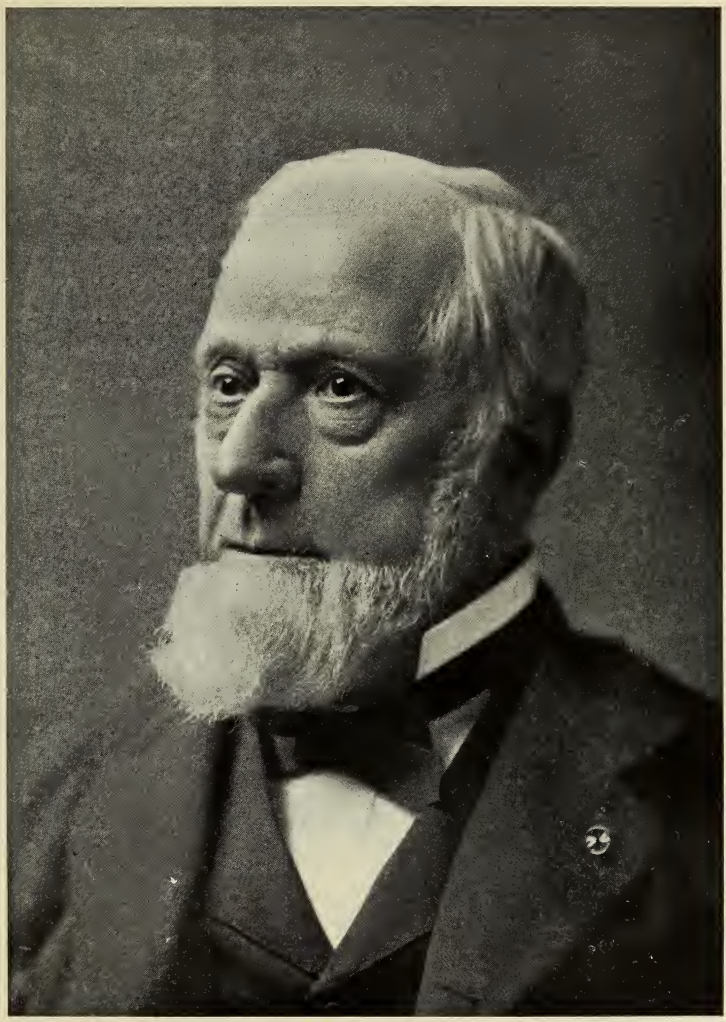
RECOLLECTIONS OF PIONEER AND PROFESSIONAL LIFE IN MICHIGAN.

BY R. C. KEDZIE.

The committee of historians of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society have asked me to contribute some personal recollections of pioneer life in Michigan, and to extend the narrative to some matters of later date.

My father, living amid the rocky hills of Delaware county, New York, considered the place unsuited to furnish suitable farms for his five boys, and hearing through his trusted friend, Dr. Robert Clark, of Monroe, about the rich, yet cheap lands in Michigan territory, came west in 1824 and bought of the general government 300 acres of land on the banks of River Raisin. In the spring of 1826 he brought his wife and seven children from Delhi, N. Y., to Monroe, Michigan. Part of the journey was by the recently opened Erie canal to Buffalo, and thence by steamboat to the mouth of River Raisin. The river was too shallow to permit the steamboat to reach the main land, and the Monroe passengers and their goods were unloaded on a pier built at the edge of deep water, while the steamboat pursued her way to Detroit.

This pier at the mouth of the river was merely a board platform built above the water, without roof or railing, where passengers could disembark from the steamer. We did not land, for the land was at



DR. ROBERT C. KEDZIE.

some distance and the transfer to Monroe was effected by small boats. On the 13th of May, 1826, we reached the pier too late in the day to be rowed ashore. As the platform had no railing and there was danger that some of the children might step off into the water, my father enclosed a sleeping space for the family by a barricade of chests, trunks and boxes, and across the mouth of this partial enclosure he stretched his body as sentinel for the night. Thus guarded and protected we were safe until morning, when good Dr. Clark came with a number of row boats and brought us and ours safely to land.

As the farm on the Raisin, in the eastern edge of Lenawee county, was an unbroken wilderness, and home was yet to be prepared, the family spent the summer in a rented house in Monroe, while father went up the river twenty-five miles to "make an opening" in the dense woods and build a house for our home. This was no trifling task for a man single-handed, with only his axe to hew an abiding place for civilization out of the wilderness and savagery of untamed nature. But at last, with the kindly aid of a few near neighbors (five to six miles away) "to roll up the logs," he made a log house 18x22 feet, and had cleared off a field for orchard, garden and cornfield, and the home began to take form.

Mother kept the children in Monroe in order to give them the opportunity of going to school, which was taught by Anthony McKey. I only "attended the last day of the school," as children are ready to do, and had for my part in the exercises a candy rooster of infantile size. This lesson in natural history I took in very readily and was open for further instruction in the same line.

The summer wore away and we were eager to go to the home in the wild woods, and we were impatient to enter upon the mystery and wildness of primitive nature.

In October the family moved to the new home at Kedzie's Grove. The events of that first night in the woods were indelibly stamped upon my memory. The log house was not finished; the spaces for doors and windows had been cut in the log walls, but the doors and windows to fill those spaces had yet to be brought from Monroe. To fill these yawning openings boxes and chests were piled in, and blankets hung to bar out all intruders. A bright fire was burning in the space where the chimney was yet to be and kept burning all night to warn off all wild beasts. It was literally our "house warming." Just at dusk my brothers took the Indian pony, "Old Gray," to the bottom land to forage for the night, a small bell tied to his neck to find him more readily in

the morning, and to prevent his wandering too far his fore feet were spanceled or tied with a short rope. When this was done the wolves began to gather about the group and the boys with the pony tight at their heels made a bee line for the house "to tarry for the night." The wolves surrounded the house and gave the original Michigan yell in fine form. A rival society, the owls, gave the answering yell and these native societies kept up the serenade all night. Old Gray circled around and around the house, the drum like thump, thump, of his spanceled feet, the shrill terror of his tinkling bell, with the full wolf and owl chorus gave a striking welcome to us in our forest home. It was an unrivaled concert and without an encore from the audience that held reserved seats.

To call the region wild where we had settled was to state the facts tamely. Wild beasts roamed the forests, and wild Indians dominated all, the trees shut out the sight of the sky and the murmur of the winds, as they swept through their interlaced branches, was like the moan of far off seas. The mystery and the terror of the forest were heart crushing. The massive trees that overshadowed our house were too suggestive of disaster if any of them should suddenly come down to our level. A white oak four feet in diameter was "axed" to give way, and when he fell we were invited out doors to "see how it let the sky in." An enemy destroyed! No wonder we came to hate a tree. A huge red oak that towered threateningly above the house was the next marked for slaughter, and he was to die after dark. My father placed a lighted candle in the line of his fall, but beyond the reach of his branches, to show the tide of air that would be carried forward by the falling mass.

When the tree fell the candle flame fluttered and danced for a moment and then threw up its hand in surrender—to the intense delight of the kids. It was my first lesson in pneumatics. The trunks of both of these trees for years remained where they fell, forming a part of the garden fence.

The trees must fall even if they held their sheltering arms over our home, because danger lurked in their very shadow and we must have breathing space and sunlight around our house. These forest monarchs with coronals of green and majesty of form appealed in vain to our sense of beauty.

"Woodman spare that tree," was not a favorite song at Kedzie's Grove. The most beautiful inanimate thing God ever made is a symmetrical tree, but in our eyes it "had no form or comeliness that we should

desire it." It was a rival to be downed, for it held the land we wanted for crops. A man was famous according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees. A man that could chop an acre of heavily timbered land in a week commanded respect and received the standing price, $5.00 an acre. The trees were an obstruction—an enemy to extirpate, not a thing of beauty or a friend to be cherished. It was woods, woods everywhere, trackless, savage, terrifying. They seemed to smother us and we gasped to drink in the open sky. Go out from our house in any direction, it was the unbroken forest for long distances; take the trail eastward, and it was five miles to the first house, Richard Peters', after whom Petersburg was named; go west and it was six miles to the home of Harvey Bliss, after whom Blissfield was named; strike out north or south through the lonely woods and it was twenty or more miles to a white man. When we recall the fact that the woods were the home of treacherous beasts of prey "more fierce than evening wolves," while the arm of man seemed so weak and puny before such foes, what wonder that we grew to hate a tree and clap our hands over his downfall.

Those grand old forests! I look back with remorse upon their pitiless destruction—the rich inheritance of the centuries past wantonly wasted —timber to build the navies of the world, lumber to adorn palaces of kings, burned in log heaps. Whitewood was the only tree that had a market value, because the logs could be floated down the river to Monroe to be sawed into lumber. But the other trees—oak, ash, elm, basswood, hickory and cherry had no quotable value in those early days. If the farms of Lenawee county were again clothed with the forests of 1826 the timber would sell for more than the farms are worth today.

Gail Hamilton in writing about life in Florida exclaimed, "Nine miles from a lemon." But we were twenty-five miles from a mill, store, post-office, doctor, minister and civilization in general and particular. Our roads were merely trails through the woods, marked by blazed trees and our only bridge over the river was a canoe. Not only was the mill twenty-five miles away, but it took time and toil to carry the grain to the mill and bring home the flour. The river must be crossed at Petersburg, and the canoe took the place of bridge. In going to the mill the bags of wheat were carried over the river in the canoe, the horses were unharnessed and made to swim the stream, the harness and wagon piece by piece were ferried over, then all parts put together again, the grain loaded up and the driver could then go to Monroe to get his grist ground, the return journey being a repetition of the first.

To obtain any of the products of civilization, from shop or store, to communicate with our friends by postal service or to come into touch with the world, the same weary road and exhaustive travel were necessary. It was some years before a mail reached us "once a week unless the river was high," when Joe Labadie on his little pony, with mail carried in saddle bags, reached us he brought a cheerful expectancy into our family, probably a newspaper, possibly a letter. We dreamed as little of a daily mail as of a telephone message.

The one social bond in our little settlement was the Sunday school which my father organized as soon as another family settled near us, and this Sunday school was continued as long as he lived and for many years afterward. But our most pressing want in those early years was the district school. For many years we wanted and waited, till at last "the folks" had a meeting to see what could be done to meet this pressing want. A subscription was started to build a school house; offerings of labor, lumber, shingles, etc., were made, and so much encouragement was given that "the neighbors" had a bee and put up in one day the body of a log school house, which was soon completed, and Miss Caroline A. Bixbey, of Adrian, was installed as teacher for the winter, giving great satisfaction to all parties. Just before the three months closed the school house burned and with it most of the school books of the neighborhood.

After another period of suspended animation a school district was organized, another log school house built and a three months' school secured "with a man teacher." The basic rule for the school was "to begin at the beginning." The older scholars, no matter how far advanced in their studies, were expected to take up arithmetic, geography and grammar at the beginning and then proceed as far as they could in the three months. In this way the teacher could keep in advance of the big boys for the winter and avoid a crisis. The great intellectual contest was the spelling school, the boy or girl who could "spell down the school and stump the teacher" was the hero of the winter and champion of the school.

WILDCAT BANKING.

The period I am describing embraces the wildcat banking when the "bank notes were made safe by being based upon capital in the form of farms and other realty. What can be a safer basis for banking than land? It will not run away or depreciate." Unfortunately the bank notes would depreciate very rapidly, as we found to our sorrow. Very little trustworthy money was in circulation, and almost no specie. Bank

bills representing dollars were common, but it was difficult to "make change," and to meet this difficulty merchants printed due-bills or "shinplasters" for fractions of a dollar, "redeemable in bank notes when presented in sums of one or more dollars." This monetary system of Michigan soon collapsed and disappeared forever.

GOING TO COLLEGE.

In 1840 I began to seriously consider the question of securing an education, but the prospect was discouraging. Our spree of free banking had been followed by a reaction which "made money tight." There was little market for any farm produce except wheat and pork, and prices for these were low. We raised large crops of corn, but there was no market price we would accept. A distillery at Blissfield would pay a small price for corn, but a family council decided that "Kedzie corn was not made for whisky." The perplexing question confronted me, "wherewithal shall a young man" pay his way through college? My brother Stewart was then in Western Reserve college in Hudson, Ohio, and he gave me words of encouragement, and except for his brotherly sympathy I should probably never have attempted the hopeless task. My mother also favored my purpose, but the other members of the family treated the matter with incredulity. In 1841, with a borrowed capital of $25, I started for Oberlin college. When my tuition for the first term and my text-books were paid for and a quart of whale oil to supply my lamp had been purchased, I had thirty-seven and a half cents remaining to pay my way through college. My struggles, sufferings and almost starvation in going through college I will not describe; they do not look pleasant even at this distance of time.

TEACHING SCHOOL.

One way to earn money common among students was by teaching a district school during the winter vacation. In 1844 I tried to secure this opportunity, but the times were hard and money very scarce. As teaching school was the readiest way of earning a little money nearly every young man who could handle the three R's sought for a situation, and there were two applicants for every school. The competition was intense and wages very low. I traveled 300 miles (on foot part of the way) seeking employment and finally secured a school for three months for $34, "boarding around." To teach for $11.33 a month seemed small wages, but it was that or nothing, and the "boarding around" in the families in the district showed me more unsophisticated human nature than I ever found before.

THE SCARCITY OF MONEY.

After General Jackson's successful war on the United States bank, followed by his "specie circular" requiring all payments to the United States to be made in coin at a time when there was very little coin in the country, there was a scarcity of money hard to conceive in modern times. Our coin was mainly Mexican. This was before the days of cheap and prepaid postage, and sometimes a letter would remain many days in the postoffice before the required twenty-five cents could be secured to pay the postage. These were "the good old times in the early forties." When I hear political speakers extolling those "good old days" I smile at the recollection with no yearning to return.

The rest of my vacations were spent in teaching with better wages. The money thus earned was essential for going forward with my studies. I graduated with my class in 1847, and was immediately engaged as assistant in the Rochester academy under Prof. Peter Moyer. Prof. Moyer was a thorough scholar, a strong character, and enthusiastic teacher who had built up a prosperous academy in Rochester, Mich. He died in a few days after my arrival at Rochester and the responsibility of the academy was thrown on my hands. I taught there for two years, made many friends but little money; I then spent two years in the study of medicine and graduated with the first medical class (seven members) that took their diplomas from the medical department of the University of Michigan.

The next ten years were spent in the practice of medicine, for the most part in Vermontville, and in December, 1861, I enlisted in the service of the government, being mustered into service as assistant surgeon of the Twelfth Regiment of Michigan Infantry, leaving my wife and three little boys at home. Of my life in the army I need not speak at length, as it was similar to that of thousands of our young men who offered themselves willingly in those days of suspense but of unquestionable loyalty. My first smell of the incense of war was at the battle of Shiloh, where I was captured with all my hospital. On April 20, 1862, I was promoted to be surgeon of the Twelfth Regiment, with which I served until the following October, when I found my health would not permit me to remain in the service, and I resigned and returned to my family.

In January, 1863, largely through the influence of E. W. Barber, then clerk of the house of representatives of Michigan, I was appointed by the board of agriculture as professor of chemistry in Michigan Agricultural college, a position which I still hold. From the time when I became connected with the agricultural college my life and work have been so much

in the public eye that no detailed history seems to be required, but there are a few matters that I will speak of more fully, being of historical interest.

STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.

In 1873 the state board of health was established. As I had taken a lively interest in securing the requisite legislation, Governor Bagley appointed me as one of the six members of the board and I held the position for eight years, being president of the board for half that period. At the end of my term, Governor Jerome reappointed me as member, but as the board of agriculture seemed to feel that my duties on the board of health consumed too much of the time due for college work, I declined the position and have had no connection with the state board of health since 1881.

There are two matters connected with my work in the state board of health to which I look back with satisfaction.

I.—INSPECTION OF KEROSENE.

Along in the fifties "coal oil" or kerosene began to come into use for lighting the homes in village and country, while coal gas was the illuminant for the wealthy in the cities. Up to that date, outside of the cities, the lamp fed with whale oil or lard oil was in use among the well-to-do, but in the majority of village and country homes the tallow candle was "the light of other days." About 1858, I bought my first gallon of kerosene for $1.50, paying $3.00 for a glass lamp and chimney for burning the kerosene. The oil was of inferior quality, as compared with the kerosene of today; contained much naphtha and gave a disagreeable odor in burning. With increased production the price of the kerosene rapidly declined, and it came into more general use. But it was yet imperfectly refined and, either of a set purpose or by accident so much of the cheap naphtha or benzine was left in the kerosene that it was often dangerously explosive when burned in lamps. The startling head line, "Another Kerosene Horror" appeared with horrible frequency in the newspapers—some poor woman in her peculiarly inflammable clothing had been drenched with the blazing oil and burned like a martyr at the stake. These frightful accidents were repeated day after day until people regarded kerosene as inherently unsafe and necessarily dangerous. To experiment with the stuff was like fooling with gunpowder. During a lecture in representative hall before the members of the legislature upon the inspection and testing of kerosene, some experiments were performed with the oil, when several members

left the hall, saying, "I shall not stay there to be blown up by that ——— fool."

Prior to 1873 no adequate law for the inspection of illuminating oils had been enforced in our state. A district inspector could be appointed by the circuit judge on petition, or, by a later law, a county inspector could be appointed by the governor; but the conditions hampering such officer, and the small emoluments for the discharge of his duties, did not encourage the acceptance of the office or the active discharge of its duties. One remarkable provision of this law was that oils inspected and branded by a state inspector of another state need not be reinspected in this state. Under the provisions of this law hundreds of barrels of kerosene were introduced into our state from Cleveland, bearing the brand "Warranted 150° fire test, E. Fowler, Inspector." Notwithstanding this brand on the kerosene barrels, the explosions of lamps and burning of innocent victims went on with frightful regularity.

STATE BOARD OF HEALTH AT WORK.

The law creating the state board of health became operative July 30, 1873. In organizing the board and mapping out its lines of work, certain standing committees were formed to reduce its labors to a regular system. The chairmanship of committee No. 7, "Poisons, explosives, chemicals, accidents, and special sources of danger to life and health," was assigned to me. The "special source of danger to life and health" from the explosive quality of the kerosene in common use seemed to call for early and thorough investigation, and it was the first subject to which I turned my attention, and the first article I wrote for the report of the state board of health was on this subject. The question naturally arose whether these oils had been properly inspected, and whether the brand on the kerosene barrels, "warranted 150° fire test," was warranted; also whether the method of inspection was accurate and would give accurate and uniform results.

In entering upon an investigation of the accuracy and reliability of the methods then in use for oil inspection, I considered that certain facts and conditions must be kept in mind:

1. The vapor of kerosene by itself is not explosive, any more than is air; but the mixture of a combustible vapor with enough air to sustain complete and instantaneous combustion in the presence of flame will cause an explosion in consequence of the sudden expansion of the gases produced by the heat generated by the combustion.

2. The vapor of naphtha is nearly three times as heavy as air, and

will tend to flow to a lower level; it can also be easily swept away by any current of air.

3. If vapor is given off in a closed space, like that within the lamp and above the oil, an explosive mixture of vapor and air in such enclosed space is more readily detected than in open air.

4. The line of danger in kerosene is the lowest temperature at which it will give off in quantity these combustible vapors; the lower the vaporizing temperature, the greater the danger.

Keeping these general principles in mind, I examined the open-cup oil tester in common use in Cleveland to see whether it would give uniform and trustworthy results, not controlled by the will of the operator. This open-cup or commercial tester consists essentially of an open cup to contain the oil to be tested, the oil filling the cup to the brim, a thermometer suspended in the oil to show the progressive changes of temperature, and a water bath to slowly heat the cup of oil. There is nothing to confine any vapor that may form, which may be swept away by any passing current of air, or even the skillfully directed breath of a trained operator; it will flow down the sides of the cup, being heavier than air, and will not pile up on top of the oil unless forming rapidly. To quickly dash a lighted splinter above the surface of the heated oil at a height of one to three inches, at the will of the operator, left oil inspection too much at the will of the inspector. By skillful manipulation he could raise the temperature of the oil many degrees before the mixed vapor and air would burn with a flash, giving "the flash test," or if a large amount of the vapor in burning would set fire to the body of the oil, it would give "the fire test." For these reasons I discarded the open-cup tester and devised the closed-cup tester, which was adopted by the state board of health, and named in honor of the board. The essential difference between the board of health oil tester and the open-cup tester is that there is a vapor chamber above the oil in the cup, and any vapor that forms in testing will be retained in this vapor chamber. When enough vapor gathers in it to form an explosive mixture with the air present in the chamber, a small flame introduced into this space will cause a slight explosion or flash, and the temperature of the oil which will give these conditions for the flash is called "the flash test." The instrument was very easily managed and gave very uniform results. A Cleveland oil inspector said to me: "The Michigan tester is very accurate; you cannot make it vary more than a degree or two." This Michigan tester was adopted by our legislature as the official oil tester, and has been adopted in many states.

TESTING KEROSENE.

In August, 1873, I bought specimens of kerosene on sale in Detroit, Kalamazoo, Jackson, Muskegon, Grand Rapids, Dowagiac and Lansing, in all sixty-four samples, from barrels with the 150° fire test warranty. These were tried with the Michigan tester, and out of sixty-four samples only three came up to the warranted standard, seventeen more had a flash test of 120° or more, and forty-four had a flash test below 120°; many fell below 100°, and one as low as 90°. Here was adequate explanation of the kerosene accidents in our state, only one in twenty-one coming up to the standard required by law. These results were published, and the public press took up the subject in earnest and made it so hot for the oil refiners that the Standard Oil company sent their inspector to Detroit to explain and vindicate their method of inspection, and to show that kerosene then sold in the state was fully up to the 150° fire test. He was granted a hearing by the Detroit board of trade. By using the open-cup tester, fixing their attention upon the thermometer and diverting notice of the manner of handling the small ignited splinter as he dashed it at some distance above the vapors there forming, he showed a temperature of 150° in the oil before it took fire. The board of trade were satisfied and passed a resolution that Mr. Fowler, inspector of the Standard Oil company, had explained the process of inspecting illuminating oils, and had demonstrated in their presence that the kerosene now on the market would stand the test of 150°, as claimed by the company. Armed with such endorsement from so eminent a body, Mr. Fowler announced to the newspapers in Detroit that he would proceed to Lansing to commence suit against Dr. Kedzie in the United States court in the penal sum of $50,000 for defamation of character.

When he came to Lansing a few physicians who were interested in this subject—Drs. H. B. Baker, I. H. Bartholomew, Geo. E. Ranney and myself—invited Mr. Fowler to repeat the demonstration he had made before the board of trade in Detroit. Going into Dr. Ranney's office, we produced a specimen of kerosene just purchased from a grocery and asked him to verify the correctness of the brand, "warranted 150° fire test," that he had affixed to the barrel. He began the trial, but passed his burning splinter at some distance above the oil cup, until Dr. Bartholomew strongly objected: "Bring the flame down near the surface of the oil where the vapors are forming, not some inches above them; bring it down—down—down!" When the flame was lowered until it was a half inch from the surface of the oil, the vapors ignited and the

oil took fire long before the thermometer marked 150°. The demonstration was a failure.

I then tested the same kerosene by the Michigan tester, and showed that the flashing point was 110°. Mr. Fowler then took me aside and said: "Doctor, you have been pretty rough on me in your criticism of our method of inspection. Do you know that my means of living depends upon this inspection, and that you are taking the bread out of the mouths of my wife and children?" I replied: "You have been rough upon our people by this sham inspection, as shown by the burnings and deaths of our people by the use of these low-grade and falsely branded oils. I cannot pit the safety and lives of our people against the bread of your family!" This ended our interview and the suit for $50,000 in the United States court.

STATE OIL INSPECTOR.

Prior to 1873 no adequate law for the inspection of illuminating oils had been enforced in this state. Under the law of 1873 "the governor, upon the application of five or more residents of any county, shall appoint a suitable person" to inspect oils in such county; such county inspector must provide at his own expense the necessary apparatus, when requested shall inspect the oil, must take the constitutional oath of office, shall execute a bond with surety "for the use of all persons aggrieved by the acts or neglect of said inspector," and for such inspection and marking he was entitled to a fee of ten cents for each barrel inspected "upon the requisition of any manufacturer or dealer." I have never heard of any person appointed a county inspector of oils that accepted service when appointed, especially as he was liable to "a fine not exceeding ten hundred dollars" under certain conditions.

To cap the climax of absurdity, while one section of this law required a test of 150° under Michigan inspectors, another section permitted their introduction and sale from other states if "the oils had been inspected in another state and bore the brand of the state inspector showing that they had been inspected and stand a fire test of 110° F."

Naturally we felt a curiosity to know more about the state oil inspector whose work seemed to be so highly prized by our legislators above that of Michigan inspectors.

"Upon what meat doth this our Cæsar feed
That he is grown so great?"

Dr. Baker wrote to the secretary of state of Ohio on this subject, and received the following reply:

STATE OF OHIO,
Department of State,
Columbus, Dec. 10, 1873.

Sir—In reply to your letter of 8th instant, I beg to say that the law regulating the sale of illuminating oils in this state does not provide for a state inspector of oils, nor has this department any knowledge of the existence of such an officer, nor does it appear from the executive records that the state has any authorized inspector.

Very respectfully,
A. T. WIKOFF,
Secretary of State.

No state inspector in Ohio! Inspection a sham! Yet we had leaned on this broken reed for legal protection against burning and death!

This so called inspector was merely the hireling of the Standard Oil company; had taken no oath of office, was under no bonds, and the worst that could happen to him was the loss of the favor of his employers, and their profit would naturally be his first concern. In case of doubt in inspection as between the safety of the kerosene user and the profit of the oil refiner, the benefit of the doubt would naturally be given to the oil refiner. And the legislature of a great state was willing to set aside our laws in deference to the superior safety of such inspection. There is no faith equal to the trusting confidence of guileless ignorance!

STATE INSPECTION.

In our efforts to protect the people from accidents and danger in the use of illuminating oils, it soon became evident that two things were essential to that end:

1. Inspection must embrace the whole state; no county system of inspection could do the work effectually.

2. However good the law, it would not enforce itself. Some person must have this power, and it must be his duty to enforce the law and to prevent the sale of all kerosene below the legal standard. By preventing their sale such unsafe oils would be driven out of the state, and the refiners of kerosene would soon learn that it was for their interest to send high-grade oils into our state.

To secure these objects, Mr. Bates of Flint and Mr. Greenfield of Detroit came to my laboratory by appointment, where a bill was drawn up to be presented to the legislature, then in session, providing for a state oil inspector, defining his duties and giving him power to carry out state inspection. The bill was introduced and promptly enacted.

It is substantially the law now in force in this state. Mr. Day was appointed state inspector and entered with energy upon the discharge of his duties, a refluent wave of unsafe kerosene set back to Ohio, and notices of "kerosene horrors" rapidly disappeared from the newspapers.

To keep up the high test required by our law the refiners soon found that they could raise the test of low-grade oils by running in a quantity of heavy oils produced in refining, containing paraffine. While a high-test oil could thus be made out of cheap material, the burning quality of the oil was greatly impaired. I suspected that the oil com- plan, they succeeded, for they ran in so much paraffine oil that in cold of making high-test oils unpopular with our people. If such was their plan, they succeeded, for they ran in so much paraffine oil that in cold weather the kerosene became solid, like lard, and could not be drawn from the barrel unless warmed by the stove in the store. Of course such oil would not give a good light, and the agents of the oil company per- suaded the people that this trouble came from our high test and the remedy was to lower the test to 110°, and a very general demand was made for this change in the test.

THE CHILL TEST.

Finding that the quality of the oil was impaired by the presence of this paraffine oil, the law was amended by introducing "the chill test," viz.: that when the oil is cooled to 20° F. for ten minutes it must remain clear and transparent to pass inspection. If a sensible quantity of paraffine was present in the oil it would separate when thus cooled and form a cloud of precipitated paraffine. Oil that would stand the chill test had a burning quality of the very best.

But the chill test was a stunner for the oil refiners. A high official in the Standard Oil company in Cleveland said to me: "We thought we could get around any law that could be passed by your legislature, but when we met your chill test we struck a rock; we could not get around it in any way. How you came to hit upon the chill test and the flash point of your law I do not know, but they give the best illuminating oil that can be made from petroleum. It is the best in the world, and takes the very heart out of the products of our refining, and other states must put up with poorer stuff, while Michigan takes the cream." I replied: "The best is none too good for Michigan."

Then the price of kerosene ran up to 28 cents a gallon. There was a great outcry against the exorbitant price, and I was accused of con- spiring with the Standard Oil company to rob the people. One news- paper said, "By joining hands with the oil company in this steal, Dr.

Kedzie has made not less than $300,000." Another paper called me "the prince of bummers and thieves." For a time I was the best-abused man in the state.

At the next meeting of the legislature the high test and the chill test were knocked out. One representative from Sanilac county said to me: "We are going to have cheap kerosene, even if we have to abolish the state board of health." But with the low-test oil came back the old conditions of insecurity and danger, and the people again called for protection. The flash test was placed at 120°, but the chill test has never been restored. The people have received some of its incidental benefits, for the "water white" kerosene will, to a certain degree, stand the chill test, but the yellowish kerosene retains some of the paraffine oil.

Questions of oil inspection were not agitated for a time, until the meeting of the legislature of 1891, when a member of the house of representatives conceived the happy thought of "lowering the test of kerosene to 110°, thus reducing the retail price of the oil one cent a gallon, and thus saving to the people of our state $300,000 a year." Legislation for this purpose was secured, the test was reduced, but the quality of the oil was poor, and fires from lamp and lantern explosions became so frequent that the fire insurance agents in Michigan invited me to give an address on the relation of the flash test of illuminating oils to safety of houses and buildings. I gave such an address, with illustrations and demonstrations, at the chemical laboratory in January, 1892. This address was printed and widely scattered throughout the state. At the next meeting of the legislature the Ferguson law was repealed and the old law with the flash test of 120° was restored.

The promised reduction of cost of kerosene of one cent a gallon did not materialize, for the price after the law was passed was the same as before. Having a curiosity to know whether "the doctor would take his own medicine," I sent a young man to Ferguson's store in Okemos, after his law was in force, to buy a gallon of kerosene, but the price was the same as before the test reduction. I was curious to know who got that promised saving of $300,000 a year, because the saving to the people "wasn't worth a cent."

II.—SANITARY CONVENTIONS.

The work of the state board of health was inspiring; discovery of the causes of sickness, the prevention of the spread of communicable disease and control of epidemics; pure water and pure air; warming our persons and dwellings; sewers and disposal of sewage, etc.—all these and others of like class were full of interest. But the thought continually recurred,

"we are not reaching the masses; we shoot over their heads, and if anybody is hit, it is only by a stray shot." This is the fault of all new recruits, while the wise general says "shoot low." To do our best work we must come in touch with the masses. There is a saving power in these words. The blessed Savior before the loathsome leper laid his hand upon him before pronouncing the words "be thou clean." We help and bless no one short of coming in touch with them. We had been at work at the special subjects that came before us, earnestly but quietly, and certainly without "blowing a trumpet before us," but at the same time neglectful of the injunction, "Let your light shine before men."

In my first address as president of the board of health in 1878, among other matters, I placed before that body the project of inaugurating a system of sanitary conventions to be held by the board in various parts of the state for discussing sanitary subjects and bringing to the people the matters we had been studying in connection with our work in the board. The value and the need of fuller and more widespread information on these subjects had become manifest. Not only sanitarians, but the people at large, are grasping that important and revolutionary idea, the possibility of the prevention of sickness and death; that many diseases may be prevented altogether, or that when they do appear they may as certainly be stamped out as a forest fire may be extinguished, or they may be walled in like an inundation. A people that fully grasps the idea that half of the sickness and death may as truly be obviated as they may prevent the destruction of their crops from cattle by proper fencing, has taken a long stride in state medicine. The idea is germinal and will spring up in "trees of life whose leaves are for the healing of the nations." When men clearly see that they may honestly repudiate half the claims of sickness and death, they will soon learn to use the means for their own protection. That old cynic understood human nature when he exclaimed, "Skin for skin; Yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life." But the people need to clearly apprehend and to fully comprehend one additional fact, that each person is in the broadest and fullest sense healthy and safe only as every person about him is also healthy and safe. The starved and neglected prisoner in jail or in workhouse, the despised or forgotten pauper in filthy hovel or wayside ditch, may vindicate their claim to our common humanity by making us heirs of all they possess—bequeathing to us the very diseases which destroyed them. Rowland Jenks, in the ill-kept and overcrowded Oxford jail, reeking with malignant typhus, when arraigned at the Oxford assize vindicated before that haughty court his claim to a common humanity by infecting judge,

jury, lawyers, witnesses and spectators with the dreadful fever contracted in their neglected and suffocating jail, for the whole court speedily died by this same fever, which spread through that city and the surrounding country until five hundred persons perished within six weeks with the fever imparted by this single prisoner.

The lesson that society is an organic whole, and that "if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it," the people are slow to learn. It was a murderer (and to conceal his murder) that first asked, "Am I my brother's keeper?" The spirit of that question is in direct opposition to the cardinal principle of state medicine, that "each man is safely kept only as he safely keeps his brother."

It was to enforce and carry out this principle of the reciprocity and interdependence of human welfare that I urged the sanitary conventions. In these sanitary conventions it was proposed that papers should be read by members of the board and others who desired to promote the public health, setting forth in popular form the more salient features of sanitary science, the discussions following each paper to be open to every person who either has information to impart on the subject under discussion, or who desires to gain further information on the same.

The objections to the proposed conventions were frankly stated:

1. They are an untried experiment. We have, indeed, learned societies that meet for the consideration of such subjects, such as the American public health association, but there is not in our land a state association where the experts in science, sanitarians, doctors, lawyers, ministers and scholars meet the common people on a common level to discuss questions and compare views on matters of common interest to every human being.

2. They throw a large amount of work upon the members of this board; but unless the members are ready to contribute toil and time to this work, it should not be undertaken.

3. These meetings may prove a failure from want of public interest in these subjects, or because we fail to properly present the facts and principles of sanitary science.

These are some of the considerations which would lead us to hesitate about attempting the untried experiment.

On the other hand there are certain possible, if not probable, advantages to be secured by such means.

1. We may in this way interest the people in sanitary work. Our reports reach only a small fraction of our population, and of those who receive the volume I fear that many, without reading or examination,

merely place it upon the library shelf with other "public documents," where it remains in undisturbed safety. But the state board of health, that only reaches and influences a few, fails of its duty, for it is "the interests of the health and life" of the people that we are set to guard. By popularizing sanitary science we not only interest the community, but we bring sanitary matters into popular form suited for the ubiquitous secular press.

2. We may in this way not only interest the people in our work, but induce them to practically apply the principles in practical life. There is in every people a social inertia, a disposition to let things alone, a conservatism which regards everything as "good enough, well enough, time enough," which is the enemy of all progress. But if we can show the people that the dangers from neglect of sanitary precautions, from the use of low-grade kerosene, of unventilated rooms, foul cellars, contaminated wells and foul privies, are not distant and fanciful dangers, but that they may threaten them now and in their very homes, walk by their side or dog their footsteps wherever they go, we shall break up this apathy and cause them to act.

3. We may enlist the active co-operation of physicians, especially of the more intelligent class.

4. To exhibit and illustrate sanitary appliances and to make people practically acquainted with the best now in use. At agricultural fairs the inventor and the manufacturer of labor-saving machinery find a ready way to bring their implements to the notice of the public. The farmers also find there an opportunity to see the machinery, see it work and see how it works, compare one machine with a competing machine, learn the price, where it can be bought, etc. In the same manner let us bring the manufacturer of sanitary apparatus and the health-lover and health-preserver together to the mutual benefit and enlightenment of both. Let us make the sanitary convention a sanitary fair, where may be exhibited every kind of appliance which directly or indirectly promotes the health and well-being of the people. I would not restrict the exhibits to sewer pipes, ventilating cowls and nose-skinning disinfectants. A good cook stove is eminently a sanitary instrument; an improved saucepan or soup-kettle, a better can for preserving fresh fruits, a better lamp for saving our eyesight, are each and all sanitary instruments. In short, anything which will give us better food, purer air and water, cleaner clothes, sweeter and more restful sleep, is a sanitary appliance.

5. Finally, in carrying out any sanitary reform we must have the aid of the women of our state. There are many fields where not one or two,

but all the women of our state may aid this work. Whether we regard the objects of sanitary science as the removal of the cause and limiting the spread of disease, or as the improvement of the physical condition of the people, in either work we need woman's helping hand. Woman makes the home, for her life is there; and the appliances and conditions of comfortable living come from her plastic hand. Except in his sleeping hours, man spends but a small fraction of his time in the house; he merely contributes, in their crude form, the materials for the family support, while it is the deft hand of woman that transmutes these dead materials into the family living.

In the introduction of most sanitary reforms among the people, we must rely upon the active, hearty and intelligent co-operation of woman. To secure this, we need to awaken her interest in such reforms and cause her to comprehend the nature, scope and needs of such reform. All these can best be accomplished by the presentation of sanitary principles in popular form, which can be effectually accomplished in these sanitary conventions. Whatever women may have to contribute to the stock of sanitary science can be appropriately brought forward in these meetings, in which I should hope that women as well as men would be encouraged to take an active part.

Such are some of the features of a sanitary convention as the thing has formed itself in my mind, and such are some of the considerations for and against your undertaking such a work. Perhaps it is wild, visionary, and impracticable; I do not ask you to adopt it at sight; I hope you will not reject it without consideration.

In all our plans for future effort we are not to forget that our work is advisory, not mandatory. We command no one but ourselves. In the legislative discussions which preceded the organization of this board, it was objected that the proposed board would have no power to enforce its precepts, and hence would be a harmless thunderbolt; but among a free people the surest if not the quickest way to remove any great evil is to clearly point out the evil itself, its extent and its effects; many interests, injured or at least threatened by the evil, without concert, silently place themselves in opposition; a thousand eyes at once are turned to the examination of this evil and its tendencies; the social forces and instincts rise up in serried ranks like the armed warriors that leaped forth from bush and stone at the whistle of Roderick Dhu; that wonderful and complex phenomenon which we name "a change in public opinion" ensues, and the evil finds it must take itself out of the way, for it has no home amid a hostile people. In this way the wrongs which

threaten society right themselves when brought to the bar of public opinion. Such rectifications are the more permanent and abiding because they take place by the action of natural laws, and not by the exercise of arbitrary authority. The silent forces are the most powerful; the noisy, loud-mouthed forces dissipate half their energy in the very noise itself. The boom of the cannon is brag, but the silently whirling cannon-shot means business. Many persons seem to feel a sort of contempt for the sunshine—"good and useful, but so weak and powerless"—the strongest name by which they call it is "the gentle sunshine." Yet before the flashing lightning the same persons turn pale with awe, "because it is an agent of such terrible power," whereas the sunlight exceeds in energy a thousand fold the lightning, and but for the hiding of the power of the sunlight, the lightning itself would die still-born.

The office of this board is not to convulse the community with lightning shock, but to let in the sunlight, which, "silent as the footfalls of time, but resistless as destiny," shall mould and fashion the very conditions of life in our state.

The sanitary conventions were organized and have continued their work (under a changed name) to the present time. That they have a use is attested by the fact that they live; that they have been useful is proved by the results. Compare what we may call the sanitary atmosphere in our state as we find it today with that of thirteen years ago, and you will get some measure of the influence of the sanitary conventions.

LIFE AND WORK AT THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

In January, 1863, I was elected professor of chemistry, succeeding Dr. L. R. Fisk, and have been in continuous service in that office up to this date, and have lived at the college in the same house for 38 years. Looking back over that interval of time, and comparing the agricultural college of 1863 with that of 1901, I see wonderful changes. It has expanded from a faculty of six professors and instructors to one of nearly fifty, an enrollment of forty students to 627, a country hamlet of four cottages and two halls to a lively village with electric cars and lights and stone walks, ten laboratories, six public halls, and expanding hopes for the future. These are only the mile-posts of our progress.

In connection with my work at the college, outside of the class room, there are three lines of endeavor to which I look back with satisfaction:

1. Farmers' institutes.
2. Fertilizer inspection.
3. Beet sugar.

I.—THE FARMERS' INSTITUTES.

For a long time in its early history the college did not succeed in its efforts to secure the friendship of the public, for a variety of reasons. We had a few warm friends, but the great mass gave us the cold shoulder. The college was established, in accordance with the requirements of the state constitution, by the legislature when the republican party first came into power in this state, and the democrats regarded it as "a republican pet," and treated it accordingly. The college was located near Lansing as a compromise, because the friends of the college could not unite on any other place. The location of the state capital "in the woods of Ingham county" was regarded with disfavor by the many flourishing cities that hoped to secure this prize and regarded the location at Lansing as only temporary, and the aversion to Lansing, the capital, was easily extended to the college planted by its side, and they spoke of it as "the Lansing bantling." A land syndicate wanted to furnish the site of the college on a tract of land where the school for the blind now stands, and when their offers were rejected and the college planted three miles from the city, Lansing did not take a lively interest in the welfare of her distant neighbor; outside the city limits, the college was also outside of her active support. The southern counties of the state, proud of their successful farming, resented the plan of taking the agricultural college from the counties where the most successful farming was carried on to plant it in forest wilds in the center of the state, and spoke of it as "that college in the woods." With such dry nurses and guardians, it is a wonder that the infant agricultural college survived the period of its teething.

A further complication arose from the fact that the land grant (Morrill) fund of 240,000 acres was much desired by the friends of the university for its endowment. At the same period the eloquent President Tappan was urging the plan of having all departments of higher education located in one place, and Ann Arbor was to become the university, the center of our educational system. Such considerations tended to turn the agricultural college with its endowment over to the university. Petitions and bills for this purpose were presented to the legislature for these changes. The pressure in this direction was possibly strengthened in some localities by the secret hope that the removal of the college would be an entering wedge for the removal of the state capital to a more eligible position. It was only on the permanent location of the capital by an appropriation to build the state house in 1871 that these efforts at the removal of capital and college finally ceased.

Most of the newspapers heartily sympathized with both these efforts at removal; our efforts to build up the college received little encouragement at their hands. A cold north wind seemed to blow upon all our efforts to secure students and friends that chilled us to the bone. During this time of depression it seemed to a few of us it was not wise to sit still and complain of the indifference and suspicion with which we were regarded, but to place ourselves in such relation to the public as would compel their confidence and co-operation. On invitation, some of us went out to give lectures on points connected with our work, but we were counted as outsiders—it was "your meeting." We longed for the hour when they would say "our meeting."

The scheme of going among the people by appointment to hold meetings in which the farmers would take an active part in discussion of farm matters of immediate interest in their locality, while the professors would present the scientific side of the subject, and thus make friends by awakening a community of interest, was urged upon the faculty time after time without results. In answer to the argument that this was the best way to make friends for the college, a leading member of the faculty replied, "We don't need to; we have now all the friends we can use." Perhaps we have all we can use, but when a large proportion of the farmers in our best agricultural counties are unfriendly, and many of the members of the legislature from such districts vote against the college, I think we do not have all the friends we need. Between the active opposition of one of the faculty and the indifference of some others, the plan failed to materialize.

The legislature of 1875 seemed to be unusually indifferent to the college, and even the standing committee of the house on the agricultural college seemed little inclined to discuss the wants and needs of the institution. President Abbot returned from a meeting with the committee completely discouraged. He called a meeting of the faculty and frankly stated the conditions and prospects for the college appropriation for the next two years. "It has been urged by some of you that we go out among the farmers to discuss matters related to our work here and thus interest them in the college." "Too late! There is no use of holding such meetings with the farmers while we are under fire before the legislature. We must weather this storm as best we can, and when 'the clouds roll by' it will be time to take up the plan for farmers' institutes." The storm passed away, but no mention was made of holding meetings with the farmers. I then interviewed several members of the faculty, told them that the subject of farmers' institutes would be

brought up in the next meeting of the faculty, and they must vote for the movement.

May 7, 1875, at the regular meeting of the faculty, I offered the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the president to draw up a scheme for a series of farmers' institutes to be held in different parts of the state during the next winter, including in the exercises of such institutes lectures and essays by members of the faculty; that the several members of the state board of agriculture and leading farmers residing in the vicinity of the place of holding such institutes be respectfully and earnestly requested to participate in the exercises by lectures, essays and discussions.

"Resolved, That said committee be instructed to confer with the state board of agriculture at its next meeting to make all necessary arrangements for inaugurating and carrying out such series of farmers' institutes."

After thorough discussion the resolutions were unanimously adopted, and President Abbot appointed as such committee R. C. Kedzie, W. J. Beal and R. C. Carpenter. On June 1, 1875, this committee laid before the state board a memorial urging the adoption of the scheme for farmers' institutes and outlining somewhat fully the nature and scope of the proposed work, and giving reasons for establishing this new departure in the work of the college.

This memorial was printed in full in the report of the board for 1875, and need not be quoted at length in this article.

The board took a lively interest in the scheme and discussed it with care. "It will be a great success if it succeeds," said Mr. Childs, "and a flat failure if it fails," added another. "Doctor, tell us what you would consider a success in an institute," said Mr. Phillips. "If fifty good farmers will attend an institute, take part in its exercises, identify themselves with it so fully that they will say 'We have had a good meeting and we hope to have another,' I would call it a success." "We can do that right in my town, and I want the first farmers' institute to be held in Armada, and I'll see that it is a success," exclaimed George W. Phillips.

The state board of agriculture then and there adopted the Michigan system of farmers' institutes, namely, the holding in various sections of the state joint meetings of the representatives of the board and faculty of the agricultural college, with leading farmers and all persons in any community who are interested in agriculture in its broadest sense, to dis-

cuss questions of general interest in farming, and in particular, subjects of special interest in the locality, and relating to any part of this great industry.

A plan had been tried in Sweden and in a few states of having the agricultural college invite the farmers to come to the college for a few meetings to listen to papers and lectures on agricultural subjects by the professors, but the farmer took no part in the meetings except to listen, contributing nothing from his abundant stores of knowledge of rural affairs; but farmers' institutes in which the farmer is side-tracked did not prove successful. The old question whether the mountain should come to Mahomet or Mahomet should go to the mountain received the usual answer in this case. In forming the plan for the Michigan farmers' institutes it was concluded that it would be better for Mahomet to pack his grip and go to the mountain, considering that it was necessary for the college to come in touch with the farmers if it would benefit them or receive good from them in return.

The success of these farmers' institutes, by co-operation of the agricultural college with the farmers through the grange, the farmers' clubs and other organizations, is evidence of the vitality of the plan. It took root and grew with increasing vigor from year to year, and has spread to other states and even to foreign lands.

In the beginning the friends of the farmers' institutes were hopeful, yet anxious. It was thought that perhaps six places could be found in the state which would take an interest in the meetings and aid in their success, and a committee of the board (Messrs. Childs, Dyckman and Gard) was appointed to find places and receive invitations from places desiring the institutes. Instead of six invitations, they received more than thirty, and the embarrassing thing was to decide which to refuse.

As preparing the way for this new departure in farmers' meetings and to give information to the public on the subject, the board "requested Prof. Kedzie to write an article setting forth a general plan for the institutes and objects sought to be secured by them, and to have the article published in several of the leading papers of the state."

The article was prepared and published in the Lansing Republican and Michigan Farmer in September, 1875, and copied in a large number of the papers of the state. Extracts from this article are given as follows:

"Who will take part in the meetings?—It is expected and earnestly desired that leading farmers in the vicinity of the institute will give lectures, read essays and take part in the discussions. It is expected

that the discussions will be of especial interest, in which farmers will give their views and relate their experience upon the topics proposed for discussion. As the topics for discussion will be selected by the local committee where the institute is to be held, the public will thereby be assured that such topics for discussion will be presented as will be of especial interest to that community. The members of the board will also take part in the proceedings, and members of the college faculty."

"Who are invited?—Everyone who tills the soil or is interested in agriculture. Farmers and their wives and families are specially invited; also all those who honor or would benefit the noblest of all industries."

OBJECTS.

"1. It is not the design to secure mere rhetorical efforts, but to meet and talk over, in a common sense way, matters of vital interest to the farmer.

"2. One object to be secured is to bring the farmers, the board and the faculty of the agricultural college into closer relations to each other in hopes of mutual benefit; that the teacher may have the benefit of the broad and extensive experience of the farmer, and that the farmer may perhaps derive hints from the teacher to be put in practice on the farm.

"3. One very important object to be secured is to gather up and preserve in permanent form the results of agricultural experience and the views of leading farmers in different parts of the state.

"4. Finally to give a broader scope to the instruction at the agricultural college and to make it more fully than ever before the exponent of the most progressive and advanced agriculture of our state."

The first farmers' institutes were held in January, 1876. The first of the set were held in Allegan and in Armada, January 11, 1876.

The institutes from start to finish were well attended, the halls crowded, the interest maintained with enthusiasm and papers and discussions of great value were forthcoming.

The Allegan institute celebrated its 21st anniversary January 11, 1897, when Gen. B. D. Pritchard again presided with grace and dignity, and many others were there who spoke with feeling of their attendance twenty-one years before and recalled incidents of the good time had in the first farmers' institute. I had the great satisfaction of assisting at this anniversary of the first farmers' institute, and of shaking hands with many friends who met me there twenty-one years earlier.

II.—ANALYSIS OF COMMERCIAL FERTILIZERS.

Analyses of commercial fertilizers and license for their sale were not required in Michigan before the year 1885. Free trade of the widest scope was the practice up to that date. Any person having any substance supposed to have fertilizing quality could offer it for sale without hindrance in this state. Dealers in other states could send in material of small value, but with a catching name, and offer it for sale at such rates as to drive out fertilizers of real value but costing more. The cheats of lower cost and least value could drive out the fertilizer of greater cost and of real value. The average farmer could not tell with certainty from the physical appearance of various fertilizers which was the most valuable and which was not worth buying at any price.

When bordering states required analysis of fertilizers and certificate of their composition before they were offered for sale within their borders, our farmers became suspicious that low grade goods that were unsalable in other states were shipped into Michigan where no inspection was required. This suspicion was strengthened when some of these fertilizers with a big name and small value were brought to the college for analysis, and the results, showing their low value, were printed in the newspapers. For example, a "Buckeye Phosphate," selling at $10 to $15 a ton, was shipped in from Ohio, but was only marl and of no more fertilizing value than the thousands of acres of marl found in our state and which could be had for the digging. Legitimate trade in fertilizers was blocked by such revelations.

Matters drifted along in this unsatisfactory shape until a crisis developed at the state fair in Detroit, when two manufacturers in that city entered their "superphosphate" for the premium in their class. The committee of award had no knowledge of the composition of commercial fertilizers, nor any means of determining their relative value except by their sensible qualities. Judged by such a standard they found one "superphosphate" was a gray powder, without offensive properties, while the other was a black mass giving off an offensive odor. The committee therefore gave the first premium to the innocent gray powder and the second premium to "the stinking black stuff." But the manufacturer of the latter material would not accept this verdict, appealed from their decision and demanded a chemical analysis of both specimens to determine their relative value as a fertilizer. The materials were sent to the college for analysis, which showed that the innocent gray powder did not contain a particle of "superphosphate," but consisted of bleached ashes and soap-boilers' waste, while "the black

stinking stuff" was a genuine "superphosphate," containing a large per cent of water-soluble phosphoric acid.

It soon became evident that official analysis of commercial fertilizers and state control of their sale were necessary for the protection of farmers and also of the manufacturers who desired to carry on an honorable business in an honest way. Indeed the demand for a fertilizer law came largely from the manufacturers themselves.

WHY A FERTILIZER LAW WAS PASSED.

A few experiences of this kind, reinforced by discovering that inert materials were being shipped into our state and sold as fertilizers at prices out of all proportion to their value, and the knowledge that fertilizers rejected in other states because of low values could still be dumped upon our market, the farmers left to the mercy or avarice of dealers, honest or unscrupulous, as the case might be, led to a demand on the part of both consumers and honest manufacturers of commercial fertilizers for a law which would compel a statement of the fertilizing materials contained in any commercial manure costing more than $10 a ton. The demand was primarily to protect the farmer and fruit-grower from imposition—to enable them to know the kind and quality of the materials they buy for fertilizers; in the second place the aim was to protect the honest manufacturer from the competition of unscrupulous manufacturers and dealers whether in this state or in other states.

These considerations caused the enactment in 1885 of a "law providing for the inspection of commercial fertilizers and regulating the sale thereof."—Act No. 126, Session Laws of 1885.

OBJECT OF INSPECTION OF COMMERCIAL FERTILIZERS.

The law does not prescribe any standard for the composition of a commercial fertilizer, the manufacturer being free to make his own standard, the law simply requiring that the fertilizers offered for sale shall be up to the standard set by the manufacturer. The license to sell does not certify to the value of the fertilizer, but simply states that the manufacturer or dealer offers for sale a fertilizer for which a certain content of nitrogen, potash and phosphoric acid is claimed, and that samples of such fertilizers have been deposited with the secretary of the college with affidavit regarding the composition. Analysis is then made of each of these fertilizers, gathered in the open market as far as possible, and the results of such analysis published in bulletin. The claimed composition and found composition are arranged in parallel lines, so that the real composition can be compared at a glance with the composition

claimed for it by the manufacturer. In this way the buyer can see at once by this bulletin whether the fertilizer is as good as it claims.

DIFFICULTIES IN ENFORCING THE LAW.

The chief difficulty in enforcing the law is the fact that most of the factories are outside the state and beyond the reach of our law. A Michigan law has no jurisdiction in Chicago, Cleveland or Buffalo, and we cannot compel manufacturers in these cities to take out license for sale of their fertilizers. The only persons amenable to our law are the agents of these manufacturers in our state, and it seems harsh to enforce a penalty of $100 on some agent who sells a few tons of fertilizers, simply because his factory has neglected to take out a license. There is a proviso in the law that if any manufacturer takes out a license for any fertilizer, his agents in the state are exempt from tax and penalty for the sale of such fertilizer. Manufacturers and their agents have recognized the propriety and the economy of this proviso and availed themselves of the same, and one source of friction in enforcing the law is thus happily removed.

This fertilizing law, judiciously enforced, has been beneficial in our state, placing the sale of commercial fertilizers upon a sound basis. The manufacturers, agents and farmers soon recognized the propriety of the law and friction between them and the college in enforcing the law soon ceased.

A THREAT AND THE RESULTS.

The most serious encounter I had in connection with the analysis of fertilizers was with a company in Ohio that was putting on our market large quantities of their "farmers' favorite," a material for which great value was claimed as a fertilizer. It was not licensed for sale in this state and no specimen for analysis had been sent to the college nor any application for a license. It was offered for sale at $20 a ton wholesale, and $22 at retail. A specimen was obtained from a dealer in Lansing and analyzed. It contained no combined nitrogen nor potash soluble in water, and only a small fraction of one per cent of insoluble phosphoric acid. It was made of powdered furnace slag and some common salt. The slag was the waste material found in abundance around furnaces where iron ore is smelted and is given away to anyone who will draw it off, having no commercial value. Estimating the value of this "farmers' favorite" by the three chemicals which give chief value to commercial fertilizers, it was worth 34 cents a ton, but was offered to our farmers for $22 a ton. To expose so bare-faced a fraud I immediately wrote to the Detroit Free Press, stating the facts of the case over my own name.

My note was printed in the Free Press, was widely copied in other papers and the sale of the "farmers' favorite" suddenly ceased. In a few days the agents of the company called on me in my laboratory and demanded an immediate interview, a retraction of my published statement, with a threat of a suit for heavy damages, etc. I replied that I could not stop to talk with them at that hour, as my class in chemistry was just gathering to hear my lecture, but I would meet them in Lansing in the afternoon. On my way to this meeting I secured Richard Montgomery, Esq., as my counsel, and we met two gentlemen representing the company, two attorneys from Cleveland and S. L. Kilbourne, Esq., of Lansing.

A spicy conversation took place between us, which I need not reproduce in full, but the following statements of facts were brought out by the parties at issue:

"1. I stated that I had written the article printed in the Free Press and held myself responsible for the same; that believing the statements in that article are true, I had no retractions to make or apologies to offer.

"2. The other party claimed that I had by such publication inflicted great damage upon the company and heavy pecuniary loss; that up to the time of the publishing of that note they were selling large quantities of this fertilizer, but when that note appeared in the papers the sales stopped at once, and they have not been able to sell a pound since that time, demanding that I repudiate that note at once and give them a written statement that would set the 'farmers' favorite' right before the public and enable then to sell this fertilizer as before; that in case I refused they would begin a suit against me in the U. S. court for $50,000 damages."

On my pointedly refusing to make such retraction or give a written statement such as they demanded, the other party with some heat replied, "Do you realize that before you published your statement about this fertilizer we were selling it rapidly in this state for $20 a ton at wholesale; that after your statement appeared in the papers the sales fell flat; that we now have in this state 1,800 tons of this fertilizer which we cannot sell, inflicting on us a pecuniary loss of $36,000?" "If I have saved the farmers of Michigan $36,000 in cool cash I am glad of it," I said. Lawyer Kilbourne interposed, "Doctor, you have made your statements very strong and emphatic, couldn't you modify or change them in some respect so that my clients can dispose of the stock they now have in the state, saving them from heavy loss and

yourself from all trouble and litigation?" "No, sir," I said; "I have simply stated the facts as I find them. If the company can show me that the analysis is wrong or I have misstated anything in connection with this fertilizer I am willing to undo a wrong, but till I am thus convinced I stand by my note." They replied, "Then we shall at once return to Cleveland to make arrangements for the costs of the suit, and when that is done we shall return and at once begin a suit against you in the United States court for $50,000 damages." "Well, you will find me at the college," I replied.

And that was the end of it.

A year after I called on Mr. Wilcox of Jackson, with whom some of the stuff had been left on sale, and inquired if he had sold any. "No call for it." A year later Mr. Wilcox told me that the company had directed him to empty the stuff into the street and keep the bags as pay for storage and trouble.

III.—BEET SUGAR.

The hope of securing an abundant domestic supply of sugar for the people of our state has long been cherished at the agricultural college. Why this country should, year by year, send abroad $100,000,000 in gold to pay for a crop that can be successfully raised on our own soil and manufactured by our own people has never been satisfactorily answered. There is no more necessity for us to import sugar than to send abroad for flour. The old superstition that true sugar can come only from sugar cane is fast dying out among intelligent people, especially when it is considered that sixty-two per cent of the world's supply of sugar is derived from sugar beets. When we remember how largely our table comforts circle around the sugar bowl and that on the average one-half of the family grocery bill is for sugar, and that the Americans eat more sugar than any of the tribes of men, we begin to measure the size of the national sugar bowl and estimate the cost of its contents. Viewed from an agricultural standpoint the sugar crop is of the greatest importance to farmers for several reasons:

1. It is a cash crop and brings money directly upon the farm and is not controlled by stock-gambling fluctuations in New York and Chicago. The increase of $10 per acre in the price of farm lands in the vicinity of the sugar factory is very significant.

2. It diversifies industry and prevents soil exhaustion if properly managed.

3. Sugar makes no permanent withdrawal of elements of fertility from the soil, no potash, no phosphoric acid, nor combined nitrogen;

it consists solely of carbon, oxygen and hydrogen, a pure carbohydrate, simply condensed and crystallized wind, water and sunshine. The exhausting materials are retained in the by-products—the leaves, crown and beet pulp. If these are finally restored to the soil, the exhaustion of the soil is prevented. No amount of pure sugar gathered from a field can lessen its producing capacity.

4. It promotes stock growing and grain raising. The introduction of the beet sugar industry in France has raised the average wheat crop from 17 bushels to 28 bushels per acre, and increased the production of fat cattle fifty per cent. The best preparation for a crop of wheat in France and Germany is to raise a crop of sugar beets the year before, with its clean culture and thorough tillage.

With such considerations bearing on the agricultural side of the sugar problem, it is not remarkable that the agricultural college early took a lively interest in the sugar question.

SEARCH FOR SWEETNESS.

More than twenty years ago the college gave attention to this subject by investigations and experiments upon the plant that then seemed to promise the best results, viz.: the variety of sorghum known as Amber cane. More than 400 pounds of seed were bought and distributed among farmers with instructions for planting and cultivating. Experiments were made on the college farm in raising sorghum and attempting the manufacture of sugar, but with poor success. In 1881 the legislature passed "an act to encourage the manufacture of sugar from sorghum," exempting from taxation for five years the apparatus used in making sugar, and offering a bounty of two dollars for every hundred pounds of sugar made from sorghum. Daniel Root of Hudson made more than ten tons of sorghum sugar and received $404 as bounty under this law, but it was found that sorghum as grown in our state was not profitable for making sugar, because the proportion of glucose and sucrose was too large to permit of profitable manufacture of crystallized sugar.

Failing to secure the desired results with sorghum, attention was then turned to sugar beets as a more promising material. In 1890 the college imported more than 1,700 pounds of seeds of sugar beets from France by the hand of J. M. Thorburn & Co. of New York. This importation included seeds of the four most highly prized sugar beets raised in Europe. These seeds were given out to farmers in all parts of the lower peninsula, with directions for planting, cultivating and harvesting the beets, and asking samples of the beets for analysis.

Four hundred farmers received the beet seed and two hundred and twenty-eight reported results and sent beets for analysis. These reports came from thirty-nine counties.

In this investigation there were three questions to be settled preliminary to any discussion about establishing the beet sugar industry in Michigan. If any one of these is answered negatatively or inconclusively, the whole scheme must be abandoned. If all are answered affirmatively and with emphasis, then there is an open door for this industry in our state.

1. Are the soil and climate of Michigan fitted for raising sugar beets? The analysis of thirty-eight specimens of soil from all parts of the state, and the meteorological observations at the college for twenty-seven years, seemed to answer this question in advance; but the results brought out under the second question set this inquiry at rest.

2. Can the farmer raise sugar beets at a profit—a profit equal to or exceeding the average selling price of his other crops? The answer is strongly affirmative. The value of a ton of sugar beets containing twelve per cent of sugar is $4.50, with an increase of 33 cents for each per cent of sugar above twelve. The average yield per acre was thirteen tons and the average sugar in the beets was 13.50 per cent, and the average value of such beets equals $65 per acre.

3. Are the quantity of sugar in the beets and the purity of the juice so high that the manufacturer would be warranted in putting up a costly factory and making beet sugar? Sugar can be made with profit from twelve per cent beets; with richer beets and a purity of juice above eighty degrees the profit is still greater.

The college has thus answered with affirmative emphasis the three fundamental questions relating to the beet sugar industry, and by bulletins 71 and 82, issued in 1891, pointed out the open door of Michigan as the great beet sugar state of the north.

Having thus planted the seed, we waited for it to germinate and spring up in sugar factories in our state when the necessary capital and the captains of industry should appear to crown it with success.

However, matters remained quiet (germinating?) for some five years, but early in 1897 interest revived and was greatly promoted by the act, approved March 26, 1897, offering a bounty of one cent a pound on beet sugar. The effective coöperation of Hon. James Wilson, secretary of agriculture, in furnishing a large amount of seed of the best varieties of sugar beets for experimental purposes, and assisting in other ways, greatly contributed to the success of experiments in our state and in

awakening public interest on this subject. A few wide awake citizens, alert to secure industries and to develop conditions which would build up their own cities, as well as benefit the state, entered with zeal upon the development of this new industry. Foremost among these were Higgins & Lenders of Saginaw, who secured a larger number of experimental plots of sugar beets to determine the suitableness of conditions in Saginaw and vicinity for producing sugar beets of the right quality for making sugar. In the fall of 1897 they sent to the college for analysis specimens of sugar beets from 138 separate plots. The results of analysis showed the sugar beets grown in that vicinity to be so rich in sugar and the juice of such purity as to demonstrate the eminent fitness of the soil and climate of the Saginaw valley for the beet sugar industry. The zeal and energy of these gentlemen created so much enthusiasm in Saginaw that it seemed to have flown down Saginaw river and to have fired the citizens of Bay City to such a degree that three beet sugar factories were erected and have been in successful operation; the enthusiasm was contagious.

The liberal supply of beet seed furnished by the department of agriculture and assistance in distributing the seed to the farmers gave opportunity for a large amount and widely extended experimenting in 1897 and years following. Thus 493 specimens of beets were received and analyzed in 1897, coming from sixty-four counties, showing a very wide area of our state fitted for growing sugar beets of high quality.

The experimental work for 1897 and later was under the supervision of Prof. C. D. Smith, director of the experiment station. The results of the extensive experiment work of 1897 were given to the public in the Sugar Beet Bulletin, No. 150, of which a large number of copies were distributed to the public. This bulletin was prepared by Prof. Smith and Dr. Kedzie. It gave not only full reports of the results of the experiments, but a large amount of information on the subject, a map showing the distribution of sugar beets by counties, and a full text of the sugar bounty law. It became a sort of text book on sugar beets for the state.

It is not claimed that the agricultural college has created the beet sugar industry in Michigan, but the preliminary work which laid the foundation for this industry—the development of the basic facts which justified the erection of costly factories and the investment of a large amount of capital in a new enterprise—was the work of the agricultural college. "We laid the foundations and others builded thereon."

SOUVENIRS OF WILLIAM KEDZIE,

BORN IN SCOTLAND 1781, DIED IN MICHIGAN 1828, PRIVATELY PRINTED AND DEDICATED TO HIS DESCENDANTS BY HIS SON, ROBERT CLARK KEDZIE, AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, FEBRUARY, 1899.

WESTWARD!

When my father thought of taking his young family to the faraway west in search of more fertile lands and propitious climate than could be found among the rocky hills of Delaware county, he sought advice and counsel from his old friend Dr. Robert Clark, register of the land office in Monroe county, territory of Michigan, making careful inquiry about the soil, productions and climate, opportunities for schools, church privileges, etc. Of these letters of inquiry written to Dr. Clark before he moved to the new west three were preserved by Dr. Clark, and brother James was so fortunate as to obtain possession of them, and they now lie before me, and are here printed as precious souvenirs of one who so soon left his newly founded home for that other "house not made by hands." They are given without change or comment, revealing the man and giving many side-lights of social conditions prevailing three-quarters of a century ago.

The letters were written on foolscap paper, folded, without envelope, and sealed with a wafer. The postage on each was twenty-five cents, and not prepaid.

FIRST LETTER.

Delhi, 18th October, 1823.

My Dear Friend.—According to my promise to Mrs. Clark I was to write to you without waiting to receive a letter from you, and as I feel extremely anxious to hear from you, I think it will be the surest way to have my desire gratified thus to put you in mind of your promise. As you have had an opportunity so lately of hearing from the Delaware (I hope) by your own family, there is little which I can now write that will be news to you.

Your acquaintances here generally, so far as I know, are in their ordinary health. There has been no deaths among them since Mrs. Clark went away except Capt. Wm. Newland, of Meredith, who died of a pleurisy in two days' sickness, old Mrs. Wetmore, old Mrs. Thos. McLaughrey, and a son of John Dales. My own family are well. Margaret's health is much better now than it was during the summer.

Margaret Jones' constitution appears to be giving way. Poor W. Graham seems to have one trouble on the back of another. You have had a full account of his trouble about John, and I and my wife are this night watching with his youngest son Adam who is lying very low. He got a small cut on the knee with an axe near two months ago. It produced no alarm for some weeks. Dr. Halsey was called about a month ago. The joint water had all discharged and the fungus had risen up nearly an inch. He ordered the poultices removed, applied caustic and dry lint to the wound and a bandage to the thigh, and expressed fears that he would lose his leg. On a second visit he cut away the fungus and continued the same application, but without any good effect. The leg was taken off yesterday about four inches from his body. I hope I may never witness such another scene. On examination the ligaments of the joint were completely destroyed, and the thigh to within half an inch of where it was cut off full of corruption. He has left his student to attend it till he returns to dress it on the fifth day. The young man says he is as well as could be expected. The boy is about five years old.

Mrs. Storie has had her trial and been acquitted. Mr. Dean was foreman of the jury. Mr. John Wilson of Harpersfield and Mr. David Blakesley were also on the jury. Spencer and Decker, counsel for the people, and Root and Sherwood for the prisoner. The jury intended to serve had been selected by the prisoner and her counsel previous to the sitting of the court. Almost the whole jury belonging to the court were drawn before the twelve were accepted of, and generally the ablest jurors were ordered to stand aside. When she understood that Dean was a juror, she sent for him and had a long interview in the prison a few days before court. Doctors Fitch and Steele, together with the other witnesses who had testified before the coroner, were called in behalf of the people; Wadby in behalf of the prisoner. Fitch's evidence was much the strongest against the prisoner. I think his examination might have lasted two hours. Root in his cross-examination did not attack him at all with regard to his knowledge in the science of surgery, but he handled poor Steele most unmercifully. He observed to the court that we had to submit to the doctor's killing people, but not with a rope. Wadby swore that every appearance of the child might be accounted for although it had been dead born. Fitch testified that he had sworn differently before the coroner's inquest. Wadby was also very severely handled by Decker with regard to his being a doctor at all. He acknowledged that he had no license to practice in England, nor did he know that the law required it.

Sherwood, in summing up, admitted her to be guilty of everything but murder. The charge of the judge was pretty strong in her favor. She sat and heard the whole with about as little apparent emotion as any other spectator. The moment the verdict was pronounced she arose and left the court room without giving the judge an opportunity of addressing her. The trial appears to have rather strengthened the suspicion of her guilt on the mind of the public.

Our summer has been remarkably short this season; we had frost as late as the 10th of June hard enough to kill the corn and potatoes that had come up, and on the 21st of September the frost was so hard as to make ice of considerable thickness, which continued for a week, and on the twenty-ninth we had snow which covered the ground till next day. At that time the frost was hard enough to freeze the apples on the trees quite thoroughly. The weather generally since that time has been remarkably frosty. The crops of corn have been very much injured. The times for farmers appear to grow rather worse than better. The price of rye in Delhi is only 37½ cents per bushel, paid in goods; tea is risen to seven shillings; good two-year old steers sell for seven dollars, other cattle in proportion. The prospect for butter is said to be very discouraging; cheese is selling as low as five cents in our neighborhood.

Martin Leet has given up all his real estate in Stamford to Haight in Catskill to satisfy his demands against him. He and Mrs. Leet have been viewing John D. Ferguson's stand with a view of purchasing it. Mr. Wiard went to Cincinnati to bring Mr. Ferguson to Delhi for trial, but he had escaped from prison before Wiard got there. He has written back several letters since that time by which it appears that he is now in Indiana territory. His wife has been working out doors for bread for her family this harvest.

I saw a letter a few days ago from John Graham who continues teaching his school in the town of Romulus. He earnestly solicits permission from his parents to go and see the Michigan before he returns home, as he is only 116 miles from Buffalo, with particular directions how to find you out. Graham wrote to him the situation of the family and left him at his option. I think the probability is that he will come directly home. Mr. Sandburn who was one of Mr. Ferguson's real indorsers at the bank has taken the benefit of the act. Your old neighbor A. B. Webb met with a considerable loss last week. He had purchased the stand of Merwin some time since (they say) for $2,500, and through the carelessness of his little boy the sheds and stabling together with Lewis

Merwin's house were all burned by fire; two horses were burned to death and several others injured.

Mrs. McLaughry had not been dead a month when old Uncle Thomas was in quest of another wife. His first attempt was upon a young girl of 18 or 20 years of age, living with James Rich, and who had formerly been his servant girl. He offered to make her mistress of his house during his life, and of $3,000 at his decease. They say he has offered $2,000 to any decent young woman that may choose to accept him. Now or never, Uncle Thomas! I have just heard it reported that James Wetmore has purchased Joseph Tidds' right and title to old Aunt Hannah and all her property for $600. Women appear to be the best article in market. If you're getting tired, just stop here and light your pipe.

Dear Sir—If you have not written to me before this reaches you, I hope you will take the first favorable opportunity, and as your acquaintance with the country must be greatly improved since I last saw you, I hope you will be particular in giving me all the information that you think will be interesting to me. Be particular with respect to your own situation; how you keep your health, whether you continue to like the country and how the rest of the family likes it, how you like your new employment, and whether you practice physic, whether you have made a permanent settlement, where it is, and of what kind, and in short whether you feel yourself at home; also with respect to the country in general, particularly the climate that I may know how far your season has tallied with ours; with respect to the soil and its productions, with respect to the general health of the country, wages, prices, plentiness or scarcity of money, etc., also with respect to the present state of the settlement on River Raisin, whether the chance for settling is any better now that it is likely to be some years hence. But above all let me know what prospect there is of having the ordinances of the gospel dispensed. O, my friend, however far the Michigan surpasses the cold mountains of Delaware, yet the curse rests on both, and if they are our only portion 'tis but a portion of misery. How soon will the dimensions of our body be the bounds of our estate, and then what matters it whether our ashes repose in the rich and fertile mold of Michigan, or in the more penurious soil of Delaware! I think the world is the christian's greatest external enemy, and to guard against its undue influence is more than mere man is capable of. Should we not then look to Him for direction who leads the blind in a way that they know not and in paths that they have not known.

With respect to my ever seeing the Michigan, I can say nothing at

present. I have ever had a warm side to it, but that God who points out the bounds of our habitation does not seem to open the way for it at present, and we believe he is no less kind when he makes void our foolish purposes than when he crowns them with abundant success. May you and I be guarded by him in all our pilgrimage, so that if we meet no more in this world, our meeting may be a joyful one in His glorious presence. Amen.

Dear sir, give mine and Margaret's love to all and singular your whole family, for there is no other inquiring friend.

Yours affectionately,
WILLIAM KEDZIE.

SECOND LETTER.

Delhi, 5th February, 1824.

My Dear Friend.—Your letters of 2d September and 5th December have both been received, and with a high degree of pleasure. They were indeed "Good news from a far country." How thankful ought we to be to an indulgent Providence who has put it in our power to converse with those whom we love and esteem, though placed in far distant parts of the world, and were it not for that long and solemn pause that ensues between the address on the one part and the response on the other, what happiness would result from this artificial converse.

In your first letter you gave us a very animated picture of your newly adopted territory. I think you may almost say with the Psalmist in a literal sense of the words that "the lines have fallen to you in pleasant places." Yet, my friend, we believe that your country, though called new, must have existed anterior to those transactions recorded in the third chapter of Genesis; and, if so, that sentence, "cursed is the ground," must have reached even to Michigan. From our own observations, however, we must allow that the marks of the curse do not appear in characters equally legible in all parts of the earth; here, perhaps, we see "thistles growing instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley," and there the corn so loaded with prosperous fruit as to shake like the trees in Lebanon.

I rejoice to hear of the safe arrival and good health of your family. Good health and a thankful and contented disposition of mind are the very cream of temporal blessings. In your last letter you answered my numerous questions much to my satisfaction. I was happy to learn that you enjoy opportunities of social worship. I hope you will

continue diligently to improve what means you enjoy. And may you not soothe your present privations with the sweet anticipation of that time when "waters shall break out and streams in the desert, when the thirsty land shall become a pool and the parched ground springs of water, when the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose, yea blossom abundantly and rejoice even with joy and singing."

I attended the annual meeting of our Bible society yesterday in the court house. Mr. Waterberry delivered an excellent sermon from these words in Zech. "Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit saith the Lord." Mr. Munson supplied your place with great applause. On motion of Mr. Sherwood it was resolved that the address be published at full length. The meeting was very full. Mr. Maxwell is appointed to preach next meeting, and young Sears is substitute; Decker to deliver address and Hathaway his substitute.

The winter with us has been rather of an unsocial cast. We have had no sleighing since about Christmas. We have had very frequent rainstorms during the month of January, and the frost pretty moderate, the ground almost bare at present, but the frost has been very severe for about a week past. There is considerable apprehension about scarcity of fodder, although grain of every kind continues at the low prices I formerly mentioned.

I think I mentioned to you the burning of Webb's building at the corners. Shortly after that the barn of Moses Lyon with all its contents was consumed, and shortly after the barn of Henry Lyon with its contents. Strong suspicions are entertained that the fire was commenced by design. Peter Simmons is the person suspected; he is now in close confinement in Delhi.

We had a circuit court in December, when five convicts were sent to the state prison, four for theft, for a limited time, one by the name of Locker from Elk Creek for rape on his own daughter under ten years of age. His sentence was six months in solitary confinement, and hard labor during the remainder of his life.

* * * * * * * * *

John Graham continues teaching in the same school as formerly at $11 per month. Adam Graham has perfectly recovered. My own family are all well, and so far as I know your acquaintances generally are well.

A disorder has lately made its appearance in this part of the country. I think it is technically called "migration mania," and vulgarly "Michigan fever." Its contagious nature may be inferred from its having

been brought into the country in a letter said to have come from that territory, and which was published in our Delhi papers last fall. It is observed that cold weather is bad for it, and upon this principle it is hoped that warmer weather and freer exercise will tend to remove it. Whether this will be the case or whether numbers will be carried off by it remains uncertain. Among the sick are Thos. Shiland, R. Hume, Jr., John Hume, D. Thompson, James Kedzie, W. Graham, George Kedzie, your humble servant, etc.

Dear sir, all jesting aside, I have determined (tho' in direct violation of the caution you gave me in your last letter) to visit Michigan next spring if God permit. John Hume, Robert Hume, Jr., David Thompson and James Kedzie profess the same intention. They have made me their medium of communication with you, and I solicit information on the following points, viz.: whether they can purchase what land they please and have it secured to them by sending the purchase money after their return home, or rather not 'till next fall; what time of the season would you advise them to make their tour, particularly how it would affect their chance of advantageous settlement; what money is current in your office; whether you have any particular place in your eye for making such a settlement, and whatever other information you may deem proper.

They have not made their intention public, and to prevent unnecessary talking wish to keep it private until they are ready to start. With regard to myself I cannot say much as respects the time of my coming. I would probably be regulated in some measure by the information solicited above. With regard to removing my family to Michigan, it is a matter of great uncertainty, even if I like the country. The great obstacle is the difficulty of disposing of my property, of which you know something experimentally. We have sold the old homestead to Abel Squire for $1,050 which places me a little more at liberty than formerly. I think if I had seen the country I could tell better what sacrifices it would be prudent to make to dispose of my property. At present I think it would suit my arrangements best to start pretty early in the spring. I would probably, however, forego my own convenience for the sake of going in company with the others, the more to insure a union of operation which would undoubtedly tend to the mutual comfort of all of us.

Now, my dear sir, you will perceive from the nature of this scrawl the necessity of answering it immediately upon the receipt of it, as our projected journey will be governed in a good measure by your answer.

Mrs. Kedzie and myself desire to be remembered affectionately to every member of your family.

Dear friend, farewell.

From yours, with highest esteem,

WILLIAM KEDZIE.

An indorsement on the back of this letter shows that it was received March 5, 1824.

THIRD LETTER.

Delhi, October 27, 1825.

My Dear Friend.—I have the happiness to receive yours of the 17th of July on the 25th of August, acompanied with a Michigan Sentinel. It was indeed fraught with good news from a far country. I rejoiced to hear of the health and prosperity of yourself and family. It is pleasant to contemplate the goodness of God, whether exercised towards ourselves or those whom we love and esteem. Good health may be considered the basis of every temporal blessing; it is sweet in itself and sweetens every other comfort. But when it is viewed as the gift of our Heavenly Father it is doubly sweet. Our bodies are radically the seat and center of all manner of disease, and were it not for the divine restraint, they would rush upon us at once and tear us limb from limb. Our very existence is a standing monument of divine power, and our comfortable existence of divine goodness.

We are all in good health at present, and have been so during the summer. All our friends are also in comfortable health. The season has been healthy tho' remarkably warm and dry. From about the middle of July till the present time we have had but one soaking rain, which was about the beginning of September, and today it rains powerfully. Crops of hay are abundant and got in excellent order. Other crops are tolerable, but the pasture suffered very much. The price of grain is low. Genesee wheat was selling at Caledonia last week at five shillings. Butter is doing better this fall than for some years past. Some of the Kortright people have returned from New York who got eighteen cents for their dairy and twenty-one cents for fresh butter, quite reviving for our Delaware dairy men.

* * * * * * * * *

Rev. Wm. McAuley was thrown from his wagon six or eight weeks ago and dislocated his thigh. He is in a way of recovery. At the dispensation of the sacrament in Stamford he performed the service of one table, supported by his crutches. James Gavin was dangerously hurt

by the falling of a tree about two months ago; he has recovered in some degree.

There have been some shocking instances of voluntary death in this place of late. Joshua Every, having admitted a poor family on his premises who had become chargeable to the town of Kortright, was prosecuted by overseers of the poor for the sum of $30, and which he had sworn he never would pay. This was all the cause of discontent that was known. On the 9th of September he was found suspended by a rope and dead in an old house. On Monday the 12th Edward Flint returned from Delhi in a state of partial intoxication, and finding his father-in-law, Captain Dibble and his lady at his house, refused going in to tea. Immediately after tea he was missing; supposing he had returned to the village a messenger was sent in search of him. He was found next morning by his wife in an old house upon the farm distant from his dwelling half a mile in the same situation with Every. Peter Drummond, who for some years has indulged a habit of intemperance, and of late in a very high degree, so as to threaten the lives of his family, on the morning of 17th of September attempted to take away his life by hanging himself, but was detected. He appeared to be in a state of despair, declaring his situation more insupportable than the state of the damned. He told his wife that he was tempted to take away her life also, and advised her not to be alone with him. About noon he went out to the barn, was immediately followed by his son who found him extended on the floor a lifeless corpse, his throat being cut quite to the bone by a razor. The inquest was on Sabbath; he was then put into a coffin with all his clothes on, his hat under his head and the razor between his feet, and buried in an adjoining field. Who can but drop a tear over poor human nature? But let us drop the melancholy subject.

Dear Sir—Divine Providence seems now to open the door for my removing to Michigan. I sold my farm a few days since to Matthias Fisher of Delhi, G. H. Edgerton having purchased of him, and am now making preparations to remove with my family to the banks of the Raisin. I am well aware that it is taking a very important step in life, but I hope it has been determined on with some degree of submission to the will of Him who points out the bounds of our habitation. It is impossible to estimate the consequences which this change may produce in things spiritual and temporal, not only to ourselves but to those committed to our charge. But this we know, that all our concerns are in the hands of Him who knows the end from the beginning and who leads the blind in ways that they know not, and in paths that they have not known.

We intend to set out as soon as the navigation of the canal is open in the spring, and will probably not reach the end of our journey before the 15th or 20th of May. I have had thoughts of trying to hire an improved farm in your neighborhood for a year, but have pretty much given up the idea as the spring will be too far advanced. I have a likely span of colts which will be three years old next spring, worth $120, which I would be glad to take with me, as I fancy them more than your breed of horses, but am afraid it would be imprudent. I am at a loss to know what things it would be proper to bring with me, both as it regards household goods and farming utensils. In your next I would be glad to have your opinion on these things, also with respect to the taxes and expense of surveys on lands, as those who purchase with me would wish to remit the money by me.

Upon giving up the idea of hiring a farm I have had thoughts of procuring a situation for the family convenient to school, perhaps somewhere in Stamford, and leaving them till fall, till I could prepare a place of accommodation, but I am far from being resolved on this project. Give me your opinion on this, as you know the comparative expense of a family in both places; also whether it would not be best to purchase a year's provision at Buffalo or somewhere in the state of New York, and bring it with me.

I can say nothing at present respecting any of my friends coming to Michigan. James I think would come if he could sell. Mabie is about giving up the farm and hiring a house somewhere on the river, and living by his trade. What encouragement is there for a carpenter with you? Graham is about quitting the farm also. He has lately been out as far as Caledonia trying to hire a farm, but has not succeeded. Hume I think will never leave Stamford. Smith appears to be very anxious to come. Gammil gave an unfavorable account of the country. He has bought the Drummond place.

Dear sir, I hope you will write me immediately on the receipt of this.

Mine and Margaret's love to all the family. Wishing you peace and divine direction, I have the pleasure to subscribe myself.

Dear sir, yours affectionately,

WILLIAM KEDZIE.

Received November 30, 1825.

The following letter written on August 5, 1898, by my only remaining brother, gives such a vivid picture of the final sickness and death of my father that it is inserted among the souvenirs of the honored dead.

Grand Haven, Mich., August 5, 1898.

My Dear and Only Living Brother Robert.—Just seventy years ago this forenoon our father died. You then were only five and a half years old and probably have only slight recollections of the particulars of family history then current. So, I thought it might not be out of place for me to recall and set before you my recollections of what was then so great, as well as sad, event in our family history; especially as you and I alone remain "the last of what was once a family."

If you do not recollect, you at least know, that our parents in the autumn of 1826 settled upon our then new—later our old—homestead farm, at that time covered with a dense forest, save room enough for the erection of a log house. In the spring of 1827 we had cleared away the woods so as to have room for a garden and ten acres for corn, every acre yielding an abundant growth of garden produce or corn.

In 1828 we had a larger acreage and a greater variety of crops, including four acres of wheat. This was ready for harvesting in the latter days of July. This harvesting was done with a sickle. Not till years later was a cradle used on our farm. The reaping of those four acres of wheat was done by our father, his older boys gathering the gavels, binding and shocking the sheaves.

On Tuesday, July 29th, this wheat harvest was finished and the last load was drawn under the roof of our unenclosed frame barn. Our father complaining of illness went to the house, leaving his older boys to unload the wheat. Before we had completed the work, we heard a fearful scream from our mother, and rushed to the house, where we found father sitting in a chair out o' doors, very pale and semi-unconscious, while mother was bathing his face with camphor and fanning him, in which we assisted her.

After a while he revived and was helped to bed, and James, astride of "Old Gray," was sent to Monroe for Dr. Clark, father's long-time and most intimate friend, through whose influence our family removed to Michigan. The names of father's four brothers having been assigned to his four older sons, a name for you, the fifth and last son, was found in this his intimate friend. James' ride for the first five miles was without sight of a house, and after passing the "settlement" at Petersburg there were ten miles more without a house.

Before noon the next day Dr. Clark came, welcomed as though he was known to be a savior, and with a like sense of relief to our neighbors, who were constant in their kind services.

I have no positive and definite knowledge of Dr. Clark's method of medication. Yet as father's disease was known to be a bilious fever, I suppose his course of treatment was the same that our family and neighbors, subsequently ill of the same disease, underwent, the administration of physic or an emetic, followed by heavy and persistent doses of Peruvian bark mixed in whisky. I never knew father to have been sick but once before in Delhi, when blood-letting was resorted to until he fainted. I was deeply impressed by witnessing the event at the time, and may now have the events of the two sicknesses confounded in my memory; nevertheless, I have the impression that when Dr. Clark came his first resort was to phlebotomy.

Care of stock and "chores" about the house were all the work attempted during father's illness, both because no farm work suffered for care in those after-harvest days and because every thought and feeling were occupied with the fears father's sickness awakened. I remember well a consultation James, William and I had, sitting on a log in the lane, seeking reasons against our fears in the large, urgent and attractive work that laid before him as a farmer.

To divert my mind from my fears I read a volume entitled "Lawson on Ruth," by a Scotch divine, from whom our cousin George L. Kedzie of Yellow Springs was named. In one of those days of doubt and anxiety Dr. Clark went out into the woods, returning two hours later with long pieces of basswood bark stripped from a sapling. He made no use of the bark, and, I presume, he got it, finding in such work a temporary relief from the strain of his overburdened anxiety.

Every day our fears of the issue increased; same with our neighbors. One night we, the children, were terribly frightened out of sleep by the fearful noise of father's hiccough. The stupor of his disease had so strong a hold upon him that he seldom said anything, except to answer questions, and even then strong efforts were required to awaken him. At one time, however, after mother had given him some nourishment, as he sat up in bed, before lying down, he put his arm around her neck, drew her face down and kissed her. This we construed as an expression of his convictions that he would not recover. Every day added to our gloom and every night confirmed our fears.

On Friday, August 1st, in the evening he was found to suffer from retention of urine, and by next day-break James was sent to Monroe for means of relief. Tired boy and tired horse returned the same night, a fifty miles' ride on a hard trotting horse in a hot day.

When the Sabbath, August 3d, came, for the first time since father

instituted public worship in the neighborhood, the services of such worship were omitted. So oppressive a fear of his death rested on the minds of all that no one felt like singing even one of the "Psalms of David in Rouse's authorized version." Indeed, before that Sabbath closed Dr. Clark took away the last lingering hope of the family and neighbors by telling us father could not recover. The fears against which we had fought, strengthened by our faith in the doctor, allowed us to sleep only by their benumbing power, afterwards embittering our waking.

All day Monday, August 4th, in a grief to which even death could scarce add intensity, we waited in submissive patience for death to finish his terrible and fore-doomed work.

On Tuesday morning about nine o'clock, while I was bringing in an armful of wood for the stove, Dr. Clark stepped to the door and said: "Stewart, come in and pay your last respects to your dying father." I felt that I would be guilty of disrespect to my father if I carried the wood into the house, so I laid it down in the door yard and took my place at the foot of the bed; the members of the family then present and a few neighbors weeping stood around the bed, while mother sat by the bedside holding her husband's hand and fanning him. He had been unconscious for a day and a night, and his short, stertorous breathing told that the end was nigh; and soon it came, reported simply by the hush of his breathing, by mother's long drawn sigh and sad words—"That is all."

After a brief and affecting prayer by Dr. Clark for those, the joy of whose lives seemed to have fled with father's departing soul, Dr. Clark put us all to a stir. The dissolution of father's body did not wait for his last breath, and the doctor said that burial must follow as speedily as possible. This was long before the day of ready made caskets. The nearest carpenter shop was at Petersburg. Thither one man was sent to announce father's death, give notice of the funeral the next forenoon and to get a coffin made. The same announcement of death and funeral was sent to Blissfield by a messenger.

Toward evening family worship was held out o' doors by daylight on the shady side of the house. Dr. Clark read the 103d Psalm, commenting on the 8th and 18th verses inclusive.

The malignancy of the disease was shown in the fact that father's stalwart and robust manhood, never weakened but once before by any disease, required only a week's illness to bring it to speedy dissolution. As soon as daylight dawned the next morning the men who watched with the corpse, vainly seeking in existing conditions to arrest decay, built

a bower of bushes in the front yard, into which they moved the body. In the early forenoon when the coffin came—made in the old style of seventy years ago, tapering bluntly to the head and slimly to the feet and painted black—the men who lifted the body into it held in their lips crushed leaves of tansy, dipped in whisky, to mitigate the odor.

To the funeral came every person in our neighborhood, also large numbers from Blissfield and Petersburg, coming mostly on our side of the river, some on the other, whom we ferried over in our large canoe.

The funeral services were conducted by Dr. Clark, there being no clergyman within timely reach. The services were impressive, no doubt, from the long and intimate friendship existing between Dr. Clark and father; but I was so benumbed by our great affliction that I only remember that he officiated—not what he said.

A sense of the indispensableness of crape at a funeral was more pervasive and persistent seventy years ago than now. So, just before the funeral procession was about to start, Mrs. Hart, our nearest neighbor five miles down the river, who had just arrived, and whose kindness of heart overmatched her culture of mind, drew out of her reticule a crumpled wad of brownish black crape, and, knowing that mother had no time to send to Monroe for a supply, asked her if she did not want some of it put on her bonnet. Of course it was then too late to avail herself of Mrs. Hart's misplaced and untimely generosity.

The coffin was carried to the nearby grave on a bier, made of two poles eight or ten feet long, with bark stripped off, connected by two short poles and supported by four legs. That bier was kept in use for years, and according to the custom of the times always kept watch by standing as a sentinel over the grave last filled.

At the grave Dr. Clark made a somewhat lengthy address, during which, as if to show that no condition of life was exempt from incongruities, a "yellow jacket" stung the ankle of Mrs. Richard Peters, causing an involuntary outcry and for a brief time disturbing the solemnity of the occasion.

Like many another boy, I had grown up under a superstitious dread of grave-yards, especially in the night time. But after father's burial so near our home, I felt attracted to the spot and often went there and sat by his grave for an hour or two in the evening. For years I had great comfort in dreaming of him. In my dreams he always seemed to have returned from a long journey; and whereas, previously everything on the farm and about the home went as his superior wisdom directed, on his dream-returns he always consulted his boys as to the management

of the farm, drawing out their opinions and comparing them with his own in a frank and friendly consultation—an ideal, even though an imaginary father.

Before Dr. Clark went home he wrote an account of father's sickness and death to his brother George Kedzie, then of Stamford, N. Y. Upon its receipt uncle George and his wife aunt Christie went down to his brother James' home, then in Delhi. Uncle James and his wife aunt Peggy, surprised at the visit, went out to meet them. Uncle George in his wonted but slow thoughtfulness intended to make a remark to prepare them for the sad news, but aunt Christie could not wait for any preface, so, before half way to their place of meeting, shaking her head from side to side, she in her Scotch brogue cried out: "Wullyum Keedzie is deed. Oh! Wullyum Keedzie is deed," and emphasized it with a prolonged wailing. After getting seated in the house, Dr. Clark's letter was read with a full discussion of particulars and ill-boding prophecies concerning the rest of the family—little dreaming that in that bewailed family was the main dependence of the Kedzie name for its perpetuation on this western continent.

The next number of the Delaware Gazette, a paper our father had taken for years, and which followed us to our new home, contained an obituary of father, written by his former pastor, Rev. Ebenezer Maxwell. I regret it was not preserved. All I can remember of it was the designation of the place of his death as "in that far away land toward the going down of the sun."

My only living and for many reasons very dear brother, Robert, I cannot close this already over-grown letter without expressing my—our rather —conviction that our mother was a very remarkable woman, as seen in the family history which she did so much to shape. Let the facts of that history testify.

Left with five sons and two daughters, from three to sixteen years of age; on a new farm in a far-away settlement; with more Indians than white people in the territory; dependent on hired men for much of the farm cultivation; unaccustomed to conducting family worship, yet, if omitting it, fearing she might fail of training her children in the right way as their father had started them; for such worship retaining her children till the hired men had gone to work, saving the privacy of their devotions from undue exposure; fearing her children might be called to follow their father, in those annual sicknesses of the family, often so severe that the well could not adequately care for the sick; working on through a widowhood whose years exceeded all the rest of

her life and working so hard that, as once she told me, her rough hands offended her womanly pride; yet by toil and management, keeping her family in comfort and respectability; so that before closing her eyes in death she saw all her children adult members of the church, her two daughters educated in the "ladies' course" of Oberlin college, two of her sons graduates of colleges and of their respective professional schools, her other sons provided with comfortable homes of their own and adequate livelihood—at least with such help in one case as one brother could provide for another brother, to the end of that brother's life and his widow's. Such was the mother whose sons in grateful pride laid her to rest in christian burial in her eighty-second year.

She was born on the 29th day of the month. If we are allowed to adopt the traditional usage of finding a birthday motto in the verses of the 31st chapter of Proverbs, we can say she justified her birthday motto. "Many daughters have done virtuously—have gained riches—but thou excellest them all."

May we ever be worthy of the ancestry in which we rejoice.

Your loving brother,

A. S. KEDZIE.

And now, Stewart has passed away! I was with him Friday, February 3d, read to him father's letters and talked over the plan of printing them with other souvenirs of the family, in all of which he took a deep interest, and I left him bright and cheerful, looking for many seasons of happiness. But the next day "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye he was changed," and was ushered into the great presence.

The following tribute to his memory, published in the Grand Haven Tribune, is from the pen of Rev. Dr. Wilkinson, and shows the estimation in which he was held among the clergy of his city:

A TRIBUTE.

In the death of the Rev. Mr. Kedzie we have lost one of our best known and respected citizens. During 11 years the writer has known Mr. Kedzie, and in that time learned not only to respect and admire, but also to love him, and consequently feels that this public testimonial of affection is his due. Mr. Kedzie had ever the welfare of our city at heart; and in season and out of season, by word and act, he endeavored to advance her interests. Of strong intellect, with positive, clear cut ideas of right and wrong, it is not strange that his ideas met with opposition; yet he was always fearlessly just in his argument. Mr. Kedzie's deep

religious feeling along with a bright cheerfulness attracted many of us. It was refreshing to meet with such a sturdy champion of the faith, one who could deal strong blows, and also be so tender and sympathetic. Mentally Mr. Kedzie possessed in large measure the strong characteristics of his New England and Scotch forbears, and ever delighted in intellectual discussions, ready to give, ready to take; often, indeed, becoming deeply metaphysical. At such times we agreed with him, feeling that we were beyond our depth! To the very last he kept up his interest in the topics of current thought, writing and speaking with his old time vigor. It was, indeed, a matter of wonder that a man of Mr. Kedzie's great age should keep up his mental vigor, and so constantly manifest strength and power, which we delight to find in younger men. Except in years, however, Mr. Kedzie was not an old man, and often put to shame some of his juniors. As a man, as a husband and father, as a scholar and citizen, we give to Mr. Kedzie highest praise and deeply mourn his loss.

J. E. W.

THE STORY OF EMANCIPATION.

Passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, with Sketches of Michigan Members of the Thirty-eighth Congress.

BY EDWARD W. BARBER.

Three great fundamental acts in, by and for the United States of America, far reaching in their consequences, each encountering strong opposition, yet representing a marked advance in public sentiment favorable to human rights, established and regulated by law, stand out conspicuously on the pages of history—first, the adoption by the continental congress of our declaration of independence, which proclaimed the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that taxation without representation is unjust, and that the true basis of government is the consent of the governed; second, the adoption of the constitution of the United States, in convention, September 17, 1787, and its ratification by the states, which closed the chaotic and critical period of American history following the revolutionary war and made us a great nation; third, the passage by the thirty-eighth congress of the thirteenth amendment of the constitution, which abolished and forever thereafter prohibited slavery within the jurisdiction of the United States, and made the declaration of independence a fact in the fundamental law of the land.

As reading clerk of the national house of representatives for the

thirty-eighth, thirty-ninth and fortieth congresses, I had an opportunity to become familiar with the details of the work that led up to the passage of the thirteenth amendment, and because of my official position was personally cognizant of many facts in relation to that important and sharply contested event with which no other person now living is familiar; knew all of Michigan's members of congress at that time and saw the leading public men of the civil war period; and as some of these facts and details form a part of the hitherto unwritten history of that transitional time in our progress from human slavery to human freedom, a narrative of them, together with sketches of the members of congress from our state who participated in the passage of the amendment, cannot have a more appropriate and permanent place of preservation than in the collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.

The civil war, waged for the perpetuation of negro slavery, was not then ended. The battle-torn army of the Potomac, under Grant, was pressing on to the capture of Richmond and the surrender of Lee's heroic fighters at Appomattox; Sheridan, by his inspiring presence, had snatched victory from defeat in the valley of the Shenandoah; Thomas had won imperishable laurels at the battle of Nashville, crushing and scattering Hood's army with cyclonic vigor; Sherman's victorious soldiers had marched from the mountains to the sea, through the heart of the confederacy, were moving northward through the Carolinas to Virginia and tightening the anaconda folds that were squeezing the last remnants of life out of the pro-slavery rebellion. This culmination of great military movements was an appropriate time to settle the slavery question forever.

Slavery caused the war. Its abolition was the logical necessity and moral requirement of the situation. In the presidential campaign of 1860 the political controversy over slavery reached its climax. The "irrepressible conflict" shifted from the forum of debate to the field of battle for a final struggle. The Missouri compromise, which served its purpose for a generation in delaying an open contest by an appeal to arms between the ever antagonistic forces of freedom and slavery, had been repealed. Following this repeal came the Dred-Scott decision by the United States supreme court, which nationalized slave catching and intensified the irrepressible conflict. The enactment of the Missouri compromise in 1820 was a pro-slavery movement, and so was its repeal in 1854. The student of history cannot fail to discover that from 1820 to 1854 the triumphal march of the slave power had been uninterrupted. The latter year witnessed the commencement of the Kansas conflict, which resulted in the first victory over the crime-stained institution in

this country, and foreshadowed the end of slavery. In the heart of the continent the first victory was won. Peace between the antagonistic forces that met upon the plains of Kansas, in a fierce struggle for the mastery of a state, was impossible. As Lincoln said in the great debate with Douglas in 1858, the nation could not exist half slave and half free.

STEPS TOWARD EMANCIPATION.

Gradually the steps were taken that led finally to the emancipation of the slave population, and to the absolute inhibition of slavery throughout the national jurisdiction, by the adoption of the thirteenth amendment. But few of the public men of the civil war period saw the end from the beginning. At the outset, with remarkable unanimity, they disclaimed any desire or purpose to interfere with slavery, even in the rebellious states. From the start, however, Thaddeus Stevens, the great commoner, had the prescience to discern and the courage to proclaim the intimate relation of slavery and the rebellion. It was the relation of cause and effect. He saw clearly and stated plainly that the sure way to save the imperilled union was to abolish the cause of treason and war, but men were as much opposed to that course in 1861 as they are now to putting the golden rule into practice. Vested wrongs, with which men are familiar, if sanctioned by law, they are slow to interfere with. War to save the union, but not to abolish slavery, was the controlling idea. Public sentiment and official action moved slower than Mr. Stevens demanded, yet he did not hesitate to lead in the right path. He wanted emancipation and arming the freedmen at the outset. In 1861, at the extra session of congress, he offered a resolution "that the president be requested to declare free, and to direct all our generals to offer freedom to all slaves who shall leave their masters," and "for compensation to all loyal citizens for losses under the resolution." He said that "the men of the south were as brave as those of the north, and their generals as intelligent, and that the slaves were valuable allies;" that "while the black man did not carry a gun, he was yet the mainstay of the rebellion;" and he denounced as untrue the charge against the blameless sons of Ethiopia that "they were inhuman and would arise and murder the helpless mothers and daughters of the south."

Nothing came of Mr. Stevens' resolution yet it stands on record as the initial move in favor of emancipation.

The next step, one that attracted wide attention, was taken, August 30, 1861, by Gen. John C. Fremont, in command of the military department of the west, which included the slave state of Missouri, when he issued a

military order that "The property, real and personal, of all persons in the state of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men." Fremont's proclamation of freedom was formally and officially revoked by President Lincoln September 11, 1861. Therein, for the first time, appears the idea of "military necessity," which Mr. Lincoln himself finally adopted.

Mr. Lincoln had his own plan for getting rid of slavery, but it was secondary to saving the union. The subject was discussed by him in his first annual message to congress, December 3, 1861. To quote his own words, he hoped and expected to effect an "increase of free states through the voluntary emancipation of the slaves by the action of the states themselves." He sought and found an opportunity to try his experiment. Delaware was a loyal state, and in November, 1861, President Lincoln caused to be presented his favorite plan for the gradual emancipation of all slaves within its jurisdiction by an act of its legislature, but so strong a hostility developed among the members, when the suggestion was informally made to them, that the bill was not even introduced. This initial movement in favor of gradual and voluntary emancipation was, like all subsequent efforts of a similar character, a total failure.

But the president kept on trying. March 6, 1862, he sent a special message to congress, recommending the adoption of a declaratory resolution, which announced the plan of gradual emancipation with compensation, as follows: "That the United States ought to co-operate with any state which may adopt the gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such state pecuniary aid, to be used by such state in its discretion, to compensate for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system."

Still pursuing the same cherished policy, hoping that the people of the border slave states would see their true interests, on March 10, 1862, President Lincoln requested the members of congress from the loyal slave states of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, who were in Washington, to call at the white house in a body for the consideration and discussion of his plan of gradual emancipation and compensation; but, while they accepted the invitation, he received no encouragement from them.

Event followed event in swift succession. April 2, 1862, congress passed the joint resolution recommended by President Lincoln, as above

quoted, in his special message of March 6th, and thus both the executive and legislative branches of the government were formally committed to the policy of gradual emancipation by the states themselves, but none of the states paid the least attention to it. Even the lure of compensation failed.

Next came an act of congress, approved April 16, 1862, which provided for the immediate emancipation of all slaves in the District of Columbia, with compensation to owners, not to exceed an aggregate of $300 for each slave, and an appropriation of $100,000 to defray the cost of the voluntary emigration of the emancipated slaves to Hayti or Liberia. In a brief message accompanying the notice of his approval of the measure, the president said he was "gratified that the two principles of compensation and colonization are both practically in the act." The slaves held in the District of Columbia were made free, compensation was given to their owners, the shame of seventy-two years of slavery in the national capital was removed; but colonization was a complete failure. The white people preferred slavery to emancipation with compensation; the black people, when free, preferred to stay with and among their former owners and masters than to leave the country and colonize in Liberia or Hayti.

No man was strong enough to control national destiny. May 9, 1862, Gen. David Hunter, in command of the department of the south, and a personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, issued a military order of emancipation. After alluding to the fact that the states in his department were under martial law, Gen. Hunter declared that "Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible. The persons in these three states—Georgia, Florida and South Carolina—heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free." In a brief report to the war department, Gen. Hunter said: "My theory being that slavery, existing only by municipal enactments, ceased to exist the moment a subject by his rebellion placed himself beyond the pale of these enactments." May 19, 1862, Gen. Hunter's order was revoked by President Lincoln.

But both the executive and legislative departments of the government were moving towards emancipation. The movement seemed slow then; it seems swift now. In the present, time is reckoned by days and hours; in the past it takes on more the character of a series of events. A sweeping confiscation act, passed by congress and approved July 17, 1862, provided that all slaves held by persons guilty and convicted of treason and rebellion should be free. It also declared that the slaves owned by persons in rebellion, escaping into our army lines for refuge, slaves captured from rebels or deserted by them and coming under pro-

tection and control of the government of the United States, and slaves found in any place previously occupied by confederate forces and then occupied by the union army, should be deemed captives of war and should be forever free. Another act of congress freed all slaves actually employed in the military service on the side of the rebellion.

President Lincoln, still tenaciously adhering to the policy of compensated emancipation, on July 2, 1862, held another conference, at his own request, with members of congress from the border slave states, at which he made an urgent appeal to them to use their influence and persuade their respective states to adopt the plan of gradual emancipation, with compensation for their slaves, and so get rid of the institution without material financial loss. He thought that this policy, once adopted, would convince the people and leaders in the seceded states that in no event would the border states join the confederacy, and that this would be to them an element of weakness and discouragement. Persistency in this direction availed nothing. Gradual emancipation with promised compensation, though urged by Mr. Lincoln with the earnestness and sincerity of firm conviction, was impossible and he received no encouragement. July 14, 1862, the border state representatives and three senators made a written reply to the president's appeal. While pledging unchangeable loyalty to the Union, they set forth the reasons and obstacles to the adoption of his policy. Evidently the president saw the futility of further effort in that direction. He may have made up his mind that it would be a failure, as very soon after this conference and the reply he stepped up to the higher plane of emancipation in the seceded and rebellious states by presidential proclamation.

Congress adjourned July 17, 1862, three days after the reply of the border state senators and representatives was dated. Five days after the adjournment, on July 22, 1862, the president read to his cabinet his first draft of a preliminary proclamation of emancipation. He had prepared it of his own volition, showing the entire abandonment of his previous plan, without consulting with any member of his cabinet. It was his own act. It was read at the meeting held at the Executive Mansion on that day and then laid aside to await near-by future events, one of which was a hoped for and decisive victory by our soldiers.

The bloody battle of Antietam was fought September 16 and 17, 1862. During that summer the Confederate armies were boldly aggressive at Corinth, Mississippi, in Kentucky, and in Maryland. Each one of these campaigns terminated disastrously for them at about the same time—by Lee's withdrawal from Antietam, by Van Dorn's defeat at Corinth, by

Bragg's check at Perryville. Thereafter no offensive northern movement by any of the Confederate armies stood any chance of success. Only one more formidable invasion of the north was attempted, that of General Lee in the summer of 1863, which ended with the battle of Gettysburg.

What followed the early autumn battles of 1862? September 22 of that year the preliminary proclamation of emancipation was issued. From that date forward the war had two distinctly avowed purposes—the restoration of the Union and the abolition of slavery. Abolished in the seceded states, the institution would necessarily die in the border states. The essential clause of this proclamation declared: "That on the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

This warning was unheeded by the people of the states in rebellion. The eventful day, January 1, 1863, came; the armies were in winter quarters; there was no cessation of war preparation on the part of the south; it was not President Lincoln's habit to step backward; and so, on the date named, the edict of freedom—as the final Emancipation Proclamation has been aptly called—was issued. Its closing words present its necessity and justification: "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

"It is done!
Clang of bell and roar of gun
Send the tidings up and down.
How the belfries rock and reel!
How the great guns, peal on peal,
Fling the joy from town to town!
* * * * * *
Blotted out!
All within and all about
Shall a fresher life begin;
Freer breathe the universe
As it rolls its heavy curse
On the dark and buried sin!"

No! not yet buried. Two years must pass away for the burial ceremonies. Slavery's absolutely certain extinction required an amendment of the constitution. While the Emancipation Proclamation made the war an openly avowed anti-slavery contest, determining its character, it did not apply to Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, slave states that had been continuously represented in congress. Slavery

was not touched outside of the states that had formally seceded and had established hostile governments by joining the Southern Confederacy. Furthermore, doubts existed in the minds of eminent lawyers and publicists, notwithstanding the moral force of the proclamation, as to the constitutionality of this executive action. Judges and courts are uncertain, hence the necessity for an amendment of the constitution that would forever settle the question. Right is often entangled in the meshes of habit and law.

THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT.

In December, 1863, the thirty-eighth congress assembled. Vicksburg had fallen; Gettysburg had become one of the few decisive battles of destiny in the world's history; the army of the Potomac was in winter quarters in northern Virginia, and in a few weeks Grant was to be called from the west to take command. Peace with slavery was no longer regarded as possible or desirable. The proposal of prohibitory amendments to the constitution was a natural and inevitable outcome of the situation.

The first joint resolution proposing an amendment of the constitution that would abolish and prohibit slavery throughout the United States was introduced in the house of representatives December 14, 1863, by James F. Wilson, a representative from Iowa and chairman of the committee on the judiciary. On January 11, 1864, Senator John B. Henderson of Missouri presented a similar joint resolution in the senate. Nearly a month later Senator Sumner of Massachusetts offered an amendment which provided that "everywhere within the limits of the United States, and of each state or territory thereof, all persons are equal before the law, so that no person can hold another as a slave." On February 10, 1864, Senator Trumbull of Illinois, Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, reported to the Senate a substitute for the Henderson and Sumner joint resolutions, which became the Thirteenth Amendment. It declared: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction;" and also gave to congress the power of enforcement by appropriate legislation.

Senator Sumner was very insistent that his phrase, "all persons are equal before the law," copied from the constitution of revolutionary France, should be included in the amendment; but Senator Jacob M. Howard of our state, who was a leading participant in framing and

defending the substitute as reported, pointed out the inapplicability of Mr. Sumner's words to the anti-slavery amendment, and successfully urged that it would be safer and wiser to follow, as the committee had done, the language of the Ordinance of 1787, with its historical associations and adjudicated meaning. It would be curious to know what, in the broadest sense, the application of Senator Sumner's words, "all persons are equal before the law," in a constitutional amendment might have been, provided they reached beyond the slavery question then under consideration.

The joint resolution, as reported by Senator Trumbull of the judiciary committee, passed the senate March 28, 1864—yeas 38, nays 6—and was sent to the house of representatives. It was debated in the house on three different days, May 31 and June 14 and 15. The first vote was taken on the thirty-first day of May, on a motion for the rejection of the joint resolution, when 55 voted in favor of the motion to 76 against it. Not much interest was taken in the debate as it was evident that the measure could not command the requisite two-thirds majority. When the roll call came on its passage the vote stood, yeas 93, nays 65; absent or not voting 23. Before the calling of the roll was completed and the result announced, Representative James M. Ashley of Ohio, who had charge of the measure, came to the clerk's desk, ascertained how the vote stood, returned to his seat, and changed from the affirmative to the negative so that he might under the rules enter a motion to reconsider, and thus retain control of the amendment. The motion was entered the next day.

THE FINAL EFFORT.

After this failure to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority in the House work in behalf of the Amendment commenced in earnest. The thirty-eighth congress met for its last session December 6, 1864. President Lincoln urged the passage of the joint resolution in his annual message. A systematic canvass in its favor was inaugurated, seeing to it that votes enough were assured to pass the Amendment, when again called up for action, was under the immediate charge of Hon. James S. Ashley of Toledo, Ohio, and Hon. Augustus Frank of Warsaw, New York. They planned and executed the campaign. Keeping their own counsel as to the progress made, never mentioning how this or that representative would vote, but summoning to their assistance such members on both sides of the house politically as they deemed best. It was a quiet and an effective canvass.

The plan adopted was this: Richard U. Shearman of Utica, New York,

was Tally Clerk and kept the record of all yea and nay votes. He was a brother of the late Francis W. Shearman of Marshall, Michigan, the last superintendent of public instruction in this state appointed by the governor, Epaphroditus Ransom of Kalamazoo, and the first one elected by the people. A tally sheet was kept at the clerk's desk in the house in a drawer, of which Mr. Shearman carried the key. When ascertained that a member who had voted against the amendment at the previous session would certainly vote for it on the next roll call, either Mr. Ashley or Mr. Frank would come to the desk, state the fact to Mr. Shearman or myself, when Mr. Shearman would unlock the drawer, take out the precious tally sheet and place a yea check against the name. Quietly this work went on for several weeks. Probably Mr. Ashley, Mr. Frank, Mr. Shearman and myself were the only persons who ever saw that tally sheet. Had any one not in the secret got hold of it what it meant would have been unknown.

In all of this work nothing was taken for granted. Guessing was entirely eliminated. Where necessary, precaution was taken to make assurance doubly sure, and not one of the four persons in the secret whispered an intimation of the progress or prospects of the canvass. One day Mr. Ashley came to the desk and reported that Alexander H. Coffroth of the Gettysburg district, Pennsylvania, would vote for the amendment —he was recorded against it at the previous session— and then remarked "There, we've got enough." At the first opportunity when by ourselves, Mr. Shearman and I looked over the tally sheet carefully and ascertained that if all the members voted as checked he was right. The result proved that Mr. Ashley was correct. Every vote was given as indicated. It was a notable instance of careful and painstaking effort.

PRELIMINARY TO VOTING.

Previously, December 15, 1864, Mr. Ashley had given notice that on the sixth of January, 1865, he would call up the motion to reconsider the vote whereby the amendment failed to receive a two-thirds majority at the previous session. When that day arrived he was recognized by Speaker Colfax, and he re-opened the debate with an earnest speech. Ashley was a man of fine appearance, self-reliant, endowed with indomitable energy, a tireless and tactful worker. On the floor he always attracted attention. The discussion, or rather the set speeches, continued, off and on, until January 31, 1865, the day that had been formally announced for taking the vote. It was deemed desirable to pass the amendment as early as possible, so that the legislatures of the several states, then in session, might act upon it before their final adjournment.

No grander spectacle, on a more momentous occasion, was ever witnessed in the great hall of representatives. Three o'clock in the afternoon was the hour named for taking the vote. Before the house met, at twelve o'clock noon, the spacious galleries began to fill. The diplomatic gallery and the ladies' galleries were brilliantly crowded at an early hour. Blue uniforms of the soldiers of the republic were thickly scattered in the human mass that occupied every available space. Sable sons of Africa, too, were there. It was the day of the deliverance of their race from American bondage. Thereafter the Declaration of Independence would have some meaning for them. The floor was crowded with privileged persons. Every inch of standing room was occupied. Never in our time were so many notable men gathered together in a single place to watch the crowning event in the long contest between freedom and slavery. There were present senators, cabinet officers, justices of the supreme court, governors of several states, generals of the army and high officers of the navy in uniform, heads of bureaus, ex-members of congress, and eminent persons who were admitted to the floor by common consent, including the families of members. It was a magnificent audience. Representatives of nearly all nationalities were present to watch what many regarded as the doubtful outcome of one of the most important and significant legislative events in modern history—the turning point, the right-about-face, in the career of a great nation.

Soon after the session commenced on that eventful day Mr. Ashley was recognized by the speaker, and he called for a vote on the motion to reconsider which he had caused to be entered on the house journal at the preceding session. The time allowed for debate before coming to a vote had been parceled out. There was no scramble for the floor. The speaker knew whom to recognize. No mistakes were made, and there was no disorder. A few were certain that the amendment would pass, but a large majority hoped it would, yet were in doubt. Mr. Ashley first yielded a part of his hour to Archibald McAllister of Pennsylvania. He was a tall man with a florid complexion and grey whiskers, dignified in manner, and for thirty-three years had been an iron manufacturer. At the previous session he had voted against the amendment. His voice was not strong and he sent his manuscript to the clerk's desk to be read. It fell to my lot to deliver his brief speech, which concisely and in a matter of fact way gave the reasons why its author had made up his mind to change his vote of the year before and have it recorded this time

in the affirmative. It was received with applause. Mr. McAllister nodded approval of the reading.

The floor was next assigned to Alexander H. Coffroth, also of Pennsylvania. He was an active, energetic man, self educated, aggressive in manner, and a lawyer. From his place on the floor, in a clear and forceful manner, he gave his reasons for supporting the joint resolution in 1865 which he had voted against in 1864. A radical democrat, Mr. Coffroth represented the Gettysburg district, and it seemed eminently appropriate that the representative of a district that contained one of the great battle fields of the civil war should vote for the final and absolute abolishment of slavery, which caused the terrible conflict. The Gettysburg district, therefore, in the person of its democratic representative stands upon the record made that day in favor of unchangeable emancipation. Gettysburg would not have been logically and consistently represented if he had voted in the negative.

The floor was next assigned to Anson Herrick, a Tammany democrat of New York city. Born in Lewiston, Maine, in 1812, he received a common school education; entered a printing office to learn the trade at the age of fifteen years; went to New York in 1836; commenced the publication of a weekly journal in 1838, the name of which was changed to the New York Atlas, and remained its editor and proprietor until his death. His father, Ebenezer Herrick, was a representative in congress from Maine from 1821 to 1827. Anson Herrick was a plain man, solidly built, well informed, and an honest congressman. He was defeated for re-election in 1864, Fernando Wood running against him as a stump candidate on a peace platform. He made a manly speech in favor of the amendment, closing the debate in its behalf. Thus the time allowed, under the rules, to Mr. Ashley, because he had charge of the measure, ended. Thus, also, came to an end many years of acrimonious debate in congress of the slavery question.

The remaining hour for making speeches was occupied by the opposition. None of its strong men in the house participated in the closing debate. Speeches were made by James S. Brown, a native of Maine, and a representative of the Milwaukee district, Wisconsin; by Aaron Harding, a native and representative of Kentucky, and, like Mr. Brown, a lawyer; and by Martin Kalbfleish, a native of Netherlands and a druggist in Brooklyn, New York. These three men, by birth the Yankee, the Southerner and the Hollander, made the last pleas and gave the last excuses, that went upon record, on the part of those, though each spoke

only for himself, who were opposed to the constitutional abolition of slavery.

THEN CAME THE VOTING.

Soon after three o'clock Mr. Ashley moved the previous question upon his motion to reconsider the vote whereby the amendment failed to receive a two-thirds majority at the preceding session. This vote was taken amid hushed attention. It needed but a majority to reconsider, still it was hoped that there would be two-thirds of those voting in favor of the motion. When the roll call was completed and the result announced, it was found that three more votes were necessary to make the desired two-thirds. This lent added eagerness and anxiety to the final vote. Mr. Ashley had no fear. His face wore a smile. The tally sheet had not been impeached. Up to noon those opposed to the amendment confidently predicted its defeat. One of its most earnest advocates and supporters remarked: "'Tis the toss of a copper whether it wins or not." He had not seen the tally sheet.

After the previous question was ordered, Robert H. Mallory of Kentucky asked for a postponement of the vote to some subsequent day, and intimated an intention to filibuster if the request was not granted. Mr. Ashley firmly refused. There was calmness of manner but his lips pressed tightly together at the close of the refusal. The hour of destiny for freedom and peace—of doom for slavery and war—had come. The yeas and nays were ordered. "The clerk will call the roll," said Speaker Colfax. At four o'clock calling the names of the members in alphabetical order commenced. The call proceeded with unusual deliberation. Spectators in the galleries leaned forward to catch the responses. The feeling was intense. Doubts as to the result increased the anxiety. Two hundred and forty-five years of slavery were crowded into that half hour. Destiny was in that roll call. Such an hour and such an occasion seldom come in the life of a nation. They will never appear again, for there is no more chattel slavery among civilized nations. The last half of this century has witnessed its abolition. In our country alone it went out in battle and blood. That roll call was not monotonous. It was the ending of an old and the beginning of a new era.

When the name of John Ganson, a democrat from Buffalo, New York, was called and he responded "aye" in a clear, emphatic voice, hearty applause swept through the hall and was repeated in the galleries. It was the first popular break in the hushed attention. Mr. Ganson was a man of fine appearance, fair complexion, completely bald, a good lawyer and always a gentleman. Few men of his quality find seats in Congress,

and if they do they do not like the atmosphere and seldom retain them. Next, when the name of James E. English, a Connecticut democrat and one of the most popular citizens of that state, was called and he voted "aye," the applause was longer and louder. The character of the man, high integrity, patriotic, independent, was expressed in that vote. He was unswervable from what he regarded as his duty. When the applause subsided, Speaker Colfax appealed to members to set an example to the galleries and preserve the decorum of a deliberative body during the remainder of the roll call, and it proceeded without further demonstrations or interruptions, yet with the closest attention and intensest solicitude on the part of the great audience.

When completed, the names of those voting in the affirmative were read, followed by those who voted in the negative. No changes or corrections were made. Richard U. Shearman, tally clerk, handed the result to the speaker, who announced the vote and said: "The constitutional majority of two-thirds having voted in the affirmative the joint resolution is passed." The vote stood, yeas, 119; nays, 56; not voting, 8. A change of three votes would have again brought defeat. Still the delay would have been only temporary, as the thirty-ninth congress, fresher from the people, would have passed the amendment. But, happily, thus ended the long and close struggle in congress. At last

"It is done!
In the circuit of the sun
Shall the sound thereof go forth.
It shall bid the sad rejoice,
It shall give the dumb a voice,
It shall belt with joy the earth!"

Words cannot portray the scene that followed the announcement of the result. A volcano of feeling broke forth. The deep interest, the intense anxiety, the mingled hope and doubt, found expression and relief in a splendid outburst of enthusiasm. Members and spectators rose spontaneously to their feet, waved hats and handkerchiefs, grasped one another's hands, tossed documents aloft, laughed and cheered over the closely won yet great victory. The thousands in the galleries caught the fever of applause and for several minutes, amid the wavings of handkerchiefs by the ladies, who seemed like white-winged messengers of peace, the cheering swelled and surged, now half ceasing, then rising into greater volume, a loud pæan of triumph sweeping around and through the great hall, on the consummation of a long and bitter conflict between human freedom and human slavery.

DEAD AND ENTOMBED.

Not often, only once in the life of any nation, can such a scene be witnessed. Slavery was struck dead and was entombed by the thirteenth amendment. Emancipation had triumphed; abolition had won its fight —not by rending the constitution—but, while saving the important gains of the past, in a legal and constitutional manner, wresting that instrument forever, with all its sacred associations, from the control of the slave power, and making it thenceforth the bulwark of civil liberty. The cost was great—a terrible civil war, billions of treasure and thousands of precious human lives.

While the applause was regnant, Ebon C. Ingersoll of Illinois, successor of Owen Lovejoy from the Peoria district and a brother of Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, caught the speaker's eye and said: "In honor of this immortal and sublime event, I move that the house do now adjourn." The motion was agreed to. That eventful day's session ended. So, too, an institution that began when a Dutch man-of-war sailed into a Virginia harbor in 1620 and sold a few slaves to the planters, came to an end. Slowly the immense audience dispersed. A salute of one hundred guns was fired in Washington, a city in which slavery was legalized only three years before. January 31, 1865, became for all time a white letter day in American history.

On the following evening a procession was formed and marched with music to the executive mansion. In response to calls, President Lincoln made a short and characteristic speech. He referred to the emancipation proclamation saying, it "fell far short of what the amendment will be when consummated. A question might be raised whether the proclamation was legally valid. It might be urged that it only aided those who came into our lines, and that it was inoperative as to those who did not give themselves up; or that it would have no effect upon the children of slaves born hereafter; in fact, it would be urged that it did not meet the evil. But this amendment is a king's cure-all for all the evils. It winds the whole thing up." So it did. Any gigantic evil entrenched in avarice—slave power or money power—used for political control, given an inch will take an ell, needs plucking out by the roots to be got rid of.

RATIFICATION.

The question of ratification by three-fourths of the states was deemed certain. Illinois was first to ratify, taking action on the next day, February 1; Michigan and Rhode Island followed with a formal ap-

proval on February 2; Maryland, New York and West Virginia, February 3; Maine and Kansas, February 7; Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, February 8; Virginia, February 9; Ohio and Missouri, February 10; Indiana and Nevada, February 16; Louisiana, February 17; Minnesota, February 23; Wisconsin, March 1; Vermont, March 9; Tennessee, April 7; Arkansas, April 20; Connecticut, May 5; New Hampshire, July 1; South Carolina, November 13; Alabama, December 2; North Carolina, December 4; Georgia, December 9; Oregon, December 11; California, December 20; Florida, December 28—all in 1865; New Jersey, January 23, 1866; Iowa, January 24, 1866; Texas, February 18, 1870.

Without waiting for the action of the six last named states, William H. Seward, secretary of state in the cabinet of President Andrew Johnson, on December 18, 1865, issued an official proclamation that the legislatures of 27 states, being three-fourths of the 36 states of the union, had ratified the amendment and made it a part of the constitution of the United States. Events had moved swiftly. Seven years before, in 1858, Mr. Seward made a speech at Rochester, New York, in which, after alluding to the constant collisions between the systems of free and slave labor in this country, he said: "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States will, sooner or later, become entirely a slave holding nation or entirely a free labor nation."

Contrast this amendment with the one passed by congress in 1861 to perpetuate slavery and save the union! In February, 1861, when the storm cloud of war was gathering all along the southern horizon, Thomas Corwin of Ohio, chairman of the peace committee of thirty-three members, reported the following constitutional amendment: "No amendment shall be made to the constitution which will authorize or give to congress the power to abolish or interfere within any state with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said state."

This amendment would have given slavery a long lease of power in the states and would have placed the institution beyond the reach of national emancipation. It passed the house of representatives, yeas 133, nays 65; and the senate, yeas 24, nays 12. Signing it was one of the last official acts of President Buchanan; and it was approved by President Lincoln in his inaugural address of March 5, 1861. Four years of civil war wrought a mighty transformation. Men are educated by events.

VALUABLE ASSISTANCE.

Not all the work in behalf of the thirteenth amendment was done by Representatives Ashley and Frank. They had charge of the measure, enlisting in its behalf such other persons as they deemed best, and for keeping the record they were the only ones who reported to Mr. Shearman or myself the names of the former opponents who would vote for it at the next roll call. Volunteer work was also performed.

Michigan's six representatives—Fernando C. Beaman of Adrian, Charles Upson of Coldwater, Francis W. Kellogg of Grand Rapids, John W. Longyear of Lansing, Augustus C. Baldwin of Pontiac, and John F. Driggs of East Saginaw—all voted for the amendment; both of our senators, Zachariah Chandler and Jacob M. Howard, having voted for it at the previous session; thus giving the state a clean record, by representatives of both political parties, in its favor.

Mr. Baldwin was the only democrat in congress from the state. At the previous session, thinking that the time had not arrived in the progress of the war to present to the people a new issue, he voted in the negative; but in 1865, when evident that the war was drawing to a close by the collapse of the confederacy, he was sincerely in its favor. Not only had he informed Mr. Ashley that he should vote in the affirmative, and his name had been recorded "aye" on the tally sheet, but he used his influence in its behalf. During the forenoon of the day the vote was taken he called at Willard's hotel to see Hon. Samuel S. Cox, a fellow democrat, for the express purpose of urging him to vote in the affirmative. On arriving at Mr. Cox's rooms he found Representative James E. English there on the same errand. Both advised their brilliant democratic colleague to support the amendment. Mr. Cox replied that he had both spoken and voted against it, and he did not see how he could consistently vote for it. The suggestion was made to him that circumstances were altogether different; that the war was near its close, and the troublesome question should be forever settled. Finally Mr. Cox said if he could have six to eight minutes to explain he would change his vote. On arriving at the capitol, Mr. Baldwin had an interview with Mr. Ashley and told him what Mr. Cox had said. Mr. Ashley replied that he would be glad to accommodate Mr. Cox, but every moment of the time at his control was promised to other democrats, and it would be impossible to make different arrangements, and give him or anyone else an opportunity to explain his vote. The result was Mr. Cox voted in the negative.

To the first roll call every member present responded except Mr. Baldwin. Surrounded as he was by a number of Democrats who were opposed to the amendment, he did not want to take the lead among his party colleagues in responding "aye." When the roll was completed he rose and addressing the speaker asked that his name be called. This was done and his vote recorded. Then Speaker Colfax said: "The clerk will call my name." Turning partly around, I called "Schuyler Colfax." Of course the answer was an emphatic "aye;" and his was the last vote recorded on that memorable roll call, which completed the congressional work of emancipation, and removed the stain of slavery from the national escutcheon.

MICHIGAN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

This is an appropriate occasion to place on record in the "collections" of this society brief biographical sketches of the senators and representatives from Michigan who were members of the 38th congress and by their votes and influence contributed to the passage of the thirteenth amendment.

Zachariah Chandler, the senior senator, was born in Bedford, New Hampshire, December 10, 1818, and died suddenly in Chicago, November 1, 1879. His education was limited to the common schools and an academy of his native state. In 1833 he came to Detroit and engaged in the dry goods business. As a wholesale merchant he was energetic and successful. His public life began in 1851 by his election as mayor of Detroit. In 1852 he received the whig nomination for governor. There was no hope of an election, but he made a thorough canvass, and the large vote cast for him gave him political prominence. After that he took an active part in every campaign in the state and soon became known in national politics. In 1856 he spoke with Abraham Lincoln at a great political mass meeting in Kalamazoo. In the winter of 1857, at the first election of a United States senator by the state legislature after the republican party came into power in Michigan, he was chosen to fill that high office as the successor of General Lewis Cass, the most eminent citizen of the state for more than half a century. By his indomitable energy, political sagacity, and firmness in adherence to the principles he was chosen to represent, he at once took a prominent position in that body of eminent men during the war and reconstruction periods. During his first term he served as chairman of the committee on the District of Columbia and of the committee on commerce—the latter always his favorite position and the one for which his busi-

ness experience and familiarity with the greatest internal waterway of the world, the lake region of the growing northwest, eminently fitted him. February 11, 1861, while the Michigan legislature was in session, he wrote his famous "blood letting letter" to Governor Austin Blair, showing that he saw the inevitableness of the appeal to arms as the bloody arbitrament of the struggle between freedom and slavery, and he defended it in one of his last speeches in the senate. He never flinched from his record. The gist of the letter was in the following sentence, from which it received its name: "Without a little blood letting this union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush."

In 1863 Mr. Chandler was re-elected and during his second term was continued at the head of the committee on commerce, served on the important committee on mines and mining, and with Senators Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, and James W. Nesmith of Oregon, for colleagues, on the famous special committee on the conduct of the war. This brought him into close association with the war department and with the leading military men of the great civil conflict. To the last he was a warm friend of the greatest of war secretaries, Edwin M. Stanton. Both tall in stature, and with a peculiar movement, or gait, it is something to be remembered to have seen Chandler and Lincoln walking together on the street. They, too, were great friends, and in all-around, common sense statesmanship and native shrewdness and sagacity admirable representatives of the vigorous west. It was eminently appropriate, therefore, that Mr. Chandler should be a member of the national committee that accompanied the remains of the martyred President to their final resting place in Illinois, after his assassination in Washington. For the third time, in 1869, Mr. Chandler was elected United States senator, and was retained as chairman of his favorite committee on commerce until 1875, when the legislature failed to give him a fourth term, and Judge Isaac P. Christiancy was chosen his successor. In October, 1875, President Grant tendered him the important position of secretary of the interior. His services in that important department were of a notable character. He at once selected Charles T. Gorham of Marshall, for assistant secretary and Augustus C. Gaylord of Saginaw, as assistant attorney general for the department, and introduced order, system, business methods and integrity into the administration of its affairs; and he held the office until the close of the presidential term in 1877. When Mr. Christiancy resigned in 1879 to accept the office of minister to Peru, the Michigan legislature elected Mr. Chandler to fill out the unex-

pired term, until 1881. No doubt he would have been elected the fifth time that year had he lived. He was chairman of the republican national committee in the exciting presidential campaign of 1876, and it is not probable that, without his indomitable energy and mastery of the situation, President Hayes would have occupied the executive mansion. His announcement as chairman of the desired result was terse and characteristic: "Hayes has 181 electorial votes, and is elected." That was the final count. He was Michigan's only United States Senator who served in the national congress before and during the civil war, and was identified with all the leading measures of that eventful era of American history. He was not an orator, but was a plain, direct and forcible speaker, of commanding appearance and with marked physical and mental qualities, endowed with strong common sense and an excellent practical judgment, with great energy and a perseverance that led him onward from success to success, he was always true to his friends, and take him all around he was the most influential senator the state ever sent to Washington, and had he lived would have been the logical and probable candidate for president in 1880.

Kinsley S. Bingham, the first republican governor of Michigan, elected in 1854 and re-elected in 1856, was chosen United States senator, to succeed Charles E. Stuart, in 1859, and died in 1861, thus closing a long and an honorable career in the state. Jacob M. Howard became his successor. This eminent lawyer and citizen was born in Shaftesbury, Vermont, July 10, 1805, and died suddenly at his home in Detroit. He was educated at the academies of Bennington and Brattleboro in his native state, and graduated at Williams college, Massachusetts, in 1830. He studied law, taught in a Massachusetts academy for a time; removed to Michigan in 1832, was admitted to the bar of the territory in 1833, and became one of the ablest lawyers of the northwest. In 1838 he was a member of the state legislature, and was elected by the whigs the sole representative from the state to the twenty-sixth congress in 1840, serving during the sessions of 1841-3. He drafted the platform of the republican party at the time of its organization "under the oaks" in Jackson, in 1854, was nominated as its first candidate for attorney general on the state ticket and was elected in November of that year, and re-elected in 1856 and 1858, holding the office for six consecutive years. In 1862 he was elected United States senator to succeed Kinsley S. Bingham, deceased, serving out the term which ended with the third of March, 1865, and that year was chosen his own successor for the full term which ended in 1871. Not only was Mr. Howard a profound lawyer.

but he was the most accurate and deliberate extempore debater in the senate. Dennis Murphy, of the corps of senate stenographers, once told me that Mr. Howard's extemporaneous speeches, as delivered, needed fewer verbal and grammatical corrections than those of any other member of that body. A master of clear statement, he was calm and logical rather than flowery and rhetorical in debate. In the discussion of all the great questions of the war and reconstruction period he took a prominent part. Not a working politician, but a lawyer and statesman of eminent ability, he was very useful during the critical period of American history that he served in the senate. In framing the constitutional amendments, both the thirteenth and the fourteenth, and in the consideration of the legislative steps necessary for the reconstruction of the shattered union, his knowledge was of immense value to the country. Of the important committee on the judiciary he was one of the most influential members, and besides this valuable service, he was also a member of the committee of military affairs and of private land claims, and chairman of the committee on the Pacific railroad, directing and shaping legislation that resulted in building transcontinental lines to the Pacific Ocean and making the union of the states commercially one and indissoluble forever. Steel rails and free commercial intercourse bind people and states closer and firmer together than do constitutional provisions and standing armies. During the years that Mr. Howard and Mr. Chandler served together in the senate, Michigan ranked second to no other state in the ability and influence of its senators. Not until Mr. Howard's defeat for re-election in 1871, chiefly because not adapted to the service of an errand boy in the departments, and had not the taste and peculiar attainments needed for the efficient promotion of greedy private and local interests by legislation, did the senate begin to take on its present acknowledged condition and reputation as a "degenerate body." Since the retirement of Mr. Howard, Michigan has had no senator capable of discussing great constitutional and international questions. His speech in executive session on the conflicting claims of the United States and Great Britain, growing out of the treaty of 1846, to San Juan and other islands between Washington territory and Vancouver island, afterwards printed by order of the senate, was conclusive as to the rights of this country in the dispute, and was so decided on arbitration by the Emperor of Germany. Mr. Howard rightfully ranked as one of the great senators of the civil war and reconstruction era, and was second to no other senator in wise counsel and

the careful work which resulted in embodying the victorious issues of the war in the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments of the constitution.

Fernando C. Beaman, of Adrian, was born in Chester, Windsor county, Vermont, June 28, 1814, and died at his home in Adrian, Sept. 27, 1882. When a boy he removed with his father to the state of New York, and was left an orphan at the age of fifteen years. He received a good English education at the Franklin county academy, studied law in Rochester, New York, came to Michigan in 1838, and at once commenced the practice of his profession. For six years he served as prosecuting attorney of Lenawee county; was judge of probate for four years; in 1856 was chosen a presidential elector and voted for John C. Fremont for president and William L. Dayton for vice-president, the first republican candidates named for these offices; and in 1860 was elected a representative in congress from the first Michigan district, was re-elected four times, giving him a continuous service during ten of the most eventful congressional years in American history. Mr. Beaman was an able and conscientious member of congress—a hater of shams and frauds. He served on many important committees, the one on territories, of which he was a member, having had great prominence during the contest with slavery. He was one of the first to take an advanced and correct position on the question of reconstruction, which involved the relation of the rebel states to the union—a position that was finally adopted by congress. In the thirty-seventh congress, during his first term, he made a carefully prepared speech on the subject, which attracted wide attention at the time and caused much discussion. By most it was regarded as premature, and only by a few as presenting a true and safe plan for restoring the seceded states, after the rebellion should be crushed, to their forfeited rights in the union. In fact, he was a pioneer among congressmen in advocating the proper course to be pursued. From the committee on territories he reported a bill to establish provisional governments for the districts of country in rebellion against the United States, which, although laid on the table, contained the principles afterwards adopted by congress for the restoration of the suicided states to their normal and loyal relations with the federal government. He "assumed the ground that the so called seceded states had ceased to exist under the constitution; that their constitutional governments had been abrogated," or, in other words, "usurped and overthrown." This left the territory an integral part of the union, but with state governments abrogated, and the power of congress over them supreme. There was no confusion of ideas in Mr. Beaman's position because it conformed to

the facts. An accident shows how the speech was received. Senator Charles Sumner, who had studied the question thoroughly, after reading it came over to the house and congratulated Mr. Beaman upon the position he had taken and the ability with which he had maintained it. Upon the slavery question he was equally clear and explicit. Nearly a year before the passage of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, he said upon the floor of the house: "Every vestige of slavery in the entire country must be removed; and to that end we must watch with keenest vigilance every step that is taken to reconstruct the rebel states. Let the great cotton and sugar growing regions be made forever free. Adopt speedy and efficient measures to procure an amendment to the federal constitution that will banish the evil from all the loyal states; hope for its speedy extinction everywhere; but ever remember, that so long as a slave breathes within our borders, there is no safety for republican institutions." Mr. Beaman was an honest and able representative.

Among the members of congress at that time, Coldwater had a worthy and hard working representative in the person of Charles Upson. Whatever his hands found to do, that he did with all his might. He was true to his convictions, true to his constituents, and had a straightforward and common sense way of looking at questions as they arose for consideration. He spotted those who were promoting money making jobs through legislation, and was sure to vote against their schemes whenever they appeared.

Born at Southington, Connecticut, March 19, 1821, he received an academic education; studied law in the Yale law school; came to Michigan in 1845 and settled in St. Joseph county, where he practiced his profession; was county clerk in 1849-50, and prosecuting attorney in 1853-4; was a member of the state senate in 1855-6; was elected attorney general for the state in 1860 and served until January 1, 1863; at the general election in 1862 he was chosen to represent the second congressional district in the thirty-eighth congress, and was re-elected to the thirty-ninth and fortieth congresses, his terms covering the last half of the civil war and the period of reconstruction.

Much of his service was on the important committee of elections, which is not generally of conspicuous and permanent public interest, but he brought to the discharge of its duties a sound judgment and an honest purpose. It can be said of him that he always did his best. One of the warmest contested elections was against Gen. Benjamin F. Loan, of Missouri. A majority of the committee decided against Gen. Loan's right

to the seat, Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts, its chairman, and Portus Baxter, of Vermont, republicans, agreeing with the democratic members. Mr. Dawes was a persistent fighter, and did not like to be beaten. Mr. Upson believed that Gen. Loan, the sitting member, was entitled to the seat; he prepared the minority report, and made the principal speech in his behalf. It was a hotly contested case, but Mr. Upson showed that if Gen. Loan was unseated it would be from an inference merely, as the proofs did not disclose the fact of military interference, as alleged, that prevented any loyal man from voting as he desired. The contest was sharp and earnest, but Mr. Upson won. Gen. Loan's right to the seat was sustained by twelve majority.

It was during this roll call that Thaddeus Stevens, when his name was called, looked up as if uncertain how to vote, and asked of a member in an adjacent seat the question: "Which is our feller?" Noticing his hesitancy, I said in a low tone to the tally clerk, "aye," and with one of his saturnine smiles he nodded an assent. The result in this case, under the circumstances, was a great triumph for Mr. Upson.

Among the members of the house, as already stated, there was not a more inveterate enemy of legislative jobbers and speculators. They were plenty, even at that time, when the hearts of loyal citizens were sublimated with the fervor of patriotism. Mr. Upson's judgment as to men and measures was excellent, and he gave to his people in congress faithful and honorable service. He was a party man, yet true to his own convictions of right and duty. Emancipation had no truer friend. When he died, September 9, 1885, at his home in Coldwater, loved and respected by all, without distinction of party or creed, the feelings entertained for him were a tribute to his sterling integrity and clean character.

Personally no member of congress from Michigan was held in higher esteem than John W. Longyear, of Lansing. When nominated for representative at a third district convention in Jackson in 1862, he had scarcely been mentioned as a candidate, Daniel L. Case, his brother-in-law, being the first choice of the Ingham county delegation. Calhoun county presented Samuel S. Lacey and Washtenaw named one of its own citizens, but Jackson and Eaton had no special favorite. Mr. Longyear had gained a good reputation as a lawyer, and his practice in the circuit court of Eaton county had made him well and favorably known to its people, especially those who were active in politics. It was natural, therefore, that he should be preferred over any of the other candidates mentioned. Talk among the delegates disclosed the fact that he would be acceptable to all portions of the district, and the result

was a gradual centralization of votes upon him, without his name having been publicly announced as a candidate, which resulted in his unanimous nomination. It was one of the few instances where the office sought the man. His canvass of the district was made in a quiet and dignified manner, and his stump speeches were characterized by the same logical precision of statement as his pleas in the court room. Born at Shandaken, Ulster county, New York, October 22, 1820, he received a good academic education, and removed to Michigan in 1844, finished studying law and was admitted to the bar in 1846; was elected representative in the thirty-eighth congress in 1862, and was re-elected in 1864, filling the position for four years. During his first session, in May, 1864, while the method for restoring the rebel states was in a very chaotic condition, congressional sentiment not having centered upon any definite plan, Mr. Longyear made a carefully prepared speech on a bill to provide them with temporary governments while in transition from slavery and rebellion to freedom and loyalty. Doubt as to a northern triumph had disappeared, and this question had begun to assume practical importance. Mr. Longyear's argument was based upon the theory and the fact that loyal state governments, in the rebellious districts where secession had taken place, had been usurped and overthrown, and hence the authority of the United States over them was supreme; and, therefore, that congress, as in the case of territories, had the constitutional right and power to make it an imperative condition of their readmission into the union as reconstructed states that slavery and involuntary servitude should be forever prohibited. The uppermost idea was to get rid of slavery, as the passage of a constitutional amendment for its abolishment was not deemed possible. It was a lucid presentation of the question, and the most important speech made by Mr. Longyear during his congressional career. Furthermore, it advocated the plan of reconstruction that was finally adopted. He showed what constitutes a state, and then that a state might forfeit its rights and privileges as a member of the federal union, yet leave both territory and people under the control of the United States as the supreme authority. The merit of the speech lay in a clear presentment of the actual relation of the suicided states to the general government and in a different line of argument than had been taken by any other person who had discussed the question. That brilliant representative, Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, who was the author of the bill under consideration and reported it out of the committee and defended it on the floor, was greatly pleased with Mr. Longyear's speech and took occasion to thank him for it. His clear perception and judicial

fairness and impartiality enabled him to present the subject from a higher standpoint than mere political expediency. On the expiration of his service in congress, Mr. Longyear resumed his law practice in Lansing and continued it until his appointment as United States district judge for the eastern district of Michigan, in which position he added much to a well-earned reputation as a lawyer and a man of varied ability, by the eminent fitness he displayed for that important judicial position from the day he entered upon its duties until his death.

Francis W. Kellogg, known on the stump as the "war horse of the pine woods," represented the fourth district. He was born in Worthington, Hampshire county, Massachusetts, May 30, 1810, received a limited school education; gained a wide reputation as a temperance lecturer; and soon after coming to Michigan engaged in the business of lumbering near Grand Rapids, the village of Kelloggville receiving its name from him. In 1856 he was elected a representative in the state legislature, and his fame as a stump speaker led to his nomination and election in 1858, as one of Michigan's four representatives in congress, and he was re-elected to the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth congresses in 1860 and in 1862. During his last term he served on the committee on military affairs. He was a man of great energy, but was not prominent in practical legislation. As a rule, the stump orator is not an efficient lawmaker. After the civil war he went south, having received an appointment in the revenue service at Mobile, Alabama, and in 1866 was elected from the reconstructed state as one of its representatives in congress. Not often did Mr. Kellogg participate in debate on the floor of the house, but in June, 1864, he made an impassioned extemporaneous speech in favor of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. It was a subject with which he was very familiar and well adapted to his style of oratory. He reviewed the events which led up to the civil war, dwelling with special earnestness upon the aggressions of slavery, and urged the adoption of the thirteenth amendment as the only sure method of removing its cause and preventing its recurrence. But few speeches in the house received closer attention, and yet it was not an argument, but an impassioned declamation.

As stated in referring to the vote on the final passage of the thirteenth amendment, Augustus C. Baldwin of Pontiac, was the only democratic member of congress from Michigan during the civil war. Prior to the election of 1862 the conduct of the war, especially with respect to slavery, had been so unsatisfactory to the people of the northern states that the republican majority in the thirty-eighth congress was small. In

the house the classification of members stood 102 republicans, 75 democrats and nine anti-republicans from the border slave states. In fact there was only about 20 straight republican majority. Popular feeling against the war policy of the administration found expression at the polls in the defeat of many republican congressmen. Majorities were reduced in all the Michigan districts, and in the fifth district the election resulted in a majority for Mr. Baldwin over Roland E. Trowbridge, the republican nominee and a member of the preceding congress. It can be said of Mr. Baldwin that his criticisms of the war policy of the party in power were not one whit more severe than those uttered by many prominent republicans. As late as 1864 such stalwart republicans as Representative Henry Winter Davis and Senator Benjamin F. Wade published a scathing arraignment of what they deemed the shortcomings of the administration in the conduct of the war. Mr. Baldwin was a loyal democrat, and when the proper time came, according to his own best judgment, to abolish slavery by constitutional amendment, he did not hesitate to vote in its favor. At the first session of the thirty-eighth congress but few democrats voted in the affirmative on the thirteenth amendment—John A. Griswold and Moses F. Odell of New York, Joseph Bailey of Pennsylvania, and Ezra Wheeler of Wisconsin, but at the second session, when the final vote was taken, they were joined by thirteen other party associates, namely: Augustus C. Baldwin of Michigan, Alexander H. Coffroth and Archibald McAllister of Pennsylvania, James E. English of Connecticut, John Ganson, Anson Herrick, Homer A. Nelson, William Radford and John B. Steele of New York, Wells A. Hutchins, of Ohio, Austin A. King and James S. Rollins, of Missouri, and George H. Yeaman of Kentucky, and by their help the two-thirds majority was obtained. It is quite significant that, in proportion to numbers, a larger vote was given to the amendment from the border slave states than from the border free states. But what a flood of recollections the repetition of these names, all of which were checked "aye" upon that tally sheet kept at the clerk's desk, and were so recorded upon the final roll call, brings to mind, and now, after thirty-four years, only Mr. Baldwin, among these democratic representatives, is living on this earth! All the rest have gone. Roll calls, like drum beats for departed soldiers, are nothing now to them. In a great crisis they performed their duty and were loyal to liberty and to inalienable human rights. Mr. Baldwin, who thus helped to make for Michigan a clean record on the real issue of the war, was born in Salina, New York, December 24, 1817; received a common school education, and, by the loss of his father when young, was

dependent upon his own efforts for support and to get on in the world. In 1837, in his twentieth year, he came to Michigan and settled in Oakland county; taught school; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1842. In 1844 and 1846, when residing at Milford, Oakland county, he was elected a representative in the state legislature; in 1853-54 was prosecuting attorney for the same county; was a delegate to the Charleston and Baltimore democratic national conventions of 1860; in 1862 was elected a representative to the thirty-eighth congress, and was a delegate to the democratic national convention held in Chicago in 1864. Since then he has served as circuit judge, having been elected to the office by the people among whom he has lived for sixty-two years. He is also an active member of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.

The sixth district was represented by John F. Driggs of East Saginaw. Four words describe his congressional career—"he was a worker," and one of the most efficient workers for constituents that Michigan ever sent to the national house of representatives. He had a way of getting around among members and telling them what was needed for his district that was peculiarly his own. "See Driggs, what is he after now?" would be a not uncommon remark when he was circulating about the house and seeking support or overcoming opposition to some measure of local importance. His was the big district, composed of twenty-eight counties, more than one-third of the state in area, with a coast line extending from the lower part of Lake Huron to the westernmost point of Lake Superior, and he worked persistently and efficiently for the whole of it. At times he would have three or four volunteer clerks helping him on his large correspondence, and when his right hand was afflicted with pen paralysis, he at once learned to write with his left hand. The interests of his district were many and varied, with its long coast line and numerous rivers and harbors, with the looking after land grants for railroads, canals and wagon roads, and he had but little time to devote to national politics. As early as 1866 he advocated an extension of the Northern Pacific railroad from Superior City east to the Straits of Mackinaw, and thence across the straits to Saginaw and Detroit for connection with the eastern lines of communication to the seaboard. Thus he was ever on the alert for better means of communication for the great and growing interests of northern Michigan. He talked over the advantages that would accrue from such a road in affording an outlet for the vast mineral and timber resources of the upper peninsula, as well as to the counties it would traverse in the lower peninsula. His capacity for work, sagacity in obtaining assist-

ance from others by personal effort, and his earnest manner, gained him friends and made him a useful member of congress. As a worker he had no superior. A native of the state of New York, Mr. Driggs was born at Kinderhook, March 8, 1813, received a good common school education, was apprenticed to learn the building trade, and became a master mechanic and builder on his own account in New York city; was a member of the same volunteer fire company with David F. Broderick, afterwards the distinguished United States senator from California, who was killed in a duel with Judge Terry; was superintendent of the New York penitentiary in 1844; removed to Michigan in 1856; was president of Saginaw village in 1858, and in November of that year was elected a representative in the state legislature, serving during the session of 1859; and in 1862 was nominated and elected a representative in congress; was re-elected in 1864 and in 1866, giving him a continuous service of six years. His committee experience was largely as a member of the committee on public lands—the one of his choice, as his district had a larger acreage of the public domain than any other single district, unless a member represented an entire state in the United States. The debater, the speechmaker, is seldom an influential member of congress; that distinction belongs to the worker; and this was the reason why Mr. Driggs was an efficient representative. To the war measures of the government, and to the anti-slavery amendment of the constitution he gave an earnest support.

LINCOLN, THE EMANCIPATOR.

No reference to that crucial period of American history is complete without mentioning Abraham Lincoln. He was the central figure of the civil war and emancipation epoch. True, at the outset, he insisted quite tenaciously upon gradual emancipation with compensation; but the institution of slavery was so firmly rooted in avarice, habit and prejudice, that his policy was impracticable, even in the border slave states. In his annual message to the second session of the thirty-eighth congress, which met December 6, 1864, Mr. Lincoln dwelt on the fact that the presidential campaign of that year had shown that the people were determined to maintain the integrity of the union. No candidate for office, high or low, had ventured to seek for votes on the avowal that he was in favor of surrendering the union of the states. Having advanced, step by step, to the acceptance of the principle of complete emancipation, there he remained firm and steadfast. In the message referred to he said: "I shall not retract or modify the emancipation proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms

of that proclamation. If the people should make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it. In stating a single condition of peace, I mean simply to say that war will cease on the part of the government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it."

There was very little disunion sentiment at the north in 1864, but there were wide differences of opinion as to slavery, and as to the methods that should be adopted to restore unity and peace. Even Michigan voted against negro suffrage. Gen. McClellan, who was nominated on a peace platform as the presidential candidate in opposition to Mr. Lincoln, declared in his letter of acceptance that the union "must be preserved at all hazards." With reference to the declaration that the war had been a failure he said: "I could not look in the face of my gallant comrades of the army and navy who had survived so many bloody battles, and tell them that their labors, and the sacrifice of so many of our slain and wounded brethren, had been in vain; that we had abandoned that union for which we have so often periled our lives."

Union and peace with slavery were impossible. President Lincoln came to see that his cherished policy of gradual emancipation with compensation was out of the question. His two interviews with border state congressmen and the Delaware suggestion proved its utter futility. But with each great emergency, as it came, he rose, though sometimes his movements seemed slow, to the height of the occasion.

> His steps were slow, yet forward still
> He pressed where others paused or failed;
> The calm star clomb with constant will,
> The restless meteor flashed and paled."

The real issue during the four years of bloody civil war was between freedom and slavery. Disguised, glossed over, evaded, as the real issue generally was, the war was waged between free states and slave states, each with a government and with brave armies of its own; and the contest culminated in the adoption of the thirteenth amendment and the abolition of slavery. The imperfect ideas that prevailed in the confederacy, as to the incompatibility between freedom and slavery, appear in "An address to the Christians throughout the world," issued at Richmond, Virginia, April 23, 1863, and signed by ninety-six clergymen of all denominations. It shows that men believe according to habit and environment. Among other things they said that "the recent proclamation of the President of the United States seeking the emancipation of the slaves of the south is, in our judgment, a suitable occasion for solemn protest on the part of the people of God throughout the world." This

shows that slavery was entrenched in religion as well as by law, politics and avarice. This shows how utterly slavery had debauched religious sentiment, as well as politics. It was stronger in the minds of clergymen than was the golden rule—the same as are many of the customs and covenances of society today. It was for years the pivot upon which political action turned. Do you wonder that our country is the only one in the world in which, during the latter part of this century, slavery was so inwoven into thought and act that it could be rooted out in no other way than by war? But it had to go. Without emancipation the war would have been a failure, even if peace with slavery had been conquered.

With increasing calmness, as the years go by, we can contemplate the great issue and grand result of the civil war. A generation has passed since it ended. The nation has grown from 31,000,000 to 75,000,000 people. How many of the 31,000,000 in 1860 are now living here on earth? To most of our people the civil war is only a matter of history. They see some of its aged veterans, and that is all. To whom are we indebted, more than to any other one man, for emancipation? To Abraham Lincoln. Both the preliminary proclamation of September, 1862, and the final proclamation of January 1, 1863, are in his handwriting. He drafted the first one without consulting his cabinet or any member of it, and then laid it aside until, he thought, the time for issuing it had come. He had higher counsel than that of any earthly cabinet. But with a calm reliance upon spiritual advice, he looked with native shrewdness after the human side of affairs, and so was well equipped for the great emergency.

Senator Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, who was chairman of the republican national convention at Baltimore in June, 1864, in his speech on that occasion proposed an endorsement of the pending constitutional amendment to abolish slavery. "It was I," remarked Mr. Lincoln to the editor of the New York Independent, "who suggested to Mr. Morgan that he should put that idea into his speech." William Lloyd Garrison said at a public meeting in Music Hall, Boston, February 4, 1865: "And to whom is the country more immediately indebted for this vital and saving amendment of the constitution than, perhaps, to any other man? I believe I may confidently answer—to the humble railsplitter of Illinois —to the presidential chainbreaker for millions of the oppressed—to Abraham Lincoln."

President Lincoln's cabinet was composed of able men—William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, Edwin M. Stanton, Edward Bates, Mont-

gomery Blair, Gideon Welles, and John P. Usher. Each member was well fitted for the position he occupied, yet Abraham Lincoln, the man of the people, educated in the school of experience, was the central figure of that crucial epoch. Higher help he had, yet he was the helmsman who guided the ship of state over the wild waves of rebellion to the haven of emancipation and peace. He was uniquely American. Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln left more sayings that will be authoritatively quoted and treasured, so long as men hate imperialism and love personal liberty, than all the rest of our presidents. Of the people in the truest and most literal sense, he had lived their lives and thought their thoughts, and was never educated away from them. He was the president of the plain people. God grant that from the domination and slavery of trusts we may soon find another emancipator.

Great and true men—leaders of the right—are the choicest gifts of the ages. They are rare. They come in critical emergencies to lift humanity to a higher plane. Sometimes the world waits a long time for them—waits until "the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint." It was our good fortune that Lincoln was at the helm in a terrible crisis. One less patient and courageous might have failed us; one less shrewd and kind-hearted might have injured us. Not another like him. His private life, his personal character, his homely personality and beautiful individuality, his public career, his transparent honesty, his quaint humor and shrewd common sense, his sympathy with sorrow and suffering, his "malice toward none and charity for all," together with his trust in spiritual guidance, constituted a combination of gifts and qualities seldom incarnated in a single personality. Especially did he love the expansive prairies, the rural village and hamlet, and the plain ways of plain people. He was simple and natural. No party animosity alienated men's hearts from him. The people liked him far better than did the politicians. And when, as the martyr president, his body was borne to its last resting place, political differences were forgotten, and it was laid with tears and tenderness of a whole people in the tomb. The conquered south lost its best friend and the victorious north its wisest leader when he died.

He was a rare man thus to have won all hearts—rare in his social qualities, in his individual character, in his homely ways, in his tender sympathy, in his intuitive perception, in his sense of responsibility, in his intellectual sagacity—a man of keen perception, instinctive insight, knowledge of human nature, quaint and eloquent speech. Do we honor him with the full measure of fame that history will award him? That

cannot be. The passions and prejudices of a great conflict, embittered by sectional and partisan interests and feeling, while happily growing weaker with the lapse of time, yet linger to some extent throughout the land. Lincoln—like other great presidents, Washington, Jefferson and Jackson—was of southern parentage, yet none the less devoted to union and liberty. Once I heard Leutze, the artist, near the close of his earthly career, say that he would like to paint one more picture—"The world's great emancipators." On being asked who he had in mind he replied: "Moses, Jesus, Toussaint L'Overture, Alexander II, and Lincoln." What a combination of names—a galaxy of immortals! Emancipators, representing the Semitic, the African, the Anglo-Saxon and the Sclavic races, who occupy this high honor because their names are associated with successful efforts to liberate mankind from bondage—to better the condition of millions of the oppressed.

The men who were so grandly conspicuous in our tremendous battle with slavery—and Lincoln the grandest of all—are not yet seen in full clearness and proportion, as we are too near the great events in which they bore a prominent part. Looking at a mountain near by we see its brushwood, but farther away we behold a grand outline as it looms against the eternal sky. The names of the leading actors in our civil war are immortal because of the extraordinary and imperishable nature of the events with which they are associated. In the revealing light of history, when paltry ambitions are forgotten, and the brushwood has disappeared, they will be greatened by the exceptional and permanent character of the events in which they were conspicuous. Other freedoms are yet to be gained, by peaceful evolution or bloody revolution—the greatest freedom of opportunity for all to every God given privilege—still these men will not be forgotten. When that better day shall come, as come it must, among those who have been leaders in movements to lift humanity to a higher dignity, to give men greater freedom of opportunity, and to weld them into a closer brotherhood—even though they builded better than they knew—and who have taught future generations the inspiring lesson of loyalty to principle, to equal rights, to complete freedom, to humanity, and to God, high over all the men of his time, in the loftiness of his full historic stature, will be read in letters of living light the name of the sixteenth President of the United States—Abraham Lincoln.

And now, as much as in the past, his teachings are needed; for there are other and subtler forms of slavery. We live in a time when the declaration of independence is both ignored and derided in the land of

its birth. More than forty-one years ago, speaking of the fathers of the republic, Mr. Lincoln said: "They erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these self-evident truths, that when in the distant future, some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men, were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the declaration of independence, and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth and justice and mercy, and all the humane and Christian virtues, might not be extinguished from the land, so that no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles upon which the temple of liberty was being built."

The spirit of inspiration and prescience of prophecy are in these words, for, already, the declaration of independence is condemned in this country as a barren ideality. Lincoln never faltered when in power to maintain the principles he upheld as a private citizen. He is a living presence in the hearts of those who would give to others the same rights they claim for themselves. So he is not dead. His was an exalted career; his work of emancipation was finished; the turmoil of reconstruction he escaped; nothing could have added to his fame; and there is no reason why we should mourn his departure.

"Not for him—who, departing, left millions in tears!
Not for him—who has died full of honors and years!
Not for him—who ascended fame's ladder so high
From the round at the top he has stepped to the sky."

LOG CABIN TIMES AND LOG CABIN PEOPLE.

BY GEN. B. M. CUTCHEON.

(Delivered before the Lenawee County Pioneer Society, at Adrian, September 23, 1898.)

Mr. President and Members of the Lenawee County Pioneer and Historical Society:

The occasion upon which you meet today is, so far as I am aware, entirely unique. The dedication of a log cabin, from materials contributed by the descendants of the pioneers of this county, and in honor of their memory, is a tribute most appropriate and striking. The part which I have been invited to perform should have fallen to some one of the many able and eloquent men who have had their birth and residence in Lenawee county, and who could tell us from actual experience of the log cabins in which the stalwart men and women of this county were born and nurtured. They could have spoken at first hand and with authority of "log cabin times and log cabin people" in southeastern Michigan.

I can make no pretension to any such distinction. I see from your articles of association that a residence in the county of 25 years is requisite to membership. Perhaps I might claim a sort of brevet membership under that article.

Forty-four years ago last spring I spent a week or ten days in Adrian, and still have a vivid remembrance of many features of the young city of that day. I cannot claim that I "gained a residence" at that time; but five years later, in the autumn of 1859, I became the principal of the "Oak Grove academy" at Medina in this county, succeeding Oliver L. Spaulding, now assistant secretary of the treasury, but then a young graduate of Oberlin, I believe. His family lived in that vicinity, and his brother was one of my pupils. I think it is not improbable that some of my pupils of 1859-60 may be here today.

I think that at that time I gained a "lawful residence" in Lenawee county, and may claim to be a pioneer educator, as that was forty years ago.

Nor can I claim to be a pioneer of Michigan, in the sense that I endured any of the hardships of an early settler. I came to the state to settle finally in February, 1854, and have since been a part of it, participating in its fortunes, in peace and in war, and contributing according to

my ability to its material, intellectual and moral growth. In that sense I am a pioneer. But we speak of sons and "sons-in-law," that is, sons by marriage, and I can say unequivocally that I am a "pioneer in law." The "better half" of me was born in a log cabin in the town of Lima, Washtenaw county, before the beginning of the year 1840, and was reared in all the surroundings of a new settlement in a new state.

My wife's father, Horace Warner, who passed away in my home 22 years ago, came from Shoreham, Vermont, in 1832, and landed in Detroit. I have heard him tell how it took him nearly a week, conveying his family and household goods with an ox team, to make his way over the trail by way of Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor to the site of the village of Dexter, and so out to his 160 acre tract, about three miles southwest of that village. Now the same distance is made in the palace cars of the New York Central and Michigan Central "North Shore Limited" train in about one hour, with all the ease, comfort and luxury of sitting in the most comfortable parlor, and with all the conveniences of a first-class hotel. This statement alone will perhaps sufficiently measure the distance we have progressed since 1832.

Fortunate are the builders of states. It is their privilege to stand at the sources of history and to shape the nascent commonwealth. They give tone and direction to the civilization of a new community, destined to become great and enduring. They make the mould into which the plastic material of future development is poured; and, as the boy is father to the man, so the pioneer community is father to the coming state. They open the clearings, build the first rude highways to connect them, span the streams to make them passable, organize and name the counties, lay off the townships, plat the villages, and provide the means and appliances of education. All unconscious, for the most part, of the great public work they are doing, it seems to them at the time that in a very narrow and contracted sphere, hemmed in by forests, cut off from contact with the outer world, they are carrying on a desperate hand-to-hand struggle for the existence of themselves and their children.

The life is a hard one, and while it tends to develop courage, independence, persistence in overcoming obstacles, and a strong and vigorous manhood and womanhood, yet it is cut off from nearly all the means and sources of what we call "culture" and of associated effort in moral and religious training. Yet the years go by; the clearings become larger until they touch each other; the forest trail becomes an improved highway; the little log school house is abandoned for the well built brick

or frame graded school or high school; villages, towns and cities spring up; railroads come; great enterprises are founded and fostered; and then we look back and see that the hardy pioneers were, in truth and in fact, laying the foundations of a great state, and are deserving of the name of "state builders."

The term "pioneer" is a relative and not an absolute term. We are all in a certain sense pioneers. Each is a pioneer to those who come after him. Log cabin times and log cabin people are always present in some portion of the country.

If we could take a birds-eye historic view of this country, we would see how the log cabin came with the pilgrim fathers to Plymouth Bay in 1620; how those cabins fringed the shores of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Virginia; how they lingered along on that eastern shore, and, after a hundred years, had scarcely penetrated far into the interior; how the log cabin and the log cabin people have steadily advanced across the continent, driving out before them the savage tribes, subduing the stubborn forests, battling with inhospitable climates and dreaded disease, until at last they have swept like a vast wave from one ocean to the other, leaving behind them a redeemed continent, great and prosperous states, splendid cities, and a freedom and civilization unequalled in the history of the world.

It is a mistake to think of the log cabin and log cabin people as a thing of the past. It is merely a question of locality. When I went into northern Michigan, a little more than thirty years ago, that region was in the log cabin stage. The splendid counties of Oceana, Mason, Manistee, Benzie, Grand Traverse and Leelanau were then just settling up with homesteaders, very largely the discharged veterans of the war, and though with vast advantages over the pioneers who settled Monroe, Lenawee and Hillsdale, arising from a closer contact with civilization and a more perfectly organized state of society, yet they were carrying on the same struggle with nature, clearing the dense forests, opening trails through the trackless wilderness, building little log school houses for the children of the scattered settlers, blazing the way for permanent roads to be built long after—in one word, converting a wilderness into a rich and prosperous community.

Today some of these same counties are the garden spots of Michigan, and their luxuriant orchards are bending under their loads of luscious fruits that can scarcely be equalled in the world. So true is it that the poet has said:

"We climb on stepping stones of our dead selves to nobler things."

It is not my purpose in this address to attempt to give any history of the early settlement of this county, nor yet of the individual pioneers who settled it. That has already been done so much better than I could do it, by some of your own citizens before your county pioneer society and the State Pioneer Association, that it would be both unnecessary and unseemly. But it is difficult to separate the history of a community from the history of the state of which it forms a part; and in order to get the proper setting for our log cabin times in southern Michigan, we should take a glance at the history of the settlement of Michigan.

It hardly needs to be said that until after the war of the revolution Michigan was a remote wilderness, lying beyond the boundaries of civilization, with a French fur-trading post at Detroit and a fringe of settlements along the Detroit river. In 1787, the same year that the constitution was framed, the northwest territory was organized, embracing all that vast region north of the Ohio and west of Pennsylvania to the Mississippi river. The peace of 1783, which recognized the independence of the United States, conceded this territory to the new nation, and by the ordinance of 1787 congress proceeded to extend its jurisdiction and laws over it, thus commencing that career of territorial expansion which has carried us to the Pacific ocean and to the Arctic sea, and which is still progressing.

But Great Britain still retained the possession of the northwestern posts; and, as a matter of fact, though not of right, Detroit, and appurtenant thereto, Michigan, remained under the British flag until July 11, 1796—only little more than one hundred years ago, when, in accordance with Jay's treaty, the British garrison was withdrawn and the flag of the United States raised upon Michigan soil. Until 1763, when it passed from French to British control, such white population as there was in Michigan was wholly French, and consisted of Jesuit missionaries, fur traders and hunters and a few soldiers.

When the English hauled down their flag in 1796 this population had been but little changed. French soldiers had given place to English, and French fur traders had been in a measure supplanted by Scotch and some Irish.

In 1800 Ohio was set off as a territory and Michigan became a part of the territory of Indiana, under the governorship of William Henry Harrison, and so remained until June 30, 1805, when the territory of Michigan was set off by that name.

Michigan proper then consisted of all the territory west of Lake

Huron and the Detroit river and embraced between lines drawn due east from the southern extreme of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie and from the same point through the center of Lake Michigan to its northern extremity and thence due north to the national boundary.

It is a singular reversal of the usual order of things that instead of Wayne county being organized out of the state or territory of Michigan, the territory and ultimately the state of Michigan was organized out of the county of Wayne.

On the 15th day of July, 1796, immediately after the surrender of the northwest posts, General St. Clair, then governor of the northwest territory, issued his proclamation by which he organized the county of Wayne, and which included the northwest part of Ohio, the northeast part of Indiana and the whole of Michigan, then embracing a part of Wisconsin, and annexed the same by a mere executive act to the United states territory northwest of the Ohio. (Territorial laws p. x.)

On the 4th of July, 1805, Governor William Hull and the judges sitting at Detroit duly organized the territory of Michigan, in accordance with the act of congress, out of what is properly known as Michigan together with that part of Wisconsin (or Ouisconsin) then appurtenant thereto.

It is a curious thing to think of Lenawee county as extending to the Mississippi river, and yet such was the case when it was set off in 1822. After Wayne county was first proclaimed in 1796, embracing all of Michigan and parts of three other states, it remained the only county in the state until 1813, and was finally re-established by order of Governor Cass in November of that year.

Monroe county came next in 1817, also by order of Governor Cass, and was followed the next year, 1818, by the counties of Mackinac and Macomb by the same authority; by Oakland in 1819, by St. Clair in 1820 and by Lenawee (from Monroe), Saginaw, Sanilac and Shiawassee (from Oakland) and Washtenaw from Wayne in 1822.

When Monroe was set off from Wayne in 1817 it extended to the western limits of Wisconsin on the Mississippi, and when Lenawee was created in 1822 from Monroe it took the same western boundary.

I had occasion some years ago, to study some of the ancient maps of Michigan in the congressional library at Washington, and I found that according to Farmer's "Map of Michigan and Ouisconsin," printed as late as 1830, the county of Michilimacinac extended from St. Mary's river westward to the Mississippi river north of St. Paul, while the county of Chippewa included all that remained between Michilimacinac county and Lake Superior westward to the Mississippi. On this same

map the county of Shiawassee extends northwest to Lake Michigan at a point north of the mouth of the Manistee river, and the township of Michilimacinac embraces all of the lower peninsula from the north line of Saginaw county to the Straits of Mackinaw.

It is doubtless known to many who hear me today that until October 29, 1829, all that territory lying westward of Lenawee, and now constituting the counties of Hillsdale, Branch, St. Joseph, Cass and Berrien, was attached to Lenawee county for judicial and taxation purposes as the township of St. Joseph.

By act of the legislative council, bearing date October 29, 1829, this territory was divided up into the counties above named, with substantially the same boundaries which they still retain. (See territorial laws.) It will appear from the foregoing that the county of Lenawee was originally a princely domain, extending pretty nearly "from the rivers unto the ends of the earth."

The laying off of the county in 1822 was by the proclamation of Governor Cass, and was an executive act only. It was on December 22, 1826, that the county was duly organized by the legislative council. It is not my purpose to further follow the political and organic development of the state or county, but rather to deal with social and industrial conditions.

We dedicate this log cabin today, because it is a type of an era and of a stage of civilization. There was nothing essentially different in the people of the log cabin times and the people of today. They were of the same stock—or rather they were of a purer and stronger stock—and they were animated by the same motives, impulses and aspirations as their descendants.

When Lenawee county was organized in 1826 the people of that day were only a decade further from the close of the revolutionary war than we are today from the close of the rebellion. Many of the men and women who came to settle southeastern Michigan were the children of revolutionary sires, and filled with the traditions and spirit of that great epoch. The emigrants who came from New England and from New York brought with them the moral and religious ideas and training of those older communities, and the same views of education and progress for their children.

The tide of immigration from Europe had not yet set in, and these log cabin people who first came into the wilderness of Lenawee were as a rule true Americans in bone and sinew, in brain and heart. The railroad had not yet made its advent, and the steamboat was in its infancy.

One could not then take an express train at Albany, or at some New England town, and be whirled along at forty or forty-five miles an hour and the next morning be set down in Monroe or Adrian. It was an undertaking that required courage, firmness and constancy to leave the old and comparatively populous east and make a new home in this then almost unbroken wilderness.

In 1820 the entire white population of the territory of Michigan was but 8,591, of which number 1,415 were inhabitants of the town of Detroit.

But a change was at hand. In 1825 the Erie canal,—also called "Clinton's ditch," was completed, and about the same time the steamboat made its appearance upon Lake Erie, and in consequence the settlement of the beautiful peninsula felt a great impulse. A steady stream of the best blood of New England and New York was pouring itself into this land of promise, so that by 1830 the census showed a white population of 31,639, and men began to talk of statehood for the new commonwealth.

It would be interesting if at this epoch one could take a birds-eye view of this lower peninsula. Let us suppose that one could have been elevated in a balloon or otherwise ten thousand feet above the spot where the capital now stands at Lansing, and with a glass sufficiently strong could take a view of the entire peninsula. He would look down on an almost unbroken forest area. He would see one of the most beautiful lands upon which the sun shone, girdled with magnificent lakes (Michigan, Huron, St. Clair and Erie), connected by the Straits of Mackinaw and the rivers St. Clair and Detroit. In the southeast he would see the Huron and the Raisin flowing toward Lake Erie through a rich agricultural region. Further north he would see the Flint and the Shiawassee, with more or less of pine along their banks, flowing toward Saginaw bay, while still further north would come into view the Saginaw, the Au Sable and the Thunder bay rivers, bordered by some of the finest pine forests in the world, making their way to the waters of Lake Huron. On the west side of the state he would see the St. Joseph, the Kalamazoo, the Grand, the Muskegon and the Manistee, not to name a dozen smaller streams, their banks covered with uncounted millions of the dark evergreen pine,—a perfect mine of wealth—all flowing westward to Lake Michigan, only to sweep around the state and join the waters of the Huron and the Raisin as they enter Lake Erie upon the east.

In the southwestern part of the state he would see many small prairies and numerous "oak openings;" yet, stated in general terms, the entire state was covered with a noble forest.

Here the pioneer was to make his home, and here pursue his fortune. To bring lumber with him was impossible. Mills of any kind were remote and few—so remote as to make them of no practical value to him. Yet a home must be made out of the materials at hand. The forest itself was his only resource. The log cabin was a necessity; but the first thing was to reach his location. Having landed at Detroit or at Monroe or Toledo, the next thing was to find a trail that would conduct him as near as possible to his future home. Having reached the end of the trail which had been traveled before, then commenced the patient labor of cutting a path into the unbroken wilderness. Having "blazed the way" in advance, this work is begun. A few miles a day is the most that can be gained. Sometimes the forest is open and the ground firm, but then again it is soft and yielding and filled with undergrowth. At last the site of the home is reached; the covered wagon may serve as a sleeping place at first, or a "bough house" may be built from hemlock or cedar boughs, or in default of these of such materials as may be at hand.

Now comes the problem of a permanent abode. The spot is selected near a spring or spring brook if possible. Trees of nearly uniform size and straight bodies are selected and fallen and prepared for the walls. If there are neighbors within a few miles they are invited to assist in rolling them up and laying them in place. If not, then the ox team and the logging chain must supplement the strength of the men. The walls rise until they reach the necessary height. Then with "shooks" split out from the trunks of trees laid upon poles the roof is put on. A chimney is laid with other shooks laid in and coated with clay. The fireplace may be of stone. The chances are that brick will be unattainable. Happy is the pioneer if he have brought with him three or four single sash windows; otherwise white cotton cloth must serve to admit light and keep out the weather. The cracks between the logs are stopped with wedge-shaped chinks and plastered with clay. A rude floor is laid of thick split and hewn planks or puncheons, a crane is hung in the chimney, for in the days of which I write cook stoves were not brought by pioneers.

And now the cabin is ready to occupy. The simple and scant furniture is moved in. A "lean-to" has been built for a woodshed and wash-room, perhaps for a kitchen. If there is a "loft," as there probably will be, it will be reached by a ladder or by long pegs driven in the logs which constitute the end of the cabin. The single room is probably divided by hanging up quilts or sheets.

In this cabin the pioneer and his wife and children set up that sacred thing which we call home. Here is his altar, here his fireside; here he

and his helpmate are to toil, here to struggle with poverty, sickness and death, until some day the victory is won and their dream of comfort is realized. And it would be strange indeed if, under these conditions, sickness and death did not come into this primitive cabin, with its hardship and imperfect protection, long before the victory was gained.

Let us think of some of the conditions of the life of these log cabin people. For the first season they must bring their provisions with them. By and by, the flour in the barrel or the meal in the box runs low. It may be ten miles to the nearest store and twice that distance to the nearest mill. Wearily the pioneer makes his way on horseback to the mill, only to find, perhaps, that it is shut down or that it has neither flour nor meal. Another long journey is necessitated. The story is told of one of the pioneers of this county who traveled thus a hundred miles a get a grist ground.

Perhaps the fire on the hearth went out, though this would not ordinarily be permitted, for the coals were carefully covered at night to be ready for the kindling of next morning's fire—but suppose it did go out. You could not then buy a dozen boxes of good matches for twenty-five cents; in fact, you could not buy them at all, and recourse must be had to the flint lock and the tinder box to start a new blaze; or if that failed, a journey must be made to some neighbors, perhaps miles away.

A child is taken sick, the chills and fever has taken hold of its frail form, or some more dreaded malady as croup or dysentery. There is no such thing as telegraphing or telephoning to town for a doctor; the telegraph and telephone have not yet come, and there is no town to which to telegraph and perhaps no doctor within ten or a dozen miles.

Death comes into the cabin. The little one has passed away or the faithful wife has yielded to the touch of disease.

There is no church near, no clergyman to be easily summoned to attend the burial service, no rosewood or broadcloth covered casket to receive the loved body. A plainly made coffin of pine, put together by some carpenter who can be reached, is the best that the wilderness affords.

But we must turn from this sad and hard side of the picture. The life of the log cabin was not all hard, and was not all sad. I presume there are many pioneers still living who look back to the log cabin times as the happiest of their lives.

They came into the new west in the days of young manhood, strong, healthy and vigorous. With them they brought the woman of their choice and love. Their lot was cast in pleasant places in the beautiful

valley of the Raisin river. Roads had been built by those who came before them; the saw mill and grist mill of Wing, Evans & Brown was already in operation at Tecumseh. Friendly neighbors had already preceded them, and a goodly neighborhood was already established. The mails brought letters and papers to the postoffice which could be visited once a week. Some good and skilful woman nurse well supplied the place of the diplomaed and titled doctor of later days. Good neighbors and sometimes relatives came to the "logging bee," the clearing was quickly made, and the cabin rose almost in a day. By the coming of the first winter a considerable clearing had been made, buildings completed for man and beast, and everything prepared for a sufficiency of crops the second year. A log school house had been built, and a son or daughter of one of the settlers secured for a teacher, and the greatest of American institutions, "the district school," was doing its work.

The years went quickly by; the household grew. The older boys increased in stature and in helpfulness. An addition becomes necessary to the old log cabin. The forest has become a farm. Fields are rich with golden corn and waving grain. The roads are improved, neighbors draw nearer together, social life increases. The husking bee and the spelling school draw the young people into pleasant association. Nature has her way, and "soft eyes look love to eyes that speak again," and weddings ensue. Now the pioneers begin to see their sons and daughters settling near them, and a new generation springing up around them.

And behold they are no longer pioneers; they have "moved up out of the old house and into the new," and frame and brick dwellings of some pretensions have taken the place of the once humble log cabin. I have no doubt that some of them afterward longed for the plain simplicity and solid comfort of the old log cabin, for though rude it had its comforts. The wide open fireplace with its blazing fire of logs, made a family center and a place for evening amusements for the boys and girls which those who gather about registers in carpeted floors know nothing about. The family was kept together much more than nowadays when each member has his or her room to which they can retire.

It is quite needless, I suppose, for me to say that in this account of log cabin people I do not refer at all to the French settlements along the Detroit and St. Clair rivers, in the counties of Monroe, Wayne and Macomb, nor to a period prior to the year 1824, when the actual settlement of Lenawee county began. The picture I have drawn would apply to the period from 1824 to 1844, and to the interior of the state removed from French influence.

Your former distinguished citizen, Judge Thomas M. Cooley, has put into a few words his estimate of the condition of the Michigan settlers at the period of the admission of the state into the union in 1837. He says on page 240 of his history of Michigan:

"It was a hard life which the pioneer farmers of Michigan had come to lead. A rude log cabin for a home, and the bare necessitites of life for their families contented them while they were clearing their lands; and the lessons of industry and economy would have been forced upon them by the situation, even if they had not learned them before, as most of them had. When the cheapness of land is taken into account, their farms must be deemed small, averaging perhaps a hundred and twenty acres; and hard labor and the chills and fever incident to the clearing of a new country gave them sallow complexions, and made them prematurely old. But in coming to Michigan they had calculated not so much upon their own immediate advantage as upon giving their children an opportunity to grow up with the country; and they accomplished all that they had counted upon if they could see that year by year their possessions increased in value, and could rely with confidence upon giving their children the rudiments of an education and a fair start in the world, and on being independent in their circumstances in their old age."

Such, I have no doubt, is a correct outline sketch of the lives and the motives of the early pioneers of this county, with many, if not most of whom Judge Cooley must have been acquainted.

But what was the effect of this life upon the characters of the men and the women who passed through it?

It can be safely asserted that in those early log cabin days there was little time for reading and slender means for culture of the mind. The daily paper was then wholly unknown in Michigan, and weekly newspapers were few and far between. Education was rudimentary and mostly confined to the district school, except that now and then a man who had brought considerable means with him from the east was able to send his children back to New York or New England to be schooled. Churches were few and limited to the larger villages, and the Sunday school was pretty nearly unknown during the period of which I speak. But the material of the population was good; they were like their log cabins, rough but strong and reliable.

Their struggle with the hardships of the frontier brought out many of the traits of a strong and energetic manhood. In the battle for existence they did not lose the spirit of patriotism, and when the call for volunteers came in the Black Hawk war of 1832 these men of the frontier

sprang to arms, as the men of Michigan have always done at their country's call. That they had correct ideas of the importance of education is well shown by the early establishment of the free school system, one of the best in the world, and the laying of the foundation of the great university, coeval with the birth of the state.

Out of the log cabins of Michigan have come some of the noblest men and some of the sweetest and loveliest women who have blessed the world.

It was the men, born between the years 1830 and 1840, as a rule, and many of them born in log cabins, who patriotically and gloriously carried the flag of the country from 1861 to 1865.

Such men were Woodbury of the 4th, who fell at Malvern Hill, Comstock of the 17th, who was mortally wounded close by me at Knoxville, W. Huntington Smith, who was shot through the brain at my very side at Campbell station, Captain Vreeland who died gloriously at Spottsylvania, and De Golyer who perished from wounds received at Vicksburg. And time would fail me were I to attempt to speak of all who survived the war, and yet who deserve to be kept in everlasting remembrance; of Humphrey of the 2d, the ever gallant under whom I marched in east Tennessee and in front of Petersburg; and Watts, who rose from a private in the old 1st to be captain and brevet-lieutenant colonel in the 17th for gallant and distinguished service; and Horner and Miller who were my college mates at the university; or Daniels, of the old 2d, who was wounded on the bloody 30th of July, 1864, at Petersburg. All these, and many more deserving mention, bore the commissions of the state. But these were personally known to me.

But more than all this, out of these same log cabins came many of the sons of old Lenawee who carried the muskets and marched in the rank and file. Surely it is no bad starting place which breeds such heroes as these.

And out of these same log cabins also have come the lawyers and the jurists, the teachers and the men of science, the ministers of the gospel and the educators of the press, the prosperous business men and the sterling farmers who have given Lenawee a place among the foremost counties of this splendid and progressive commonwealth.

My friends, the day of the log cabin has passed away; though now and then a sample, decrepit and decayed, remains to remind us of the former generation to whom we owe so much.

But I am of the opinion that it is a good thing once in a while to revert to those earlier days, and to the hardships which were endured

in the founding of this commonwealth, as an antidote for the discontent and the complainings of today. We have heard a vast amount within the past few years of the hard times among the farmers of Michigan.

As I have passed through your county from time to time since I taught in the old Medina academy, almost forty years ago, I have noted your fine roads, the spreading farms, the tasteful and luxurious farm-houses, the splendid school buildings, the interlacing railroads, the frequent cities and villages, the abundant supply of all the necessities of life, the ever present provision for the physical, mental, moral and religious training of the young, the multitudinous newspapers and magazines which find their way into almost every home, the improved farm implements for planting, cultivating, reaping, raking and binding, the fine stock of every kind, horses, cattle and sheep,—the easy riding carriages, fit for a prince, and all the other comforts and luxuries of modern civilization; and then I contrast all this with the log cabin times of sixty years ago, and I ask myself, "do these men who whine and complain realize that they are living in the greatest age of the world and in one of the fairest parts of the grandest country upon which God's sun shines, and are reaping the fruits of the hardships and sacrifices of the pioneers?"

You do well, my friends, to erect this reminder of the former days and to call to mind the heroic men and women who here battled with the savage forest, and perhaps with savage beasts, in order to lay here the firm foundations of the stable society which you now enjoy.

It is for this that your pioneer and historical society is organized; to gather into a common reservoir and preserve the materials of history, and to hand down to the future the authentic accounts of the redemption of this part of the state from its original wild condition, and the memoirs of the men and women who laid here the foundations of our present greatness and prosperity. There still linger among us a few of the very early pioneers, and many who came in before the state was admitted to the union, almost sixty-two years ago. But they cannot long be with us, and the society should be diligent while they remain in putting in permanent and imperishable form the annals of the opening up and settlement of Lenawee county.

It has been my good fortune to personally know some of your public men, and to be more or less associated with them. I had the honor to know John J. Adam, whose sketch of the early settlement of the county I have perused with deep interest, and in preparing which he rendered a great service to this community. I was regent of the University of

Michigan when he personally presented to it his diploma from Glasgow university; also a small Greek volume which he informed us he received as a prize as a member of the same Greek class with William E. Gladstone, the greatest Englishman of this century.

With Thomas M. Cooley I became acquainted just forty years ago. In the law school and in the supreme court I formed a regard for his learning and for his clear logical mind that amounted almost to veneration. For the six years that I was on the board of regents I was associated with Judge Cooley, who was then dean of the law school. His recent decease induces me to add here a word of my judgment of the value of his services to the state and to the nation at large. I believe that it is the common opinion of the bench and bar of Michigan that Judge Cooley was the greatest exponent of the law that our commonwealth has ever possessed. While he was not a native of this state, yet he was not twenty years old when he came to this county from New York. It was here that he studied his profession and was admitted to the bar. Here he commenced practice, and held numerous minor offices. From here forty-one years ago he was called into the service of the state as compiler of the laws of 1857. The next year he was appointed reporter of the supreme court, and in 1859 went to Ann Arbor as professor of law in the newly established law school, and in 1864 he began that remarkable career upon the supreme bench, which gave him a reputation as wide as the nation. Many of his opinions are lasting monuments of close study, tireless industry and vigorous intellect. This work he continued for a period of twenty-one years, during which time he was also lecturer at the law school and dean of the faculty, and at the same time he was writing works which might well have engrossed the entire time and ability of a more than ordinarily able man.

It was his study in connection with the famous "Salem case," which was a turning point in the history of our state, that probably suggested to him to write his work on the law of taxation.

But his first great work, the one on constitutional limitations, is doubtless the one on which his fame chiefly rests as a law writer, and which gave him a fame that is more than national. Not alone in the north, but in the south as well, was Judge Cooley known and honored. About fifteen years since he delivered an address before the state bar association of South Carolina, and a banquet was given in his honor. I have heard members of congress from South Carolina, who were also distinguished lawyers, speak in the very highest terms of Judge Cooley, and wish that he might sit upon the supreme bench of the United States.

He was an intense worker, his application was wonderful, and the number of hours a day he habitually worked was something extraordinary. He once said to me, when he was on the interstate commerce commission, that for twenty years he had not averaged five hours sleep out of the twenty-four. This alone would account for his final breakdown.

"Though dead he yet speaketh." He speaks daily and almost hourly in every court in this state. He speaks in the lives of the thousands of men who have passed under his instruction in the university. He speaks through millions of people whose views of law and of constitutional limitations have been largely shaped by his writings.

When these writings are all collected it will be found that he has published more voluminously than any other man whom our state has developed.

Judge Cooley was essentially a conservative. In his earlier years he was a Jeffersonian democrat, and the opinions then formed in regard to the nature of the federal constitution, and the relations of the states to the union, were not changed, but rather strengthened by the great events of the war and the constitutional amendments. No one can read the final chapter of his history of Michigan without being convinced that he still retained his early convictions of the value of local self-government and the great evils of too much centralization in our form of government.

It will be a lasting honor to the county of Lenawee that such a man was developed as one of its early citizens.

There is one other name associated with Adrian and Lenawee county of which I desire to speak, and that is the name of Colonel W. Huntington Smith. From the month of July, 1862, to the day of his death, November 16, 1863, we were daily associated as officers of the 20th Michigan Infantry. At the time that regiment was recruited he was deputy auditor general of his state, Langdon G. Berry being the auditor general. Colonel Smith enlisted in Company A, of that regiment and was its first captain. When the regiment was mustered into the United States service he became its major and I its senior captain. Soon after we reached the front Major Smith became lieutenant colonel and I was promoted to his former rank.

During his connection with the regiment we passed through the campaigns of Virginia of 1862, Kentucky 1863, and the Mississippi campaign of Vicksburg and Jackson and a large part of the campaign of east Tennessee. From March, 1863, to his death he was in command of the regiment almost continuously.

Colonel Smith was a man of sterling qualities and a soldier above reproach. On the field he knew no fear, but discharged every duty unfalteringly, and in the camp he commanded the respect and obedience of his regiment. It was at the battle of Campbell Station, east Tennessee, that while steadying his men with the utmost coolness his brain was pierced by the bullet of a rebel sharpshooter, and without a pang or a groan he fell from his saddle into my arms dead in an instant of time. Here in his old home I wish to bear witness to his gallantry as a soldier and his high character as a patriot.

But it is long since time that I should close this address lest I alto gether weary your patience.

Here and now we dedicate this cabin, built in memory of the stalwart men and women who have made it an honored type of the virtues which they exemplified,—courage, constancy, industry and frugality. Long may it stand to remind you and the rising generation of the struggle, the sacrifice and the final triumph of the "log cabin people," and the heroism of "log cabin times."

THE PAST AND PRESENT.

(Address delivered at the annual meeting of the Eaton County Pioneer Society in Charlotte, June, 1895.)

BY EDWARD W. BARBER.

[By request of the Committee of Historians, a copy of the above mentioned address, which was printed in the Charlotte papers the next week after its delivery, has been furnished for publication and preservation in the Collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. The meeting that year was one of the largest ever held. Henry J. Martin, of Vermontville, was president; Mrs. Emma Shepherd, of Charlotte, secretary, and Mrs. Warren Davis, of Carmel, treasurer.]

Mr. President, Members of the Eaton County Pioneer Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Everything is changed. Ox yokes, and ox "gads," axes, axe-helves, beetles and wedges for rail splitting, hand-spikes for log rolling, harrows made from the crotches of trees, sap-troughs and neck-yokes have disappeared as implements of husbandry in Eaton county. Log houses with shake roofing and split flooring, a vast improvement on the bark wigwams of the native Indians, are of the past. There is more civilization, and with it, bolts and bars, locks and keys, vices and crimes, than when the buckskin string, tied to the wooden latch on the inside and passing through a hole in the door to the outside, was pulled to

gain admission to houses and their hospitality. And there was less schooling, but no lack of education in the object lessons of nature and life, during the pioneer period. For those who do right, life is better worth living now than then; while for those whose bent is evil the opportunities for wrong are greater now.

Pioneering has been the leading business of the American people for nearly three centuries, while for our Aryan race it dates back many more centuries to the plains of central Asia when the westward movement began. With our immediate ancestors it commenced on the Atlantic coast early in the seventeenth century and really culminated with the rush to Oklahoma. Hereafter the work of filling in the vacant spaces left by the westward-moving pioneers will be carried on, but for them there are now no regions to subdue. Columbus, the Cavaliers and the Pilgrim Fathers led the pioneer march to the new world. The Spaniard's quest was for gold, and failed; the Anglo-Saxon sought a home with larger freedom of opportunity, and his efforts were crowned with success. Columbus dreamed of a new route to the fabled wealth of the Indies across the pathless ocean, and in 1492 discovered this hemisphere. In 1607 the first bold colony was planted in Virginia, and in 1620 in Massachusetts. The pioneer is a man with a purpose. It may be the love of adventure, to better his condition, to make a new home, or to achieve an ideal, in an age of persecution seeking religious liberty, or an aversion to social shams may impel him to seek the more agreeable environment of a new country.

One event, the construction of the Erie canal from the Hudson river to the great lakes in the heart of the continent—a wonderful enterprise for the time, born of the brain of DeWitt Clinton, commenced in 1817 and opened in 1825—had more to do with the settlement of the west than any other one thing. Prior thereto the movement of population was mostly down the Ohio river, and more than a hundred years ago a Yankee settlement was made at Marietta, Ohio. The canal opened a water route for the agricultural pioneer to the fertile regions of the northwest. When begun and opened railroads were still in the womb of thought. Michigan made early provision for canals, and one, the Clinton and Kalamazoo, from Lake St. Clair to Lake Michigan, was surveyed along the Thornapple river through this county, and the work of construction on the eastern end commenced.

Slowly, for two centuries, after the first pioneering on the Atlantic coast, settlements moved westward. Land was the attraction, as from it all sustenance and wealth primarily come. Farmers must produce a

surplus before any other class can contrive to live. Old world problems were impossible in the new world so long as there was plenty of land farther west for the children of the east to occupy. So the movement has gone on until the orient is brought face to face with the occident on the shores of the Pacific, and also with the industrial problems of the oldest extant civilization. Then, suddenly, this country ceased to be an asylum for the oppressed of all nations.

Rapidly this country has been overrun in recent years. Old fashioned pioneering is ended. The present decade, with new social and industrial conditions, growing out of the absorption of the land and production by machinery, marks the distinct beginning of new problems for the American people to solve. With the close of the century new questions are becoming both real and troublesome. To prevent hunger and misery in the midst of plenty exalts the problem of distribution above that of production. We have taxed to produce, shall we tax to distribute? Better give freedom for everybody to all natural opportunities.

These new conditions the pioneers knew nothing about. New occasions bring new duties and necessitate new lines of thought. Political questions give way to social questions. Except as to historical sequence and personal identity there is but little in the present that survives the past. Civilization has increased artificial wants and intensified the selfish struggle to gratify them. It is in some respects an inhuman and unchristian struggle. Many are crushed into the slums under its fierce competitions. But civilization dies at the top. When the upper classes are no longer recruited and re-invigorated from the hard-fisted and hard-headed yeomanry—such stuff as pioneers are made of—the end of progress is not far away.

Young men of the present day, you can form no adequate idea of the self-sacrificing life of the pioneers. All is changed. Going to mill from Oneida to Pontiac, as did Robert Nixon, or from Vermontville to Climax for a load of wheat, having it ground into flour at Verona, spending a full week to make the round trip, and bringing the first material for bread into the "colony" as did Roger W. Griswold, were events of a bygone era. Fetching the first mail on foot through the woods from Bellevue to Charlotte, as did Captain James W. Hickok, cannot be repeated. The pluck of such men as Amos Hamlin, Samuel Hamlin, Amos Spicer and Pierpont E. Spicer of Eaton Rapids, the soft-fingered workers of the present know nothing about. The "chips" of those days came from the forest. No railroads, telegraphs, telephones, or local newspapers, only weekly mails to a few favored localities, and yet more was known

about the farms of Reuben Fitzgerald in Bellevue, of Thomas Scott in Walton, of Jesse Hart in Brookfield, of George Y. Cowan in Hamlin, of John E. Clark in Eaton Rapids, of James Southworth in Eaton, of Gordon B. Griffin in Carmel, of Phineas S. Spaulding in Kalamo, of Oren Dickinson in Vermontville, of Eri A. Green in Chester, of John Higby in Benton, of Nathan Pray in Windsor, of John Nixon in Delta, of John and Charles Strange in Oneida, of Henry A. Moyer in Roxand, and of Willis Barnum in Sunfield, than is known concerning them throughout the county today.

The early settlers, who, nearly six decades ago, laid the foundations of civilized society in an unbroken wilderness, except a very few whose silver hairs and feeble footsteps indicate that earth's journey is nearly ended, have joined the innumerable throng on the other shore. You and I, my friends, have a common recollection of many of them, and cherish a common anticipation and hope of meeting, and knowing and greeting them in a more real and permanent and glorious world than this. In the other life they are our pioneers.

Open the back door and let the mental vision traverse a period of half a century. It was great to have been a pioneer. The name itself is the synonym for almost three hundred years of western progress. We have reason to be proud of our inheritance. I have named some of the pioneers whose labors and sacrifices we commemorate. At Bellevue the first settlement was made, and such names as Avery, Bond, Evans, Follett, Hoyt, Hinman, Hunsiker and Woodbury come to mind; in Kalamo the Bowens, Gridleys, Herrings, Roberts and Stebbins; in Vermontville, Barber, Browning, Church, Fairfield, Fuller, Griswold, Gates, Martin, Mears, McCotter, Merrill, Norton, Robinson and Squier; in Sunfield, Chatfield, Dow, Nead and Wells; in Roxand, Boyer, McCargar and Vanhouten; in Chester, Allen, Jordan, Rich, Wheaton and Williams; in Carmel, Dunn, Ells, Lacey, Morey, Sears and Taft; in Walton, Butterfield, Hockinberry, Mott and Salisbury; in Brookfield, Sherman, Page, McArthur, Whipple and Williams; in Eaton, Butler, Childs, Frink and Freeman; in Benton, Claflin, Hovey, Potter, Taggart and Verplank; in Oneida, Preston, Nixon, Nichols, DeGraff, Kent; in Delta, Ingersoll, Hayden and Nixon; in Windsor, Carman, Cunningham and Hull; in Eaton Rapids, Knight, King, Horace Hamlin, Johnson, and William Montgomery; in Hamlin, John Montgomery, David B. Hamlin, and Wolcott. With the early village of Charlotte the names of Burns, Flora, Gale, Hall, Johnstone, Johnson, Millett, Munson, Reznor, Rice and Shaw are closely associated; and when Olivet is mentioned we think of Hos-

ford, Green and Ely, but the name of no pioneer, for heroic sacrifice and persistent effort in laying the sure foundation of an independent college for higher education, towers above that of Father J. J. Shipherd. The pioneer lawyer was Martin S. Brackett of Bellevue; the pioneer member of legislature was Daniel Barber of Vermontville, in 1840, now in his 96th year; the pioneer settled minister was Rev. Sylvester Cochrane at Vermontville; the pioneer boy was the late Isaac E. C. Hickok of Charlotte, born in Walton; and the oldest living pioneer is Samuel Herring, in his 99th year, whose tavern in Kalamo was as noted a place for rest and refreshment fifty-nine years ago as is any hostelry in the county now.

As Tourgee says of the men of the south, these and others, our pioneers, were "kingly men." Yet the tenderest were the bravest. Heroic women bore their full share of privations and hardships of pioneer life with courage and hope. They made the homes enjoyable and life worth living.

"For love must needs be more than knowledge."

The experiences and actualities of pioneer life cannot be reproduced in words or anything the present affords. It was an education. While it is desirable for everyone to have all the education obtainable for the full enjoyment of books, nature and life, it seems to me, that if a young man, I would rather live the pioneer days over again for their educative effect and rich later memories, than to have a four years' course in the state university. For the real struggle of life one learned more that was of value in making up the mental and moral fibre of manhood during the pioneer life than could be acquired in any other way. Luxuries, not hardships, enervate. It takes a great deal of discipline, independent thought and self-reliance to make a well developed man.

The closer to nature the young are nurtured the better. Hence it is that on the healthy hills of the country, or in the humble homes of poverty, the world's greatest leaders are born. Neither brain nor brawn are products of urban life. Annually from the farm migrate thousands upon thousand to the cities to restore their weakened vitality, and to be in turn sacrificed on the altars of a rapacious civilization. It is a costly process; still society pays the price; and when it stops decline begins. As the blessings of the gods were once to be had only by lavish sacrifices on their altars, so, now, the boasted blessings of civilization are secured only by the sacrifice of human beings in the fierce competitions of city life. The blessings of the present are born of the agonies of the past.

With all the hardships incident to a new country, the pioneers were more contented than people are at the present time. They had many annoyances and few conveniences. There were mosquitoes and smudges at night, poison sumach and massasaugas in the swamps, stumps and roots that made plowing provocative of various forms of profanity, snow sifting through roofs in winter and covering beds and floors; but all the time there was progress in sight and hope ahead. Coonskins and black salts were plentier than cash and store clothes. There has always been a strange prejudice in this country against money enough to do business easily, and there was little else in those days save wild cat and stump-tail currency. Yet all the time labor cheerily swung the axe, forests disappeared, and babies that were rocked in sap troughs were growing up to girlhood and boyhood. Above all else there was the luxury of sleep, healthier and sounder than any that comes in later and more luxurious years. One-third of life in sound sleep is unalloyed happiness. "Sleep hath its own world." The outward faculties are in repose, and when awakening may catch conscious glimpses of thought from the mystic and mysterious realm of dreams.

The beginning of Eaton county was contemporaneous with the railway era of modern times. July 4, 1828, the next day after I was born, the great highway known as the Baltimore & Ohio railroad was commenced. In August, 1830, the Mohawk & Hudson railroad from Albany to Schenectady was begun; in October, 1831, it was carrying 387 passengers a day, and in 1832, a locomotive with a load of eight tons traveled it at a rate of thirty miles an hour. In 1831, the first land was located in Oneida in this county. The steam railway marks the commencement of a new era for the world. From the beginning of the christian era until then the Sabbath day's journey had not changed; but now, that hippogriff of modern civilization, the iron horse, having had a half-dozen pathways prepared across the continent, awakening the mountain solitudes to a new life, is penetrating Asia and Africa, bringing new economic problems to the fore for solution. National isolation is no longer possible.

None of the earliest settlers traveled any of the distance from their eastern homes to Michigan by rail. The usual method was by the Erie canal through New York, by steamboat on Lake Erie, and thence by horse or ox power to their destination; and, if there was no delay, three weeks afforded time enough for the journey from New England to Eaton county, a trip that can now be made in thirty hours.

Was life less worth living then? In those days men had time to

think. Washington, Jefferson, Webster, Clay, Calhoun, and Benton belonged to that era; there was more patriotism and less commercialism than there is now; the over-shadowing question relating not to dollars, but to life, liberty, law and government.

Glance at some of the features of the olden times, fifty to sixty years ago. Men had time to live and die in their own homes; they slept in their own beds; the epoch of haste had not come; the saddle was the emblem of speed; brain and brawn were united in the same person; the toiler was a thinker; we were a nation of hand workers; domestic or household industries were the rule; a day's journey was a short distance; the highways were the chief avenues of transportation; no house had a sewing machine, but nearly all were full of children; the canvas-covered wagon was the ark of progress; the turnpike was the leading artery of trade; the stage coach was a swift inland means of travel; there was not a mower or harvester in existence; the land was lighted by tallow candles after nightfall; butter and eggs were unmarketable thirty miles from the place of production; the steam sawmill had not begun to devour the forests; the owner of half a section of land was the foremost citizen; the spinning wheel hummed the tune of prosperity in every thrifty farmer's home; from east to west was the pilgrimage of a life time; from north to south was a voyage of discovery; and no one ever dreamed that the screech of the locomotive would destroy the glamour of Palestine, and that the land speculator would invade Jerusalem. Fifty-one years ago, May 27, 1844, the telegraph was first brought into practical use between Washington and Baltimore, and in 1848, when in the Expounder printing office at Marshall, it was one of the attractions of the time to go out along the railroad line, watch the pole setting and wire stretching, learn what insulation meant, and there was much wonderment as to how an unseen streak of lightning could carry news along the iron wire. One of the early dispatches I recall, the first one that ever announced in southern Michigan the nomination of a candidate for president, said that General Lewis Cass had received the democratic nomination on May 22, 1848.

Less than a hundred years ago our country was bounded on the west by the Mississippi, and that portion east of the great river was comparatively unsettled. Jefferson's Louisiana purchase in 1803, and the Mexican war in 1847 gave us the vast area that stretches from the river to the Pacific ocean. About forty years ago the policy of giving land to settlers free of cost was adopted in order to increase the population. "The state wants people, not land," said Governor Wisner of Michigan,

in 1857. We were getting into a hurry. The nation had a great patrimony and was in extravagant haste to get rid of it. Really, the speculator wanted it. Railroads were given an area six times as large as the state of Michigan, and foreign syndicates were allowed to take all the land they wanted. Thirty years sufficed to dispose of nearly all that was worth having. So new economic problems have come, that never troubled the pioneers, before the public mind is prepared to meet them.

Down to the present, when there was a surplus of labor in the eastern states, and factories closed because of over production, western movements of population to new land took place, and the congestion of the labor market was prevented. This is ended. The government has no more valuable lands to give away, and the time is at hand when the homestead will be prized as the one sure source of livelihood for the toiling millions. With all of our aggregate wealth and bigness fewer children are born with silver spoons in their mouths in the United States than in England. Administrations come and go, but the general conditions of life and tendencies of the people do not change. Legislation helps or hinders a little, as a rule hinders the most; but the forces of nature and human thought continue to operate, day and night, in sunshine and storm, and are stronger than governmental agencies. Less government would be better. All the time there is progression or retrogression. Nothing is stationary. Thought is alert for good or evil. Methods of fifty and a hundred years ago are obsolete. In the economic realm, on one side are great combinations of capital, and on the other side the great army of producers. Capital gathers its harvest from productive labor. These new conditions bring problems of government up for consideration that never vexed the minds of our ancestors. The mail service of the middle of this century would paralyze present business interests. No one can think of it as carried on by a great corporation. So the telegraph, the telephone, the express business, can be conducted at less cost to the people, through the agency of the organized postal service, than by prevalent methods. Productive labor, mainly that of the farms, has to pay the $50,000 annual salary of the president of the New York Central railroad, as it surely pays the salary of the president of the United States and all other national, state and local expenses. What is produced bears every burden.

Let labor produce only enough for its own existence—no surplus from farm or factory—and the incomes of the Vanderbilts and the Astors would dry up, and the three million dollars a year paid to the royal family of England would cease. Famine may come to millions of sub-

jects, and yet the royal tribute they pay is the same. At the best, labor's share of production is little, if any, more than a living. Its surplus furnishes business to the railways, which strive to earn dividends on six billion dollars of bogus capital. Banks gather their earnings from the same surplus. Interest, rent and taxes are met from the same source. The ship of war on the ocean, the pay of armies and navies, productive labor builds and earns—in the far away mine and forest, on the farm and in the factory—and even money itself gets its value from labor. It is a commodity before the fiat of government makes it money. Pity that, today, the servant has become the master—that the tool of trade is manipulated for the oppression of labor, its creator. Capital is soulless. Its owner may or may not be.

When the time came, in the progress of events and the evolution of a nobler ethical sentiment among the people, in 1861, that capital could no longer own the labor of the south, and buy and sell the laborers as chattels are bought and sold, it rebelled against the government and sought to establish a nation on the corner-stone of human slavery. The contest had a superficial political aspect, but at the bottom of it was a struggle of greedy capital to own labor as well as its product, even if there was the slightest taint of African blood under a whitened skin. In different form, in principle the same, the struggle continues. Slave capital controlled the government and dictated presidents once, as corporation capital does now, but labor has the ballot. Scarcely a man from New England in congress represents humanity, but a combination of selfish interests. Capital would exploit productive labor in the mail service, the same as it does in the transportation service, if it owned and controlled the carrying of the mails. It would levy tribute upon isolated communities as a condition precedent to giving them a weekly mail. In our present railway transportation $600,000,000 a year, is unnecessary because extra salaries and expenses could be saved to productive labor under government control. No such problems, the solution of which has a direct bearing upon the welfare of humanity, troubled the minds of the pioneers half a century ago, for the conditions of which they are a product did not then exist; but they are coming, coming—they are here—and should be studied rationally and intelligently, as citizens and not as partisans, so that their solution shall result in the greatest good to all the people.

A grand movement has commenced. Our pioneer ancestors cannot save us. Each generation must work out its own salvation. In municipal government we are far behind European countries. Our idea

of diluted responsibility works badly in practice. We need a system that will render all officers responsible to all the people for whom they act. This would abolish the government of cities by wards, of counties by towns, of the state by districts, and would provide for proportional representation and the referendum. The tyranny of majorities is worse than the tyranny of one man, as a dagger cannot remedy it. We need governmental control of monopolies for the benefit of the people, instead of control of government by monopolies for their own benefit. We need a purer atmosphere at the ballot box, such as will come from the enfranchisement of women; and, above all else, we need a religion that shall recognize in practice as well as in theory the universal brotherhood of humanity. Politically we are not highly civilized, or we would not make private opinion a bar to intelligence and integrity from public service. The political club is an improvement on the war club of a barbaric era, and while its action is less brutal its underlying motive is no less selfish.

But there is no occasion for despair. Man is capable of splendid achievements; he is still mounting upward; and so long as there is progress there is hope. A divinity that dwells within shapes his destiny, and he moves slowly but surely along the upward path of evolution. Even a degenerate nation cannot destroy, though it may retard, progress. For the first time in the world's history no nation on earth recognizes or upholds slavery. The growth of the ethical spirit has abolished it. So other evils will disappear. Steam and electricity are demonstrating the unity of commercial interests and the solidarity of humanity. No people have a monopoly of thought, as the great parliament of religions held in Chicago, the real metropolis of the new world, only two years ago, abundantly proved. It could not have been held at an earlier date and have been successful. "Ideas rule the world." They are about to enter China and awaken it from the slumber of centuries. The public conscience is not dead. Rev. Dr. Parkhurst aroused it in New York. It needs a few burning coals from the altar of truth in Michigan. People who think alike should act together and not let divisions or party, or sect keep them apart. Fusion for God and humanity is required. The dawn of a better day flecks the horizon with rays of hope. In this fast receding century, fortunately there is a growing demand for purer government, for better legislation, more faithful public servants, broader minded citizens, unshackled opportunity, truer and more ethical education, and equal rights to all; and you, men of the farms and factories, who suffer most from bad government and selfish partisan legislation—from ignorance led by greed—should take the lead

in the forward movement. Prosperity and morality are inseparable; values are moral as well as material; selfishness is immoral and unjust; goodness alone is eternal, and is at the same time the sure salvation and true grandeur of men and nations. Believed and lived, it will destroy the germs of evil and kindle into active, vigorous and majestic power an ennobling love of liberty and integrity, which, enjoined with a lofty altruism, will drive present evils into the darkness and obscurity of oblivion. Women! upon you devolves a full share of the work required for physical, political, social and moral reformation.

To make the most and best of life is plain human duty. The pioneers of this county had no other purpose when they came here than to engage in agriculture. The doctor, the minister, the blacksmith, the shoemaker, the wagonmaker, the tavernkeeper, the lawyer, the merchant, came with the planting and growth of villages, but the original productive industry was farming. To this end they cleared the forests, opened the roads, planted orchards, helped each other at logging bees and house and barn raisings—taking time every four years for hot and harmful quarrels over politics. As they were born to their beliefs they held them tenaciously. Every village aspired to be an important manufacturing center, even though the only natural advantage was hardwood forests. Industrial centralization, now taking place the world over, was not foreseen. There is no hope of success for factories in rural districts with no natural advantages of water power, coal deposits, raw material, cheap labor and concentrated capital. This is fortunate, as land is worth more in counties where there are no factory towns. Cheapness of transportation has overcome the advantage of nearness to markets, and it costs less to take a bushel of wheat from New York to Liverpool than it does to haul it from the west line of Carmel to Charlotte. Values are moral, and the character of a large modern factory population lowers the price of land. Then the process of industrial centralization cannot be overcome. In 1870 there were nearly 3,000 woolen mills in the United States and in 1890 only about 1,400. Half of them have gone to the wall. Small industries are of the past.

Agriculture was the first industry of the county, and events over which we have no control are making it almost the sole industry again. More and more it must become the chief occupation. Fortunately there is no better farming county in all respects in the state. To those who prefer the stimulating vices of the cities, and but few would if rightly born and educated, this may not be an attractive outlook, nevertheless it is not without compensations. To the development of agriculture

along new lines the best thought and work should be directed. With a strong soil, rolling surface, patches of original forest, improved roads lined with fruit bearing and nut bearing trees, with windbreaks for houses and barns, this county can be made one of the most attractive and valuable portions of the northwest, and the work itself will have a healthful, refining moral influence. Every town and school district should have definite plans for tree planting and beautifying the face of nature. Community of interest is ample motive and cordial co-operation the means of accomplishment. Such action would make every acre more valuable. As an investment it would pay. As the cultivation of the true spirit of brotherhood it would be priceless.

A treeless region becomes barren and unproductive. Make the homes more pleasant and the county would be as well known as some cities are for their beautiful shade trees. Young men of the third generation, for we of the second are passing down the sunset slope, this is work for you to plan and prosecute. Education that leads away from out-door work not one in fifty has any use for. With true progress the number of educated persons who can live on the vices and crimes of humanity must diminish. No more railroads are needed, no new factories will be built, but beautifying the landscape, increasing the fertility of the soil, prizing the higher utilities of life, attending farmers' institutes, producing better crops, growing the best cattle, sheep and swine, and making life better worth living should be the end and aim of future effort.

You will find enemies, potato bugs and politicians, national and state legislation, but with intelligence and judgment you can protect yourselves from them. Conditions will grow no better so long as men care more for party than they do for industry, integrity and morality, and neglect the welfare of the road district, the school district and the town in which they live. Human nature, with its old brute inheritance, which genuine progress tends to overcome, is the same in all parties and in all sects. With rivalries, hatreds and prejudices eliminated, there is little left save a common humanity, a common life, and a common destiny. It is useless for me to talk here unless a thought can be set agoing that has regenerative power. In all the universe there is but one true principle—the golden rule. Golden rule religion, golden rule politics, golden rule industry, these are social needs. Brought into daily life and conduct, courts and jails would be abolished, rum holes would not exist, health would be contagious, happiness supplant misery, and a practical millenium dawn upon earth.

Not an evil, a wrong, a vice, a curse exists that is not the creation of human selfishness. Society creates crime, the criminal executes it.

Law should not in any way countenance things that are evil, though the world will never be reformed by legislation. You might as well look into a pit that is bottomless for uplifting moral influences as to Lansing or Washington. There is but one way: "Cease to do evil, learn to do well." It ought to be a disgrace to be sick, as it is a disgrace to get drunk or rob a hen roost, for it is evidence of an ignorant or wilful violation of the laws of life; and ignorant or wilful the penalty is the same; for to every act in the vast universe of mind and matter, spiritual and physical, is knit an inevitable sequence of pleasure or pain. Not alone of the present life, but as a result of past lives, men reap as they have sown.

This law runs through all nature. The people of any town can make it a better place to live in, and others can not do it for them. Where property is safe every acre is worth more. Furthermore, the sense of beauty, such as finds gratification in attractive landscapes, trees, groves, orchards, flowers, and pleasant homes, increase wealth. Wealth is ideal as well as real. Something might be done in every rural community by intelligent co-operation and mutual effort, and all would feel better and be better. Life is not so much ennobled by getting as by using. A selfish use of wealth is demoralizing. Dives nor Jay Gould are worthy examples. Highest type of humanity was the son of man who had not where to lay his head. The art of living in this prolific land has not been practiced so much as the habit of wasting. True wealth consists less in ownership than in enjoyment. However much one may absorb, no man can create much wealth. With scattered villages, pleasant landscape, air uncontaminated by factory smoke, good roads, there is no section of country with worthier possibilities than Eaton county. Nature has done its part, the rest depends upon man.

People envy the great landlord, and fancy how delightful it must be to own a large estate. Every acre more than is needed for comfort adds to care. With our fertile soil all taken up, with labor saving machinery taking the place of wage earners, the land problem must be considered. It furnishes the only sure employment for labor. Great estates are a great evil. Emerson says, "if you own land, the land owns you." This is preferable to human ownership. Property often makes of man a slave. It may impoverish his soul. In the sense of enjoyment, have we not all thousands of acres, which we cannot sell, yet are our own, whoever may work them, if we will only look them over and enjoy them. The woods, the hills, the valleys, the highways, the tints of the forest and hues of the sky, are ours for use and enjoyment. All ought to help in

making nature more enjoyable. Altruism broadens while egoism narrows character. The thought comes to mind of summer strolls through the woods around Charlotte, with my old friend Ellzey Hayden, gathering ferns and flowers, holding communion with nature and converse with each other. All in all, was there ever a worthier citizen or truer friend? Owning Zelotus Searles' woods north of the city would have added nothing to the pleasure they afforded, although they produced neither locusts nor wild honey. We might all be great landed proprietors, if we could only live more rationally. What we lack is not land, but the power of enjoyment, and that would increase by putting more effort into work of public utility and beauty.

The pioneers have finished their labors on earth. They toiled more for others than for themselves. Their successors have an opportunity to make this region attractive and desirable. There are no more Dakotas and Oklahomas to furnish cheap land for new pioneers. Work for the good of all is not labor lost. The altruistic citizen is nobler than the selfish curmudgeon. Each individual life is merely a part of universal life. Dropping to a lower plane, the time is not far distant, in this cycling age, when, with good roads, pleasant scenery, highways bordered with trees, wholesome food, people of the cities will seek the healthy hills of such a beautiful country as this might be made for summer rest and rational recreation. In some European countries land owners and communities have lined the highways with fruit and nut bearing trees, which the laws carefully protect. Those who find the useful and the beautiful in the country will remember it and advertise it; and, really, that which makes life truly beautiful is the most useful. The time and money that are worse than wasted in politics would suffice to do all the work.

Seventeen years ago it was a pleasure to me to deliver an address at the annual meeting of this pioneer society. Dr. Gardner T. Rand, who always took a deep interest in its meetings, was president. Swiftly the years have passed since then. I see but few of the old familiar faces. Gone, gone from mortal sight, are nearly all of the pioneers. Peace to their ashes, rest to their souls. Blessed are the departed pioneers. And now

"So live that when thy summons comes to join
The innumerable caravan that moves
To the pale realms of shade, where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death.
Thou go not, like the quarry slave at night,
Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him and lies down to pleasant dreams."

AUGUSTUS BREVOORT WOODWARD.

BY C. M. BURTON.

The late Henry Allen Cheney, in an article on the supreme court of Michigan, thus epitomizes the life of Judge Woodward:

"By all accounts the jurisprudence of Michigan in her territorial days was much enlivened by the eccentricities of her first chief justice. This was Augustus Brevoort Woodward, who left his surname to the principal avenue of Detroit and his ineffable mark upon that city in the concentric scheme on which he laid it out; it was he also who drafted the act for the establishment of a university which he called the Catholepistemiad of Michigania, and which was to have thirteen professorships, whereof one was to be the Didaxum of Anthropoglossica and was to embrace, the act said, all the Epistemum relating to language. He was a marvel of personal untidiness even among pioneers and his imperious will was such that no mortal man could get along with him unless he submitted to it. He was chief justice from 1805 to 1823; and during the British occupation of Detroit in 1813 he was Proctor's secretary in civil matters, but he bullied Proctor as he had previously bullied Hull. His associates were Frederick Bates and John Griffin, both of Virginia. Bates, who was an older brother of Lincoln's attorney general, resigned in a year or two and went to Missouri where he afterwards became governor. Griffin, who had formerly been a judge in the Indiana territory and had asked to be transferred to Michigan, was Woodward's drudge until both resigned in 1823."[1]

This is the man whose life and work and eccentricities we will attempt to detail for those who are patient enough to follow our words.

It is not known when or were he was born. Judge Campbell, in his history of Michigan, states that he thinks he was born in New York, while other authorities give the probable location of his birth as the state of Pennsylvania. In his first official appointment as judge of the territorial court his residence is given as Washington.

No matter when or where he was born he received a good classical education and appeared eager on all occasions to display his knowledge. This anxiety to impress his attainments in the law and in the classics upon his hearers led him to be overbearing and certainly obnoxious to

[1] Green Bay, 2-377.

nearly all with whom he came in contact. Apparently he was a friend of Jefferson, though the friendship may have existed on his side alone.

There are many letters on miscellaneous topics addressed by him to Jefferson and Madison in the government archives, and while the aggressive and overbearing character of the judge is displayed in nearly all of his writings, they are omitted from these letters. To that extent he might be considered a "time server" for it was to the president that he had constantly to look to remain in office. He could be courteous and affable if occasion required it.[2]

It has been said that he was untidy in his personal appearance, even to excess. It is very probable that this is a fact. His life in Detroit was among a frontier people who were not, at that time, overly cleanly themselves and if he was so untidy as to call the attention of his neighbors to that fact, he must have been filthy indeed. We are assured that he drank liquor to some extent, more than was usual even in his day; that he was not very punctual in the payment of his debts;[3] that he occasionally quarreled with the citizen whom he could not control, and that he continually quarreled with Governor Hull who was the presiding member of the legislative body as it then existed. He apparently had very little respect for Judge Griffin, one of his associates, and he continually bullied him and controlled him to his own liking. He never married. This may have been because he found no lady who was willing to risk her life and happiness by a union with him, or it may have been because he found no one that he liked sufficiently well to make the partner of his life. He certainly was quite attentive to the ladies in general and to certain of them in particular, for in letters to him and from him frequent mention is made of different young ladies of Detroit society.

Now that we have pointed out some of the social characteristics of the judge, we will see what he did. He studied law somewhere and went to Washington as early as 1799 and probably even earlier than that. One of the main topics of discussion then was the political status of the District of Columbia and in the discussions on this point Judge Woodward took a leading part. He contended that the district was to be entitled to the privileges of representation in both houses of congress in the same manner as a sovereign state and he put his arguments before

[2] C. C. Trowbridge in Mich. Pioneer Col., 1-378.

[3] The Detroit Gazette of November 15, 1822, contains the following, an extract from an open letter addressed to Judge Woodward: "In your religious, your moral, political and social character we see no bud of promise to flatter us with the hope that any latent virtue may be found. The portals of your narrow, selfish soul are as firmly barred against every generous or noble sentiment as the dark cave of Cerberus. You are literally without a friend. So disgusting is your character in every point of view, that it is really a matter of curious speculation how or by what strange fatality such a man should have been palmed upon this territory."

the public in the form of a series of pamphlets, to which he signed himself Epaminondas. At least eight, and possibly more, of these pamphlets were issued from time to time, the eighth being dated at Alexandria, January 3, 1802.

In all probability these writings were called to the attention of the president and other officials, for if these officers were not otherwise provided with them Mr. Woodward would never have permitted such an opportunity to slip past him, to make his name known to those in authority.

In 1803 he prepared and published "A representation of the case of Oliver Pollock" and used this, in the form of a pamphlet, to urge upon congress the payment of certain demands of Pollock for compensation for services and property used in behalf of the United States in the revolution.

Oliver Pollock, once wealthy, had become impoverished by using his means to aid the government during the war and the government, neglecting his claims as it had those of Robert Morris, seemed willing to permit the patriot to die in a debtors' prison rather than undertake to do him justice. His petition to congress to repay him for his moneys advanced to aid in the expedition of General George Rogers Clark, and for his services throughout the war, was presented to congress by Woodward and received universal attention. Woodward himself became well known in congress because of his services and writings on this subject.

Early in January, 1805, congress passed an act dividing the territory of Indiana into two separate governments and organizing the territory of Michigan and on the 26th of the following February the president appointed William Hull to be governor, Stanley Griswold secretary, Frederick Bates to be one of the judges and Augustus B. Woodward, of the territory of Columbia, to be another of the judges of said territory of Michigan, and the appointments were confirmed on the first of March.

By the terms of the act establishing the territory, the government thereof was not to commence until July 1, 1805, and the new officers attempted to be at their posts at that time.

The second judge (Frederick Bates) was at Detroit at the appointed time as was also Judge Woodward, and the governor and secretary arrived on the very day, so that the territory was launched on its career without unnecessary delay. What appeared then to be a dire calamity, but which in the end proved to be a great benefit, occurred to the little frontier post of Detroit but a few days previous to the inauguration of

its new government. On the 11th day of June, 1805, a fire broke out within the village enclosure and every building, both public and private, was destroyed, with the exception of possibly one or two, and when the new officers arrived they found only the smoking ruins of a prosperous village and the citizens dispersed or living in tents on the public grounds or within the fort. The destruction of both dwellings and the personal property of the inhabitants was complete.

From the time of the founding of Detroit by Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac on the 24th of July, 1701, till the conflagration on June 11, 1805, the entire village was crowded into a small space not exceeding in area three or four ordinary sized village squares. The streets were few in number and exceedingly narrow, from fifteen to eighteen feet. The houses were built close together and were very small and uncomfortable. Around the entire village there was erected a palisade of pickets of small trees, one end buried deep enough in the ground to be difficult of removal and extending above the ground ten to fifteen feet. On the northerly side of the village and connected with it by these rows of pickets, was the fort—Fort Lernoult or Fort Shelby—which overlooked the village and now stood in good need in taking within its enclosure many of the houseless citizens.

It occurred to the newly arrived governor and judges that it would be much better to lay out a new town on a larger scale, than to permit the old town to be rebuilt in its former location and style. In the organization of the territory the legislative body was to consist of the governor and three judges and they were empowered to select and adopt for the government of the territory such laws as they thought proper, from the laws in force in any of the thirteen original states, but here was a situation of affairs that was totally unforeseen and for which no adequate remedy was then in the hands of the governor and judges. Titles to lands were not yet settled, but it was expected that congress would soon take hold of the matter and pass proper laws for the purpose of quieting conflicting land claims. In the case of the burned village each former owner was supposed to have a fairly good title to his possessions and if the government now undertook to deprive him of his rights it would amount to sequestration. The inhabitants themselves felt that it would not do to rebuild on the old site and in the old form. The governor and judges moving hastily in the matter, laid out a temporary plan for a village and requested the old lot owners to take up and improve lots in the new plan, warning them that good titles could not be obtained for the new lots but at the same time assuring them that

every effort would be made, at the next session of congress, to perfect the titles in those who would accept the new plan and conform to it.

Judge Woodward himself drew up the plan for the new village and he drew it on a plan to indicate that he expected the village would grow to become a city of some size. It is said that he borrowed his idea of the plan of the place from his knowledge of the city of Washington and that within the leaves of an old pocket memorandum, still in existence, he had sketched a plan of the federal city in order to apply it to the new Detroit which they were proposing to lay out.

On the third of August, Governor Hull made a report to the secretary of state of the work so far accomplished at Detroit. It would be hardly necessary to give the contents of this report here, but one portion will suffice to show the feeling then existing between the governor and the judge. In after years the feeling between them was very bitter, but that it was not so at this time, is evinced by the following excerpt from that report: "I owe it," the governor writes, "to Judge Woodward to say that I received great assistance from his talents, his zeal and industry." In October, 1805, Hull was suddenly called to Boston and departed with the promise to be in Washington at the opening of congress, and Woodward left with him, but proceeded at once to lay matters before congress at the earliest opportunity. The main object in the visit to Washington was to have the proper acts passed by congress to allow the laying out of the new village and the disposal of the lands in the new plat for the purpose of aiding sufferers in the burned town.

The report of the governor and presiding judge of the situation of affairs at Detroit was presented to the president, and by him submitted to congress on the 23d day of December. Efforts to hasten the proceedings before congress seemed futile and the entire winter of 1805-6 was passed without any action being taken.[4] In April of 1806 Judge Woodward personally memorialized congress to hasten its action as affairs in the territory were in a critical situation. A bill was introduced and became a law on the 21st of April, 1806, entitled "An act to provide for the adjustment of titles of land in the town of Detroit and territory of Michigan, and for other purposes." Briefly stated, this act permitted the governor and judges, as a land board, to lay out a new village and to plat and dispose of the lots within it, and gave 10,000 acres adjoining the village to be disposed of by the same officials, the proceeds to be used in building a court house and jail. This was the beginning of the building of Detroit in its present form and the real foundation stone for the name and fame of Woodward.

[4] Annals of Congress, 1806, p. 239.

Detroit was the largest settlement in the west—the center of the fur trade and of the Indian trade in general—the depot for the distribution of Indian presents and the home of many very wealthy traders in frontier supplies. It had no bank, though some of the larger commercial houses did a sort of banking business. In the summer of 1806 a number of Boston capitalists undertook to establish a bank, as it was felt that one was needed, and a petition signed by Russell Sturges, Henry Bass, Jr., Benjamin Wheeler, Samuel Coverly, Nathaniel Parker and Barzillai Holmes was presented to the governor and judges asking permission to organize and open a bank of issue, with a capital of from $80,000 to $400,000. Such an enterprise was much greater than the importance of the village warranted, but it was contended that the vast fur trade of the west was of sufficient importance to warrant such an enterprise, though the probable reason was that the promoters thought they could issue their bills and dispose of them in the east and that many of them would never return to be redeemed. So great was the assurance that the bank would receive its charter, that the company was organized, banking house erected and cashier appointed before the charter was granted.[5] This petition though dated March 31, was not presented to the governor and judges until September 6, and on the 15th of September, 1806,[6] an act was passed by them incorporating the president, directors and company of the bank of Detroit with a capital of $1,000,000, and Judge Woodward was appointed its president and William Flanigan of Boston, cashier. There was a great deal of feeling created against the judge and even against the law itself and the act was disapproved by congress March 3, 1807.[7]

It would seem that there were other forces at work to prevent the success of this bank than those of Detroit alone. There was no good reason why a bank should not be established and be a success if properly managed. The largest stockholders were from Boston and the east, and the bill to destroy the bank was introduced and championed by Josiah Quincy, who at the time was a member of the house of representatives from Boston. Michigan territory itself was a stockholder in the bank, and consequently the entire people were interested in the success of the institution. At the time of the disposal of the act by congress, there

[5] Gov. Alpheus Felch in Mich. Pioneer Col., vol. 2, p. 111.
[6] Terr. Laws, vol. 4, p. 7.
[7] Annals of Congress, 1806-7, p. 1287.
Judge Woodward held only one share of stock, while other prominent Detroit people held from 10 to 100 shares each, as James May, John Griffin, Solomon Sibley, James Henry, Samuel T. Dyson, William Hull, William Brown, Elijah Brush, Robert and James Abbott and others, but the majority of the stock was owned by eastern parties, William Flanigan, Dudly S. Bradstreet, Nathaniel Parker, Andrew Dexter, Jr., and others. Mich. Pioneer Col., vol. 8, p. 575.
Pioneer Col., vol. 8, p. 571.

was no especial dislike of Woodward and the act incorporating the bank was signed by Hull, Woodward and Bates, and it appears from Hull's report in 1807 that they were all actuated by the best impulses for the government, in passing the act of incorporation.[8] The act of congress annulled the act of the territorial legislature and left the affairs of the bank hanging in the air, for there was no provision made for the appointment of a receiver, or the winding up of the bank's business. Woodward continued to act as president and some of the business of the bank continued to be carried on for some time. Discontent against Woodward continued to grow, and during his temporary absence in 1808 the governor and the remaining judges sought to make various alterations, in existing laws and to pass new laws that were not very pleasant to Woodward and would scarcely have passed if he had been present. Mr. William Flanigan, a friend of Woodward's and cashier of the bank, kept watch of the legislature during the judge's absence and it is from his letters, still preserved, that we ascertain what was being done at this time. The governor and judges determined that they were the legislative body; that any three members would form a quorum and that when a bare quorum was present any two members should constitute a majority. That thereafter it should not be necessary for the members to sign laws as they were passed, but that each act should be signed by the governor or presiding officer, and be attested by the secretary.[9]

The governor undertook to change the entire form of the town by laying it out anew, with street lines at right angles to each other, and he employed a surveyor, James McCloskey, to make a new plan. Mr. Flanigan writes that "Judge Griffin is little more than a cipher in our little government. He votes correctly, I believe, says but little; in fact it is not worth his while to utter much, for there appears a determination to carry everything against him." The people were called to consider, in a mass meeting, the proposed changes in the plans of the village and decided against it. The most important act passed during the judge's absence was a bill introduced by Judge James Witherell entitled, "An act for the punishment of crimes and misdemeanors." This act contained forty-eight sections, of which two were aimed directly at Judge Woodward. The two sections referred to prohibited any person from issuing or circulating bank bills unauthorized by the legislature, and fixed a heavy penalty for violation of the law. This act became operative on the 9th day of December, 1808, and was so clearly directed

[8] Hull's letter to Madison.
[9] Terr. Laws, vol. 4, p. 21.

against Judge Woodward that he was frequently reminded of it in all the subsequent years of his residence in Detroit.[10]

As a judicial officer the important and the ludicrous affairs of the territory were assigned to him for determination. Sometimes he acted vindictive, even absurd, and again he made decisions that were exceedingly just, though unpopular.

One of the important matters that disturbed the new territory was the question of slavery. The ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery in all the territories northwest of the Ohio river. The treaty of 1794 with England provided that the property of British residents in the territory should be respected and protected. Slaves, both Panis (Indian) and negroes, were held in Detroit and in Sandwich on the Canadian side of the Detroit river. The Canadian slaves were constantly escaping, crossing the river and claiming protection of our laws.[11]

In 1807, a wealthy Englishman living at Sandwich,[12] Richard Pattinson (or Patterson, as his name appears in the records) had two negro slaves, Jane and Joseph, who crossed the river and remained in Detroit. Pattinson, through his relative and attorney, Elijah Brush, applied for a warrant to apprehend these slaves in order to return them to their owner. The circumstances of the case and the social standing of the complainant gave the matter more than usual prominence and in his opinion Judge Woodward devoted much time and study to the subject. The decision of the case against Mr. Pattinson and Mr. Brush and in favor of two unknown negroes, who had no representative in court to plead their cause, was somewhat unpopular, though certainly conformable to law. The motion of Brush was denied upon the ground that our laws regarded no property in slaves except in the case of British settlers as provided in the treaty of 1794, and the negroes were permitted to remain here, free.

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[10] The Flanigan letters are printed in the Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. publications, vol. 653, page 12, and I have an unpublished letter from Judge Griffin to Judge Woodward of nearly the same date, Dec. 1, 1808, wherein he refers to this act as follows: "Judge Witherell has brought in a bill of 45 sections establishing a new penal code. Whippings, imprisonments and fines dance in gaudy orgies throughout the whole composition." He copies, entire, the section concerning the issuing of money by the bank, and winds up his letter as follows: "Permit me to borrow your Asiatic expression, 'May the angel of happiness cover you with his wings.' Let me hear in your next, something of your favorites, the Loves and Graces, and candidly tell me, if candidly you will, whose livery do you wear at present." (Campbell papers, vol. 1, p. 213.

[11] Judge Woodward had, at an early date, anticipated that trouble would arise over the question of the desertion of these slaves, and had tried to prevent it by passing laws with that end in view. In 1807 he wrote as follows: "There is, however, one point on which the inhabitants on different sides of the river are at variance. This is the desertion of the slaves. I expect complaints will be made, on this hand, by the British minister. I do not approve the temper, principles and conduct of the inhabitants of this side on that subject. I thought something ought to be done to check it. I introduced a bill providing for the restoration of deserters from the service of his Britannic Majesty. There was a section providing for slaves. The Governor was opposed to the restoration of deserters, but in favor of the restoration of slaves. Mr. Griffin was opposed to both. So the bill was lost."
Mich. Pioneer Soc. Col., vol. 12, p. 506.

[12] Mich. Pioneer Col., vol. 12, p. 519.

At about the same time four other negroes, Elizabeth, James, Scipio and Peter Dennison, applied for a writ of habeas corpus to be freed from the restraint of their owner, Catherine Tucker.[13] It seems that Mrs. Tucker lived in Detroit and that she was a British subject and was one of those to whom the treaty of 1794 guaranteed protection in person and property. The laws of Canada granted freedom to all slaves after a certain period of servitude which in this case had not yet elapsed. Judge Woodward drew a distinction between this case and that of Pattinson and refused to grant the writ, authorizing the retention of the slaves under the provisions of the treaty. These decisions attracted considerable attention throughout the "state," and were commented on by many of the leading papers at that time.

Judge Bates left Detroit in 1806 and from that time until the appointment and arrival of Judge James Witherell in 1808, the legislative affairs were in the hands of Governor Hull and Judges Woodward and Griffin, and the judicial matters were managed by Woodward and Griffin. As has been before stated, Griffin was a tool of Woodward, and Hull and Woodward rarely agreed. The result was that Woodward, in fact, controlled both branches of government so long as the legislative body consisted of Hull, Woodward and Griffin; but upon the advent of Judge Witherell a new aspect was put upon the situation. Judge Witherell was an exceptionally fair judge and his opinion had more than ordinary weight with all parties, for it soon came to be understood that he would join neither faction in their quarrels but would always cast his vote on the side of propriety and justice.

Witherell did not come to Detroit as judge till 1808 and at that time the quarrel between the other members of the legislative body was in full blast. On the last day of December, 1806, Woodward drew up and submitted to the legislative board a series of resolutions, some of which reflected savagely upon the governor. While the entire matter was obnoxious to the governor, there were some portions that neither he nor the other members could refuse to pass, when the time came for discussing them. I will only mention here one of these resolutions, as that one will be again referred to in its proper place. The preamble and resolution are as follows:

"Whereas, The means of information, both with respect to the present and rising generation are deplorably deficient in this territory; and

"Whereas, It is one of the permanent articles of compact between the original states and the people of this territory, that religion, morality

[13]Mich. Pioneer Col., vol. 12, p. 511.

and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education, shall forever be encouraged, therefore,

"Resolved, That it is expedient to provide by law for the establishment of one or more seminaries of learning in the territory of Michigan."

This was the beginning of the University of Michigan and if the resolution had not been coupled with other matters offensive to Governor Hull it would probably have been adopted and acted upon at once, so far as the situation of the territory would then permit.

The other portions of the series so severely reflected upon the conduct of the governor that he used his efforts to prevent the adoption of the resolutions and actually prevented their receipt by the legislative board until 1807 and then succeeded in having them referred to himself as a committee, and his report was not given until near the end of the year 1808.[14] The report only served to widen the breach already existing between the two branches of government and entailed more trouble upon the new territory. The governor's report upon that portion of the original resolution relative to education, is as follows: "Nothing can be more laudable, nothing more useful. It will advance the future prosperity of the country and the happiness of millions yet unborn. To effectuate so important a measure every means in our power ought to be exerted; our labors ought never to cease until the object is accomplished."

This report was submitted to the legislative body in the absence of Judge Woodward, who was then in Washington.

Gabriel Richard, the priest of St. Anne, and prospective bishop of a new diocese to include Detroit, was also then in Washington probably on business connected with his church, but also engaged in obtaining the materials for establishing the first printing press in Michigan. A friendship had already sprung up between Richard and Woodward, brought about, probably, partly by their similar tastes for study, for it is hardly conceivable that any bond union of a religious nature could exist between them. Richard returned to Detroit with his printing press and Woodward proceeded to New York, where, in the early spring, he wrote and procured the publication of a paper on "The Consideration for the Open Trade with China," and urged his views upon congress by this pamphlet[15] and by personal application on the subject to the president. But the times were not propitious for the extension of trade with

[14]Pioneer Soc. Col., vol. 12, p. 466.
[15]Calendar of State Papers, vol. 4, p. 737.

foreign countries when we were, by law, closing our ports and enjoining our merchants from trading with our greatest customer, Great Britain, and no efforts of Judge Woodward, however strenuous, could avail much. The idea that he could see the value of such trade was indicative of greater foresight than had been displayed in that direction up to this time. If it had been proposed in a moment of expected peace it would have been listened to by congress with greater respect, but now everyone thought the government was on the verge of war, and extensions of commerce were not to be considered.

There were other personal quarrels of Hull and Woodward that made lively times for them both, and entertainment for the citizens. A man named John Gentle applied for a donation lot in the new village plat and his application was refused by the land board (which consisted of the governor and judges) on the ground that he was not a citizen of the United States. Gentle subsequently applied to the same officers, sitting in their judicial capacity, to be made a citizen of the United States and his application was refused because he had not resided in the territory a sufficient length of time to be entitled to naturalization papers. Thoroughly angered Gentle wrote a series of articles and had them published in the Pittsburgh (Commonwealth) severely reflecting on both Hull and Woodward. Gentle was indicted for the libel on the judge. The judge himself appeared as complaining witness, prosecutor and judge. Gentle pleaded the truth of the published article, but he was not permitted to produce the proof on the occasion, and he was found guilty and compelled to desist from further letter writing of this nature.

About the same time Captain John Whipple, on the 25th of June, 1808, meeting the judge on one of the streets in the village, began to upbraid him for rendering a decision, which Whipple thought unjust, and in which some of his relatives were interested. The discussion on the subject grew pretty warm and Whipple told the judge "that he was a damned rascal, with other violent language and gestures." Woodward returned to the court room and had issued a warrant for Whipple's arrest, returnable before himself. Whipple was bound over to the next term of court.

On another occasion in 1811, one Whitmore Knaggs committed an assault upon the judge. He also was brought before the judge for trial and sentence. In none of these cases does it appear that the judge inflicted any severe penalty, but the parties and the community looked upon it as a travesty upon justice that the complaining witness could act as a judge in his own case. The instances given show that Woodward considered himself "a law unto himself" wherever he was interested.

The printing press was introduced in Michigan by the Rev. Gabriel Richard, the priest of St. Anne, in 1809. Previous to this the giving of public notice of any important event was by means of proclamations written by hand and posted in three or four of the public places in the village, but now that these notices could be more readily given by having them printed in the form of hand bills or broadsides, they were more frequently made than before. No newspaper was issued until some years later than this. An attempt was made in 1809, by the publication of the "Michigan Essay," but it is not certain that more than one number was issued. The first, or almost the first, use that the new press was put to, was the printing of a presentment of Governor Hull by the grand jury at the September session, 1809, for remitting the fine imposed upon John Whipple for calling Judge Woodward "a damned rascal."[16] The same grand jury presented Judge Witherell for making an improper expenditure of public money; complained of the two sections of the act above referred to for prohibiting illegal banking, and struck all the judges in complaining of their continued absence from the territory.

Within a few days after the publication of this series of indictments, a public meeting was called to take into consideration the change in form of government. Judge Woodward presided at this meeting and was subsequently chairman of the committee appointed to carry out the resolutions adopted.[17] This committee was composed of the following, then well known citizens of the place: Augustus B. Woodward, George Hoffman, James Henry, Solomon Sibley and James May. They were directed to inquire into the different forms of territorial government in the United States and at the adjourned meeting held October 16, 1809, they made their report[18] and the meeting then resolved that it was expedient to alter the present form of government and to substitute for it a form in which there should be two bodies elected annually by the people, to consist of five and three members respectively. These two bodies were to enact the necessary laws for the territory and the executive was to have a qualified veto. It was not explained whether the governor was to be elected or appointed by the president. They also deemed it expedient that the territory should be represented in congress by a delegate to be elected by the people. Woodward and all the other members of the committee were re-appointed with instructions

[16] Mss., vol. 101, Burton Library mss.
[17] Mss., vol. 101, Burton Library mss.
[18] Mich. Pioneer Soc. Col., vol. 12, p. 548, vol. 6, p. 248. This report was also printed in American Register.

to give publicity to these resolutions and to urge them upon the attention of congress.

If these resolutions had borne fruit at once, Woodward would have been stripped of a large portion of his powers, for he would henceforth be a judicial officer only and he would no longer be able to pass laws as a legislator that he was subsequently to pass upon as a judge. It is difficult to explain his position in this affair, otherwise, than by supposing that he was working entirely for what he thought to be the best interests of the territory, for he was certainly working against his own private interests as a judge and legislator. The project submitted to congress met opposition there, for a remonstrance from a number of Detroit's citizens was filed at the same time and the matter never reached beyond the point of being laid on the table. In later years it must have been a matter of satisfaction for the judge to find that his early ideas of the proper form of government were adopted, for in 1819, the territory was permitted to elect a delegate to congress and in 1824 a legislative council was elected, and the office of governor continued to be filled by presidential appointment, so long as the territorial form of government existed.

The feasibility of digging a canal through New York, to connect Lake Erie with the Hudson, had been discussed for some time and in 1811 the New York legislature passed an act on the subject entitled "An act to provide for the improvement of the internal navigation of the state" and sent a copy of the act to the governor and judges of Michigan territory, asking the co-operation of the territory, and aid by an appropriation. The matter was referred to Judge Woodward to investigate and make report. Willing in this case, as in most others, to take the opposite view from most other people, he reported that it was better that one canal be constructed around Niagara and another around the falls of Oswego.[19] His learned and unique discussion of the subject is printed in full in Niles Register and the editor apologizes for permitting the article to be inserted in full "not on account of any peculiar opinion advanced, but for the interesting speculations introduced." Woodward argued that the course of the river and lakes was the natural course for commerce and that Montreal was the natural market for the lake regions. That Canada will ultimately become a part of the United States and that in the event of war with England and the United States, Canada would at once fall under the rule of the latter country. He argued that if it became

[19] Niles Reg., vol. 6, p. 137.

desirable to make the canal through New York, the better way would be first, to make the canal around Niagara and then pass boats down Lake Ontario and up the Oswego river by converting that river into a canal. He proposed that an extensive city from four to twelve miles square be laid out at the mouth of the Niagara river. "Let a mound be made, at the head of Grand Isle, on the American arm of the river, with a sluice. Let a mound be made at the bottom of Grand Isle without a sluice; solid, substantial and durable. Let a canal be drawn from this last point, sixty feet wide, excepting immediately at the locks, twenty feet deep, with all necessary lockage, whatever size or expense, directly into the river Niagara, entering it between the city before mentioned and Lewiston." This was his scheme; peculiar of the man and indicative of his methods of reasoning. The report contains many ideas further advanced than his day and is well worth reading by those who wish to study in detail the eccentricity of the judge. Probably more attention, in later years, would have been paid to this report if the railroad had not taken the place of the canal.

The feeling of uneasiness was growing at Detroit over the impending quarrel between the United States and Great Britain. The Indians in the neighborhood of the city were moving in suspicious ways and there was uncertainty and alarm among the citizens. Governor Hull was absent during the latter part of the year 1811 and the fore part of 1812 and the secretary, Reuben Attwater, was acting governor. Reviews and parades of the territorial militia were held at various places in the territory and at various times during the fall and winter of 1811-12. Attempts were made to reorganize the militia and proclamations or general orders were repeatedly issued to warn the people to be on their guard and to be ready for an emergency.[20] The battle of Tippecanoe was heralded as the forerunner of a general Indian uprising that the acting governor was attempting to prepare for. All citizens were expected to assist in the defense if called upon. "The Honorable James Witherell, a soldier and a patriot of that struggle which burst the chains of tyranny and caused the star of liberty to shine resplendent on the western hemisphere," and one of the judges of the supreme court, was appointed lieutenant colonel commandant of the legionary corps and a commission was issued to him on December 9, 1811.

It was a matter of quite as great importance that the civil affairs of the community should be attended to, as that the military affairs should be properly conducted. On the 16th of August, 1812, Hull ignominiously

[20] Mss. General order of Acting Governor Attwater. Papers and Records of the Territories.

surrendered Detroit to the British and the news of the catastrophe struck the nation dumb with astonishment. Hull and Witherell were taken prisoners of war and were taken eastward to Montreal. Griffin was absent and Woodward alone, remained in Detroit as the representative of the territory. General Proctor, as civil governor under the terms of the capitulation, ordered the supreme court to convene at the council house in Detroit early in February, 1813, and Woodward, as the only remaining judge was expected to preside.[21]

But there were other duties that he performed in his capacity as representative of the American cause, taking upon himself the duty of looking after the interests of all American citizens, he complained to Proctor of the actions of the British troops both in maltreating their captives and in not protecting those captured by the Indians in the service of Great Britain and he pointed out acts of cruelty of the Indians, that should be taken into consideration and the repetition of them prevented.[22] These complaints were duly examined by Proctor and proofs of their truth produced before him. He laid down the laws of nations to Proctor as he did the laws of the territory in his decisions on civil matters in his courts, and he eventually placed all of his correspondence and proofs before congress. He attempted to bully Proctor, as he had tried to cow Hull and Griffin, and feeling that he could do little for the Americans because of his bickerings and quarrelings with the British general, he gave notice that he should leave Detroit. On the 6th of January, 1813, a petition of citizens was drawn up and circulated for signatures, protesting against his leaving and petitioning him to remain. The petition sets forth that "at a time when the services of the several officers of this government were most to be desired and would alone have conduced to the great interest of the inhabitants, it is not a little surprising to see that to a man (to the exception of yourself) they have unadvisedly left their respective posts, the interest of their country, and of course the inhabitants of the territory, in a state bordering almost upon anarchy and confusion, and that too, after having been officially notified by the proclamation of the conquering general that the laws of the territory would be continued in force, and that the civil administration thereof would not for the present be interrupted, or sustain any material change. We feel it a duty incumbent upon us to acknowledge that your stay in the country since the capitulation, together with your

[21] He reported to the Secretary, James Monroe, that he executed no official acts in the capacity of a judge. (Mss. letter in Dept. of State.) This term of court was not held, but was adjourned until a later date, and before the adjourned day came Woodward had left the territory.

[22] Niles Register, vol. 4, p. 91.

exertions in favor of its inhabitants, has contributed in an eminent degree towards the preservation of their lives, their liberty and the property of perhaps every individual in the territory."[23] He was implored to remain and share, with his fellow citizens, the dangers of the times. In reply to the petition Woodward consented to remain.

It was but a few days after the petition was presented to him that he was called upon to exercise his power in attempting to save the life of one of his fellow citizens, Whitmore Knaggs, whose name has been already mentioned. Knaggs was a resident of the district and owner of a farm on which he lived, since then called Knaggs farm and within the present limits of the city of Detroit. He was one of the soldiers taken prisoner at the capitulation of Detroit and was paroled. Going off to the south, he joined Winchester's army and was again captured at the massacre of Frenchtown. The efforts of Judge Woodward were directed to see that Knaggs was not shot for violating his parole. Several defenses were set up by the judge; that Knaggs was ignorant of the meaning of his parole; that if he joined Harrison's or Winchester's army he was induced to violate his parole by those generals, and finally that Knaggs was not in arms at the time of his second capture, but a visitor among friends at the River Raisin (Frenchtown). He pleaded for a fair and open trial for Knaggs upon the one question only, as to his having been in arms. He pleaded long and earnestly for the life of a man who, he said, was an ignorant and turbulent man, brought up among savages among whom he was made a prisoner in early life. He succeeded in saving Knagg's life. There is more than usual interest attached to this circumstance when it will be recalled that this same man, Knaggs, assaulted Judge Woodward and was tried and fined by the court for the assault. Woodward had not forgotten the event and relates it to General Proctor, in petitioning for his release.

In January, 1813, Proctor ordered all citizens, except those designated as Canadians, to depart from the territory of Michigan, and consternation seized the community, for nearly all would be compelled to leave behind them their families "exposed to all the casualties and evils incident to a state of war and their property at the mercy of the marauding savage." Many of the citizens had already left Detroit or had been taken away prisoners of war, but those who remained drew up a petition[24] to Judge Woodward setting forth their grievances and protesting against the order of banishment and praying him to intercede in their behalf

[23] Mss.
[24] Mss.

with General Proctor. The petition itself pays a high tribute to the efforts already made by Woodward for them by stating that, "We entertain a high sense of the manly, dignified and spirited conduct of Augustus B. Woodward, whose services have heretofore been so pre-eminently useful to the inhabitants." February 4, 1813, martial law was proclaimed in the territory and feeling that he could do no further good by remaining in the country, the judge asked for a passport on the 6th of February[25] but his request was not at once granted. He repeated it on the 10th of the same month.[26] There was still some delay about granting the passport and after another request for one had been made and a personal interview had taken place between Woodward and Proctor at Sandwich, on the south side of the Detroit river, Proctor sent a note to the judge requesting his presence on the 17th inst. to discuss the matter of the massacre of American prisoners after the battle of Frenchtown. The answer to the request indicates the spirit of the judge, who thought his efforts had not been properly appreciated. The reply was directed to James Baby, senior member of his majesty's executive and legislative councils of the province of Upper-Canada, and contains the following paragraph: "I am sorry to be obliged to state that when I attended, on the thirteenth day of the present month, for a similar purpose, an intemperance of demeanor was witnessed in the commandant, which, in the transaction of business, is as unbecoming in an officer of rank as it is indecorous in the character of a gentleman; and greatly, sir, as I should wish to see a matter cleared up promptly and on the spot, which may probably become the occasion of so many painful sensations both in America and Europe, it would, notwithstanding, be with great reluctance, except under circumstances which I could not, as an individual, control, that I should wait upon any British officer for that or any other purpose unless I entertained a hope that a similar line of conduct would, in future, be declined." The affair, however, was patched up and on a second invitation he visited Proctor on the 18th and obtained a passport to go to Fort George, on the 15th of February.

Reaching Albany on his way to Washington he was requested by the citizens of that place to make public the information he had obtained regarding the employment of the Indians by the British in the war and the encouragement given the savages to perpetrate the horrible butcheries at the massacre of Frenchtown, and the many other murders, robberies and burnings throughout the country. Feeling that he was not

[25] Mss.
[26] Mss. and Niles Register, vol. 4, p. 92.

violating the confidence of government by making public his knowledge of these affairs, he gave out for publication many of the letters that had passed between himself and Proctor and copies of depositions and statements made by parties who witnessed these atrocities.[27] Nearly a century of peace has passed since these events transpired but the infamy of the employment of such horrid means of warfare cannot be effaced from the pages of history of the British nation.

While Woodward was undertaking to do all this thankless work for his fellow townsmen and for his government, members of congress, ignorant of his services and their value at this time, were undertaking to remove him from his office by changing the form of government.[28] George Poindexter, representative from Mississippi, on the 24th of November, 1812, introduced a resolution for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the expediency of repealing or modifying the act forming the territory of Michigan, and in explanation of his object stated that since the surrender of Detroit the judges had held no courts but continued to draw their salaries; that one of the judges (Witherell) was a British prisoner and another (meaning Judge Woodward) had accepted a commission under the British authority and that it was now desired to organize the government and enable the proper authority to appoint new officers who would govern the territory better than it had been in the past. He wanted to wipe off the present roll of officers and appoint others made of more sterling stuff.

It is true that no courts were held at Detroit during the period of British occupation, for there were no causes to be heard that necessitated the holding of a court. Judge Witherell was absent, a prisoner, and Judge Griffin was not in the territory. A commission as secretary to General Proctor was tendered to Judge Woodward but was declined by him for the reason, as he said, that he could not, according to the provisions of the constitution, accept it without the consent of congress. The proposal being forwarded to congress was not acted upon and the commission was therefore declined.

Woodward expressly reported to the Secretary of State, James Monroe, that no pecuniary transactions of any description were undertaken between himself and any of the functionaries of the British government.[29] The payment of his personal expenses by the British officials was even declined by the judge, with the explanation that he had taken an oath to support the constitution of the American government and

[27]Niles Register, vol. 4, p. 92.
[28]Annals of Congress, 1812-13, p. 195.
[29]Woodward's report to Monroe, Mss., dated March 22, 1813

that there was a provision in that constitution that no person holding a trust under the United States, could receive any emolument from a foreign power.

Poindexter's motion prevailed and the committee was appointed consisting of Poindexter, Jeremiah Morrow, John M. Hyneman, Thomas Wilson and Thomas B. Cooke. It is probable that Woodward's report put a quietus to the investigation, for it does not appear that the committee made any report nor was the form of territorial government changed in Michigan for many years.[30] It was while Woodward was in Washington in 1813 that he proposed and advocated the adoption of a code to supersede the common law in the district of Columbia, an idea that he attempted to carry out in part, in Michigan by abolishing the laws of all foreign countries.[31] It was not until October, 1814, that the supreme court and the legislative body of Michigan again convened for the performance of their duties in Detroit. In the meantime Hull had been removed from his office of governor and Lewis Cass had been appointed in his place, so that the legislative body now consisted of Cass, Woodward, Witherell and Griffin. Affairs did not proceed any smoother with the new governor, than they had previous to the war. Cass was a person not to be trifled with, as Hull had been, but he sought in every way to smooth over the difficulties and did not undertake to meet them face to face.

He and Woodward seldom clashed.

William Woodbridge became secretary of the territory in 1815 and as Cass was frequently absent from the territory, Woodbridge became acting governor, and the quarrels were continued between these men as they had formerly been carried on between Hull and Woodward. As a legislative body the parties usually took sides on important subjects, Cass or Woodbridge and Witherell on one side, while Woodward and Griffin were opposed to them. In their judicial character Woodward and Griffin usually opposed Witherell. Courts were held at unseemly hours and out of the way places, with no efforts to accommodate lawyers, suitors or even themselves.

Woodward was always a student and during his absence from Detroit in 1813 and 1814 he had employed his time in preparing his work on the "Classification of the Sciences," which was published in Philadelphia in 1816. This work was evidently completed while the author was in

[30] From unpublished letters we know that in August, 1813, he was at Georgetown; on April 21, 1814, he was at Washington, preparing to visit Jefferson, and the next day he was at Alexandria on his way to Monticello. In August he was in Philadelphia studying the case of Eugene Aram. (Calendar of Rolls S, p. 588).

[31] Terr. Laws, vol. 2, p. 900, Sept. 16, 1810. See also Detroit Gazette of Dec. 5, 1817.

Philadelphia in the summer of that year and finished on the 31st of August. It was evidently hastily completed, for the judge says, in the preface, that "the supreme court of the territory of Michigan commences its annual session on the sixteenth day of September, and there remains barely time for the performance of the journey."

It would be unprofitable here to undertake to discuss the merits of the work. Its virtues and its faults are only to be discovered and pointed out by the student and the metaphysician. The author shows, or undertakes to show, his extensive knowledge of the ancient languages, and he continually uses uncommon and obsolete words to express his ideas, and coins new words without number to supply alleged deficiencies in our language. There is only one matter interesting to us in connection with this work. He uses the word encatholepistemia to denote a system of universal science. A short time after this the judge applied this word as the name for the new university that he undertook to establish in Detroit and thereby, so far as he was able, sought to enforce the teaching of universal science by this school in accordance with his plans here given. There is no doubt that the judge loved to use long words and obscure sentences, for listen to what he says:

"Acquired in laborious and painful detail, the discoveries of an individual transcended by a train of successors, the advances of this generation surpassed by those of subsequent, the language and the science of one nation engrafted upon those of others, the vast and variegated attainments of modern times accumulated upon those of ancient ages; to us, of this age, and of this country, knowledge is presented in rich and copious stores, abundant in materials, defective, principally in arrangement."[32]

The critic, in summing up his criticism says, "Upon the whole we think that this is a curious and not uninteresting book. However much men may differ as to the utility of his labors, we are sure that nobody will deny Mr. Woodward the praise of originality."

A book of this nature had very few readers, but those who took the pains to wade through its three hundred seventy-one pages undoubtedly studied it from the love of its subject and not for the thrilling episodes its pages contained. It cannot be found now in many libraries but its absence can scarcely be greatly missed.

The resolution offered by the judge to the legislative body in 1806, regarding the establishment of schools, has already been referred to.

[32] Classification of the Sciences, p. 10.

This was the first step taken by the territorial authorities looking to popular education, though there was an act passed in 1805 "For the encouragement of literature and the improvement of the city of Detroit," by raising money by a lottery, but the act said nothing as to what disposition of the money was to be made after it was raised.[33]

The first move of importance in this line was the "Act concerning schools," passed February 26, 1809, which provided for maintaining public schools wherever there were a sufficient number of school children to necessitate them. The schools were to be free so far as pupils were concerned, and were to be maintained by taxation.[34] This followed the plan proposed by Woodward in his resolution of 1806.

Higher education received no legislative notice until in August, 1817, when a bill was introduced by Judge Woodward for the establishment of a Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania, and the bill became a law on the 26th of that month.[35] The date of this act corresponds very closely with the date of his "System of Universal Science" and there can be little doubt that the two were arranged and written at the same time.

The act provides that the university shall be composed of thirteen didaxum or professorships and comprise the entire field of science as laid down by the judge in his "System of Universal Science." The didactors were to be appointed by the governor and were to be paid salaries by the territory. It was the intention of the originator of this scheme to establish a college at Detroit, it was also his plan to establish other schools throughout the territory as the increase in population required the introduction of a higher education. The professors were empowered to "establish colleges, academies, schools, libraries, museums, athenæums, botanic gardens, laboratories and other useful literary and scientific institutions." Thus it was attempted to put the educational affairs of the territory in such a shape that all needful provisions for obtaining a higher education could be obtained without delay and wherever needed. The existing taxes were increased fifteen per cent to obtain the money needed to carry on such an educational affair. Lotteries were provided to obtain money to buy lands, buildings, books, apparatus and such other things as might be needed. A small sum was charged for tuition but if a student was unable to pay, and the judges of the county court, where

[33] 1 Terr. Laws, p. 67.
[34] 4 Terr. Laws, p. 90.
[35] 2 Terr. Laws, p. 104. The original draft of this act is in the archives of the State University at Ann Arbor.

the student resided, certified to the condition of the pupil, his fees were paid by the territorial treasury.[36]

At the same time that the act establishing the catholepistemiad was passed there were four other laws enacted, relating to the same subject. The first was an act establishing the salary of the president of the university at $25.00 per year and fixing the salary of the vice president at $18.75 and of each professor at $12.50 and each instructor and instructrix at $25.00.[37] All the professorships were divided between two professors so that the entire compensation of the two was $206.25 per year.[38]

The second act appropriated $181.25 for the salaries of the president and professors for the year. The third appropriated $200.00 for salaries of instructors and instructrixes, and the fourth appropriated $100.00 to aid in constructing buildings for the university. Another act appropriated a further sum of $80.00 to purchase land for the university.

On the 21st day of September, 1817, Judge Woodward laid the corner stone of the first hall of the university and on the 19th day of November an act was passed appropriating $200.00 to enclose the university building.[39] The subsequent history of that institution will not be looked for in this connection and the matters relating to the university have only been mentioned as they pertain to the acts of Judge Woodward. There can be no doubt that he was one of the foremost leaders in the establishment of this institution, and that he was instrumental in placing at its head the protestant minister, John Monteith, and the catholic priest, Gabriel Richard, in order to put the institution upon a popular basis and to free it from religious bias.

Another work issued by Judge Woodward in the fall of 1817 was the "Republic of Letters."

The second grade territorial government, as it was termed, was reached when the territory could be represented in congress by a delegate who should be elected by popular vote and hold office for two years. The delegate had a seat in the lower house and had the privilege of the floor but he could not cast a vote. In 1818 a bill was introduced to

[36] The fee for a course of lectures was $15, classical instruction $10 per quarter, ordinary instruction $6 per quarter. It would appear that there was some trouble between the members of the legislative body regarding this act, and Judge Woodward drew up another bill changing the name of the corporation to "The Regents of the University of Michigan," and in some other ways altering this act and repealing it, but the new bill never became a law. The draft of this bill is with the original draft of the act.

[37] Terr. Laws, 2-106. It will be noticed that it was contemplated that women should be employed as teachers.

[38] It would seem from an act passed December 31, 1817, 3 Terr. Laws, 127, that the president was to receive $25 per quarter and not $25 per annum.

[39] The upper floor of this building was used by the Protestant congregation as a place of worship and pews were sold as in a church. Gazette, October 24, 1817.

permit Michigan to send a delegate to congress[40] and the bill passed without much opposition, but upon the question being submitted to a popular vote of the people, the plan was rejected in February, 1818.[41] Another act allowing a delegate to the territory was passed February 16, 1819.[42]

Woodward had for many years shown a disposition to be a chronic office seeker, but from this time forward his efforts in that direction seemed to be more determined and pronounced. He was constantly thrusting himself forward in order to obtain some office that he thought he could hold, together with his office as judge, or he was willing to surrender his present office in order to obtain another of more importance. He was a candidate for the office of delegate to congress, but was defeated at the election held in September, 1819, the successful candidate being William Woodbridge. Woodbridge already held the offices of secretary and acting governor of the territory and collector of customs, and as he did not resign any of his old offices, upon accepting the new one, complaints soon began to be heard that he was getting more than his share of public honors. Succumbing to the pressure brought to bear upon him, he resigned the office of delegate at the expiration of one year from his election and when his term was but half completed. A new election was ordered to be held in the following September (1820) and again Woodward was a candidate and again, also, he was defeated—this time by Solomon Sibley.[43] Again in 1821 he was a candidate and was defeated. In fact he attempted to obtain this office at every election during the remainder of his residence in Michigan and had a considerable following each time, but he never succeeded and never came so near being elected as he did in 1820.

In 1817 two young men, John P. Sheldon[44] and Ebenezer Reed, established a newspaper in Detroit called the Detroit Gazette and from almost the first issue of the paper the whims and eccentricities of the judges are noted for the readers of the village and those who read its columns. At first the notices were very mild in character and called attention to matters of no great moment.[45] Possibly the editors were somewhat afraid of the judges and of the community and did not dare to publish everything that came to hand. Anonymous letters directed

[40] Niles Register, 1818, pages 46 and 63.
[41] Gazette, February 20, 1818.
[42] Annals of Congress, 1819, p. 2479.
[43] Gazette, Sept. 22, 1820. This election was very close and Woodward carried everything except Michilimackinac. There was a contest over the legality of that district which, if it had been decided in Woodward's favor, would have elected him. Id., Oct. 27, 1820.
[44] Sheldon was from Rochester, N. Y.
[45] As that the judges did not spend all of their time in the territory or that they lacked part of the qualifications for holding the office of judge, viz., did not own 500 acres of land in the territory.

to the judges soon found their way into print and no reply was made to them. Emboldened by the apparent lack of resentment on the part of the judges, correspondents, and finally the editors, began a series of upbraidings that can scarcely be equalled in any known publication. Writers undertook to imitate the Junius letters both in style and virulence. While, perhaps, the style was deficient, nothing could exceed the bitterness of the attacks. Most of these complaints were directed against the two judges, Woodward and Griffin, but as the general impression was that Griffin was rather incompetent or listless from indolence, the attacks were much more bitter against Woodward. Probably few papers in America have been permitted to upbraid and chastise the judiciary in a more virulent manner than was employed by the Gazette in the case of these judges. Their personal character, their social habits, their quarrels on and off the bench, were all aired for the benefit of the readers of the paper.

In order to understand all the attacks made by the Gazette it is necessary to know the daily proceedings of the village and of the courts. The instances of abuse of judicial authority cited by the editors and correspondents were usually proved to the satisfaction of everyone save the judges themselves, and it appears that the judges were not permitted to make answer through the columns of the paper.[46]

The tide of abuse grew stronger as time progressed. Impeachment was seriously talked of and urged upon the people and the judges were frightened, but they did not cease their quarreling nor did they do much to redeem their standing before the people. Petitions for their removal were drawn up, circulated, numerously signed and presented to congress. Another and more successful method was employed to attain the object aimed at, the removal of the obnoxious judges, and that was,

[46] One of the affairs complained of occurred in 1821 and is as follows: A grand jury having been called, a question arose as to the proper method of administering an oath to the jurors, there appearing to be no law on the statute books applicable to the case. After some discussion Judge Witherell proposed that the court adjourn until the next day without swearing the jury. An adjournment of the court was thereupon had and the same men, the three judges, immediately convened as a legislative body, passed "An act establishing forms of oath" for grand and petit jurors, "and when court convened the next day there the law was for them to act on. See 1 Terr. Laws, p. 234. An attempt of Woodward to compel the appointment of his father, John Woodward, to the office of clerk of the court is severely censured. John Woodward was an old man and not a resident of Detroit, but was then in Pennsylvania. Judge Woodward sent for him and appointed another person clerk ad interim. What would have been the result of the quarrel over this appointment can never be known, but the father died at Erie on his way to Michigan, and thus the question was settled.

The following is an item which appeared in the Gazette, Nov. 29, 1822: "A very singular question has arisen under the laws of this territory, exempting property taken on execution. This law exempts the *tools* necessary for the trade or profession of the party. Suppose now, that an execution was issued against the goods and chattels of his honor, Judge Woodward, would, or would not, his other honor, Judge Griffin, be exempted from seizure under this execution?

Yours etc.,
SCIAWASSA.

A learned counsellor has given it as his professional opinion on this question, that Judge Griffin must be *taken* because the law will not exempt tools used for the purpose *of fraud.*"

the abolition of the entire bench and the re-organization of the judicial system. The judges had held over from the date of their first appointment in 1805 under a tenure of life or good behavior, but by a new provision they were to be appointed for a term of four years and in the spring of 1824 both Judges Woodward and Griffin were dropped and their places filled by Solomon Sibley and John Hunt so that the new bench was composed of these two new names with Judge Witherell from the old list.

Apparently the people were not at all satisfied with the change. That is, they wished new judges, but they thought the ones chosen were not the best that could be obtained for the places. The very first number of the Gazette that was published after the new appointments were known contained a long tirade against the new men and spoke of them in very harsh terms.

The time set for the new judges to take their seats was not very far off and the old judges preferring not to wait out the terms of their office, resigned in March, 1824.

Woodward was a sorely disappointed man. In advertising some of his real estate for sale he intimated that he thought he had been unjustly legislated out of office, but he supposed that he could earn a living at the bar as he had done before his first appointment,[47] and he said that he was going to Washington to resume the practice of the law. He went to Washington but returned to Detroit within a year to perfect the sale of some of his land and again went to Washington to attempt to obtain a new appointment as judge.

It has been charged that Judge Woodward was dishonest in his judicial office and that he used his situation to improperly obtain lands and money and that he was rich when he ceased to be judge of Michigan territory. Nothing can be further from the truth. It is true that he owned a good deal of land in and about Detroit, but land was cheap and of not much value at that time, nor was it of any great value during the judge's lifetime. The law required that the judges should own quite a tract of land and he, consequently, purchased and held a good many acres of untilled and unproductive real estate. Mr. Charles Moore, in his excellent sketch of the judge's life, shows that when Mr. Woodward left Washington in 1805 he owned a considerable property there and a part of this he retained until after his removal from office in 1824 and he then went to Washington to dispose of his holdings there in order to obtain means to pay his indebted-

[47] Gazette, February 21, 1824.

ness in Detroit. During the latter part of his stay in Detroit, as a judge, he was on several occasions placed under arrest for non-payment of civil debts, the manner of commencing suits at that time being by capias. He also owed money secured by mortgages, and proceedings to foreclose some of these mortgages were commenced shortly after he ceased to hold office. He was most emphatically "land poor." Nearly all of his lands were wild and unproductive and a source of loss rather than of profit—their value was prospective, not present.

The most valuable parcel of land he owned was the Mansion house, situated on Jefferson avenue west of the present Wayne street. This was worth $7,500. He owned 700 or 800 acres of land on which he proposed to locate a village plat to be called Ypsilanti, including the site of the present Ypsilanti. This property was possibly worth $1,000 at this time. Another proposed village site was on the road to Pontiac, now partly within the city limits. He proposed to call this village Woodwardville. The 900 acres he owned here was valued by him at $18,000. Other lands owned in smaller lots were considered worth $5,500, or a total of $31,500. Against this there were mortgages on the Detroit property to the amount of $4,186. This land had nearly all been taken up by the judge from the government and he had paid only the lowest price that was ever paid for such property and had held on to his purchase for years in expectation of a rise in value. If it was worth much more than he gave for it, that is not to his discredit nor does it imply that he was dishonest in acquiring it. The lands in the ten thousand acre tract were a drug on the market for years at $1.25 per acre. He purchased more than 900 acres for $1,800 and was now holding it at $18,000 or thereabouts.

He was not successful in selling it for the price he put on it and his brother, John, sold it in 1833 for $7,455.

But little more is known of the judge. After leaving Detroit he returned to Washington and shortly afterwards received the appointment of a judgeship in Florida and died in Tallahassee in the year 1827 while still filling that office.

I desire to add a few words to what I have written above, to present some facts regarding Judge Woodward, that I have discovered since the foregoing sketch was prepared. I made a careful examination of the records in the office of the register of deeds for the District of Columbia, and find the first deed to the judge was made by William Prout, March 20, 1797, and conveyed a great number of lots in the then young

city, at a valuation of $25,000. He recited, in this deed, that he was a resident of Green Briar county, Va. (now West Va.), and I think that he was born either in that county or in Rockbridge county. At about the same time I find mention of others bearing the name of Woodward, as follows: Frances Woodward, widow of Clement Woodward, Benjamin Woodward, Mary Ann Esque (born Woodward), wife of John Esque, Amon Woodward, Francis Woodward, children of Clement Woodward, and all of Prince William's county, Va., John Woodward of Montgomery county, Maryland, and William Woodward of Washington.

At the time of the purchase by Judge Woodward, above mentioned, he gave Mr. Prout a mortgage to secure the purchase price of eight pence, Maryland money, per square foot. He was unable to pay for this land and reconveyed it to Mr. Prout July 30, 1804, for the same consideration of $25,000. This was a short time before his appointment as judge in Michigan territory. In 1803 he was appointed ensign of infantry in the first legion of the militia of the District of Columbia, and his oath of office is dated May 3d of that year.

Mr. Charles Moore says he gave his residence as Rockbridge, Va., in 1795, and that he was admitted to the bar in Washington in 1801.

Mention has already been made of various works of which Judge Woodward was the author, but no list of them has been given. The following works are in the congressional library at Washington:

"Considerations on the Executive Government of the United States of America." 1809.

"Considerations on the government of the territory of Columbia, as they Recently Appeared in the National Intelligencer Under the Signature of Epaminondas." This was published in parts, of which eight were printed, though only six are in the congressional library. I have the two missing ones. Published 1801.

"Considerations on the Substance of the Sun." 1801.

"The Laws of Michigan." 1806.

"The Presidency of the United States." 1825.

"A Representation of the Case of Oliver Pollock." 1803.

"Supplement to the Representation of the Case of Oliver Pollock." 1803.

In addition to the above are works mentioned in my original article and the plan, mentioned by Mr. Moore, of an executive council for the president.

MICHIGAN BIRDS THAT NEST IN OPEN MEADOWS.

BY L. WHITNEY WATKINS, MANCHESTER.

(Read before the Academy, Dec. 26, 1895. Reprinted from the first report of the Michigan Academy of Science.)

All have noticed that the places chosen by different species of wild birds for their nests are not the same. Their homes vary in location and style of architecture as much as do the characteristics of the birds themselves.

Some species choose the dark, unfrequented forest for their home, others the open field in the full glare of the sun; some of the barren cliffs of huge mountains, while others build floating rafts of mud and weeds in the marshy ponds. Again others are content to tenant perhaps the corner of a tumble down rail fence or nest in hollow trees or barns. Some nest high up in the branches of trees while others, equally shy, choose to rear their broods in bushes or upon the ground.

As the great, orchard-like trees of the oak openings were girdled and destroyed and great tracts of the heavy timbered lands cleared, the lower peninsula of Michigan became more and more similar in physical aspect to the vast grass-land prairies of the southwest. Coincident with this greatly altered environment, and continuing to the present time, was inaugurated an unsettled, unbalanced condition in our avi-fauna resulting in a great change in the relative preponderance of species.

Those inhabiting the woodlands were crowded in a short time from great areas, while species which had heretofore been fortunate in the finding of even small tracts of open land to suit their tastes, were turned loose over thousands of acres of improved land within the period of a few years.

The pileated woodpecker was pushed north to the Canadian border, disgusted with so called civilization. The wood duck found her old stub nesting sites tipped over and burned; the wild turkey her briar patches and brush pile homes destroyed. The passenger pigeon, while enjoying the grain fields and fattening thereon in place of the wild acorns and nuts, was exposed to the destructive devices of those who soon learned that fat pigeons in the markets of the east were in demand at a good price, and they were rendered practically extinct in a short time. The ruffed grouse is now confined within fenced wood lots and is often

found to wander into great cities and upon our lawns in absolute bewilderment.

Human beings have pushed their way into nearly every nook and corner of this continent and with them have been taken all the revolutionizing influences of civilization. Changes have been and are now taking place before our very eyes, in all the forms of life, as profound as any already chronicled in the great epochs of geological history. Certainly this is the age of man's absolute supremacy among the living things. He has destroyed whole species of birds and mammals and driven others to the verge of extinction; he has conquered the forests and wrought havoc with the wild flowers.

To make more plain and limit the scope of this treatise, which, of necessity must be longer than I hoped, I will include in my list only such species as I have found nesting upon the ground or in the open fields and meadows, excluding those found nesting upon the boundary fences or in the border shrubbery and brush piles or in lone trees in the open ground; also those nesting in the open marsh lands which are undrained and boggy to the extent of being unfit for hay or pasture.

As a further aid in clearness, I will separate meadows into two classes, namely, the typical upland hay field or pasture and the so called "marsh" meadow which is drained and pastured or grown to its native grasses and sedges for hay.

We will first consider the upland nesters:

The American bittern, *Botaurus lentiginosus*, is included among the

Washtenaw county, telling that "a bittern had its nest in his clover my personal observation. I have never heard of a like case in connection with this species and it was to me a very interesting one.

On June 27, 1892, I received a letter from a friend in Bridgewater, Washtenaw county, telling that "a bittern had its nest in his clover field" and if I wanted the eggs to come at once. As the location was a peculiar one I lost no time and arrived to find the nest undisturbed in a small bunch of standing hay which had been skipped in mowing on its account. This nest was a mere platform, upon the ground, of the surrounding clover stems bent down with some plucked and carried to the spot. The American bittern almost invariably builds its nest either very near the border of sloughs and lakes, composed of rushes and flags made into a rude platform raised slightly above the water in the bogs and reeds, or situated in the wet marsh lands, made up of grasses and sedges. Of the many nests which I have observed, all were so situated save in this one instance. In the spring of 1892, the marshes were

flooded from continuous rains until the bogs and wet flats became sheets of open water, entirely uninhabitable by birds which usually nested therein, and this fact I will venture as a possible reason for this nest being located in the clover field upon a hill, within twenty rods of a farm house and nearly one-half mile from any water. The four or five eggs are slate color or mud color. The food of this species consists of frogs, fishes, pollywogs and grasshoppers. Arriving before or by the middle of April, it at once begins its odd and unaccountable notes which give it the name of thunder pumper and stake driver. The American bittern is probably of little economical importance and does no harm, serving to add to the picturesqueness of the water landscape as it wings its way in measured flaps over the placid waters, or stands motionless with beak pointing straight upwards, in the bog.

The Bartramian sandpiper or field plover, *Bartramia longicauda*, is a very interesting bird. Unique in its class as caring little or nothing for the proximity of water, this long-legged bird of the uplands is little noticed or generally known, on account of its stealthy measured movements. It arrives with us usually in the last week in March and builds its nest in a rather open spot such as the border of a gravelly knoll, with scarcely any material to protect the eggs. Like the killdeer it sometimes makes its nest close to the hills of growing corn upon the mellow soil. The eggs are four in number, of a brown or clay color, variously spotted with darker shades and black. The food of the upland plover consists of both seeds and insects. In the early part of the summer, it consists about equally of each; in haying time, more largely of grasshoppers, crickets, et cetera; and later on when the grain is harvested, the stubble fields are sought and the birds fatten upon the grain left on the ground. As this bird stands motionless, as is its habit, it is not easily detected owing to its close mimicry of the natural surroundings and the passerby is not aware of its presence until two sharp, quick whistles, exactly as a man would whistle to his dog if near him, arrest his attention. This is the note of alarm and as the supposed person is sought on all sides, the graceful flight of the rather large bird betrays the mistake. It is of much benefit to the farmer and of no harm.

The killdeer plover, *Ægialitis vocifera*, is a very generally known species of which I need say but little. Coming to us from the south the last of February or first of March and usually remaining late in November or in some instances even all winter, it makes itself known at all times by its characteristic note, which is its name, as it runs before us upon the ground or flies round and round overhead. Nest is in thin

grass lands, in corn fields or plowed ground, preferably within a short distance of water. Eggs, four, clay colored, with black and brownish spots especially about the larger end. Food mostly of insects, some seeds and grains. A very useful bird, and does no harm.

The quail or bob white, *Colinus virginianus*, is a bird equally well known to the tiller of the soil, the sportsman and the fastidious epicure of the city café. It is said not to be a migrant because it is a winter resident wherever it is found. When the quail betakes itself to the tamarack swamp or to the farmyard for food and for protection from the cold storms that sweep the hills where it has passed the summer, it is perhaps as truly migrating as are the species which regularly recede southward on the same account. We see this same gathering together, in protected spots or where food is abundant, of many other of our winter residents. Many species go south because of cold weather while others only go because their food becomes unobtainable as in the case of most of the ducks, and the robin, crow, etc. The quail begins to whistle with the first warm days of spring, not nesting, however, until the latter part of May and usually not until June. Some nests have been found late in October or even in November, if I recall correctly reports at different times in our ornithological publications, these of course being second broods or the nests made after the first nests have been broken up. The mother remains with her brood usually until they are grown, and in the fall of the year the different coveys represent one or more entire broods, they not separating until they pair off the next April. The quail is confined, I think, in Michigan, to the lower peninsula, although there are reports which would show that it has straggled farther north. It is not found, as near as I can determine, in any numbers much north of the southern boundary of Roscommon county, the influence of the great lakes upon the isothermal lines in this state probably influencing the boundary line of their habitat on the north. In the southern tiers of counties, the quail usually nests in the hay fields, and now that the mowing machine and horse rake do nearly all the work, every nest so situated is destroyed. The farmer usually wishes to protect the quails, but the nests, which are hidden in a tuft of clover or grass, with the blades neatly pulled together overhead, defy apprehension and when once frightened away by the machines, the sitters never return. This fact of so many nests being broken up coupled with the lack of protection from the rigor of winter as the thrifty agriculturist has each and every shrub and vine cut from the fence corners and along the road side, means fully as much in its very

noticeable diminution in numbers, as does the yearly onslaught of the hunters. Various gun clubs in the state have already made efforts at restocking the country with quails by importations from Kansas and Nebraska. The eggs are usually from eighteen to twenty-five in number, pure white and top shaped. Its food consists of insects, grains and seeds in the summer and fall, and in winter almost entirely of wild seeds. In the crop of one which I examined, a remarkably large seed for the bird to swallow was sent for identification to Prof. Wheeler, our courteous consulting botanist, who reported it to be that of the skunk cabbage, Symplocarpus foetidus. Of little or no harm, as the grains eaten are almost wholly waste, and of great economical importance. Both confiding and beautiful, it deserves whatever encouragement and protection we may be able to give. A brood of quails which I hatched and reared with a bantam hen, grew to be very tame and kept our vegetable garden entirely free from insects the summer through. (For full notes, see The Oologist, Vol. XI, No. 12 and Vol. XII, No. 1.)

The mourning dove, *Zenaida macroura*, I have found once and only once nesting upon the ground in an open field. A few bushes growing in a slight hollow had been cut and burned and the ground sown broadcast to timothy. One little branch lay unburned upon the ground with the grass growing up through it and about two feet from this, where the grass was short and sickly looking, was the nest, built flat upon the ground and composed of a few small twigs and grass stems. The bird was flushed and the two white eggs seen. I understand that in prairie regions this is a common habit of the mourning dove, but here where abundance of favorable nesting sites are at hand, it is certainly very curious that this bird should have chosen to spend her time in incubation and rear her brood where any and all the night marauders would be likely to molest her home, and when she had been brought up differently. Food consists of insects, grains, seeds, etc.

The marsh hawk, *Circus hudsonius*, is the most graceful, most beautiful hawk on wing, that is found in our state, and the only representative of the birds of prey, with the possible exception of the short-eared owl, found nesting in the open fields. Coming to us late in February or early in March and remaining very late in fall, this bird is almost constantly seen in favored localities, soaring low over the meadows, poising with flapping wings about to dart below upon some unsuspecting rodent, or dashing into our faces, as we come over a hill, as suddenly to vanish from view, and we are always thrilled by this fairy form in blue or brown (the colors of the male and female bird, respectively). Nests with

eggs may be found from the first of May to the first of August. Perhaps the more usual site is the wet, bushy marsh or bog, where the nest is raised several inches above the wet moss and water, composed of various sized sticks for a foundation and reeds, grasses and sedges—a rather coarse structure and bulky as is usual with the nests of hawks. Nearly as often is the nest placed flat upon the ground in the hay fields, or in the growing wheat, rye, oats and barley. In such places it is composed simply of a few spears of grass or grain plucked and laid upon that which may be bent and trampled down upon the spot. With few exceptions these nests are destroyed before the young are ready to fly. I find many broken up each year. Eggs five, pale blue, usually unmarked. The food of the marsh hawk consists of mice, frogs, grasshoppers, crickets, etc., with very seldom a young bird which is learning to fly. It has never been seen, I think, to molest poultry, or birds which are able to fly. Of no harm whatever and of exceeding benefit to the farmer.

The horned lark, or if I am to be technically correct I suppose I must say the prairie horned lark, *Otocoris alpestris praticola*, (although I always protest in my heart these varietal species which I could not distinguish with certainty one from another if I had them here before me) remains with us throughout the year and whether chasing each other about the snow-clad fields or running before the carriage in the dusty road, they are always the same sprightly, cherry little fellows, showing scarcely any fear. The nests are usually placed in a slight depression by a tuft of grass and composed of grasses and rootlets, without any great care being manifest in the construction. The five eggs are of a drab color made up of innumerable spots of that tint so close together as to give it nearly solid effect. The nests of this species may be found from the first of March to the middle of April or perhaps a little later than that. I have found about the middle of March the usual time, and it is a common thing to find the sitter surrounded or nearly covered with snow. The food of this bird consists of both insects and seeds. Of no harm and of some use though I am not as yet certain to what extent insects are taken.

The bobolink, *Dolichonyx oryzivorus*, arrives in Washtenaw county from the south usually between April 30 and May 5. This bird being one of the few species dressed in black and white that we can boast as summer residents, at once tells of its return in one of the most animated songs which the woods and fields can furnish. The nest is built during the latter half of May and is so concealed beneath the thick growth of

clover, timothy, etc., as to practically preclude all chance of finding. It is composed simply of grasses upon the ground, and the five eggs, of a mottled, stony color, so resemble their surroundings as to make it very inconspicuous even when actually exposed to view. Early in the fall, the male bobolink changes its garb of black and white to the usual and more sombre plumage, of brown tinged with yellow, of the female bird and proceeds southward to become the dreaded "rice-bird" of the plantations, where it is killed by thousands and sent to the markets. The food consists of grains, seeds and insects. With us in the north it is of no harm and some importance. In the south a pest. One of our finest open meadow species.

The cowbird, *Molothrus ater*, presents a subject in ornithology hard to treat by a person who loves birds as I do. He neither builds his nest nor feeds his family and as is usual with the biped loafer, we find the above traits accompanied by those of bold trespass and destruction of his neighbors' belongings, at the same time requiring and expecting the latter to rear his family by their hard work. The eggs of the cowbird, which are white or bluish-white, varyingly speckled with brown and black, are parasitically installed, apparently at the convenience of the layer, as occasion presents itself, within the nests of so many species that it would be out of the question to think of naming them here. Of the meadow nesters which are included in the present list, the eggs of the cowbird have been found in the nests of the mourning dove, bobolink, red-winged blackbird, meadowlark, black-throated bunting, grass finch, song sparrow, grasshopper sparrow and prairie horned lark. The food of this bird consists of seeds and grain and some insects, especially ticks from the newly shorn sheep. A pernicious pest, setting a miserable example to man and beast.

The grass finch, *Poocaetes gramineus*, is a bird so well known the state over as the "ground bird," that the mention of that term is at once understood in every household. In all homes the "ground bird" is a well known and significant term to those who seem to think that all small birds of a brown color seen upon the ground in the fields belong to one species and that species is the "ground bird." I have several times been hotly arraigned because I said that the terms "sparrow," blackbird," ground bird," etc., were misleading and should never be carelessly used to designate a particular species; and even called a "bird crank" when I asked some ornithologists of this type to pick out a "ground bird" from the skins in the sparrow drawers of my cabinet. I wish that every member of the Michigan academy of science would aid

in introducing the correct and less confusing English names for birds, mammals, plants, etc., among the common people who may be interested enough to learn, for until this is done, the popular influence of the scientist, who has spent years in preparing himself to be of use to the masses, will be of little avail. The grass finch, vesper sparrow or bay-winged bunting, as it is variously and correctly called in different places, is one of the ground nesting species which has increased particularly in numbers, since the clearing up of the land and bids fair in time to outnumber in individuals any other species. Arriving usually in April, it is seen everywhere about the fields and along the roadside. The nest is situated in the grass upon the ground almost anywhere and is in such situations composed of grasses and stems with rootlets and occasionally horse hairs for a lining. Other nests are made in the cornfields next to the hills of grain and this seems to be a favorite location, where the materials used are mostly grass roots placed in a natural depression in the mellow soil. The outside rows are most used for their nests. In one corn row eighty rods long, I have found nine different nests on the same day, all with eggs. The nesting season extends through May, June and July. Eggs four or five, pale bluish-white, variously marked, splashed and mottled with lilac, chocolate and darker shades. There seems to be no limit to the variation of markings in eggs of the grass finch. Food mostly seeds—some insects. Of no harm and probably from its great numbers a very useful species.

The lark sparrow, *Chondestes grammacus*, I have found only once nesting here at Manchester, though the late dates on which they are occasionally seen, lead me to believe that they quite frequently do breed.

On May 20, 1896, I took a set of five fresh eggs and fully identified the female bird which was taken to make positive the find. The nest was upon the ground, in an open field, in a slight depression at the foot of a bitter dock plant. It was composed of grasses and rootlets and very much resembled the usual nests of the grass finch. The female bird was so tame that she would return to sit upon the eggs, after being flushed, while I was standing within ten feet of the nest. The eggs of the lark sparrow are creamy white, penciled and splashed with markings of chocolate brown and delicate lilac especially about the larger end. They resemble very much those of the orchard oriole in size and color. The pencilings upon the eggs also remind one of the markings upon the eggs of the red-wing. This is not a common bird, though each spring a few are noted. They arrive in April rather later than most of the sparrows

and remain until into May with the last of the juncos and white-crowned and white-throated sparrows.

The song sparrow, *Melospiza fasciata*, is by far the most attractive sparrow that we have. One of the first birds to greet us in March, inhabiting any and all sorts of ground, whether dry or damp, bushy or open, especially seeking the proximity of a farm yard and garden, he pours forth the sweetest, purest praise of spring that comes from all the feathered chorus, and when all birds are gay. The nests, composed of grasses and usually lined with finer ones and hair, are situated in bushes, upon the ground, in tufts of grass, in brush piles and even inside of buildings; in fact in every conceivable place. The eggs are five, bluish-white with markings of reddish brown in endless variety. The food of the song sparrow is almost wholly of insects if they can be found and the seeds of grasses and weeds. A bird of no bad habits and of inestimable benefit.

The grasshopper sparrow, *Ammodramus savannarum passerinus*, is a common bird in the hay fields and yet some very competent observers have never noted its presence owing to its rather shy ways and its general resemblance, when not specially noticed, to others of its class such as field sparrow, grass finch, etc., though it is smaller than either. However, if the peculiar, tremulous, balancing flight, very like that of the spotted sandpiper, is observed, and the rasping tones of the singer are heard, our attention should be seriously attracted to the odd little bird whose every move is characteristic. It is named grasshopper sparrow from the peculiar resemblance of its song to the stridulating note of the grasshopper. It is usually found singing from a windrow of hay, the top rail of a fence, or any prominent object not very high above the ground. This bird, which is increasing in abundance each year, arrives from the south about the first of May and the first brood is grown before haying time comes, the second being very often destroyed when the grass is cut. The nest is situated upon the ground, close to a tuft of grass, where the general growth is rather thin, and if possible in some natural depression such as is made by a cow or horse stepping in the mud, or where a small stone has been turned over, etc. It is composed loosely of grasses, roots of grasses, and sometimes hairs, carelessly placed. The usual clutch of eggs is five, white, speckled and in some cases splashed slightly with reddish brown. The food of the grasshopper sparrow, I am very positive, consists largely of insects. The young, at least, are fed almost entirely with insects and I have often seen the parent birds carrying larvæ about in their beaks for hours

after the nests have been destroyed, looking for their brood. The adults feed also upon seeds to some extent. Of no harm and of great benefit.

The black-throated bunting, *Spiza americana*, is the latest species to follow the opening up of the country bidding fair to become a common species where it has been heretofore very rare or wholly unknown. It is as yet abundant only in certain restricted localities but is becoming more generally distributed each year. It is with us at Fairview farm already somewhat common, several pairs usually occupying each forty acre hay lot. The nests are, as far as I have observed, always situated upon the ground in the thick grass, or clover fields, or fastened among the growing stems a few inches from the ground. The four eggs are laid usually in early June and are almost exact counterparts in color and size of those of the bluebird. They are, however, of a more round-oval form than those of the latter, one end being about as large as the other. In fact they come nearer being round than the eggs of any species that I can recall. Many nests, also, of this bird are destroyed in haying time. The food consists mostly of insects—some seeds. We should welcome this bird to a place among the common species in our state.

The meadowlark, *Sturnella magna*, is one of the most universally known species in the entire list. Its unmistakable identity, bright appearance and attractive notes, cause it to be noticed particularly and remembered by all who meet it. The meadowlark arrives in Michigan usually between March first and tenth and at once fills the air with its mellow, whistling song. The first nests are made early in May and nidification is continued through June. They are built upon the ground and are among the most elaborately formed, for protection, found in bird architecture. Built usually in the side of an especially thick tuft of grass in the meadow, the blades near at hand being drawn down and woven together over the nest proper, which consists almost entirely of dried grasses, we very often find in connection a tunnel of woven grass stems conveying the bird as she leaves the nest several yards unseen before she rises to fly. The eggs are five, crystal white, speckled and blotched with reddish brown. The food of the meadowlark consists largely of insects, both of imagos, such as beetles, flies, bugs, etc., and the various lepidopterous, hymenopterous and dipterous larvae which infest our hay fields. Grasshoppers and crickets are also taken. When insect food cannot be obtained, as when an individual occasionally winters with us, seeds and grains are readily taken.

I have little doubt that the field sparrow, *Spizella pusilla*, and the brown thrasher, *Harporhynchus rufus*, occasionally nest upon the ground

in the grassy borders of open fields. Their nesting sites vary much and they seek the brush heaps and shrubby borders of the open country rather than the deep woods. Indeed, I have been informed that they have nested upon the ground in the open, but as I have not personally known of such an instance I will not include them positively within this list of species.

In the mucky lowlands or marsh meadows, we find that of the above list of upland nesters all are found to be present except the prairie horned lark, grass finch, grasshopper sparrow, lark sparrow, mourning dove and dickcissel or black-throated bunting. With these exceptions we find the same list holding good but with the addition of three species not found nesting in the uplands. These we will briefly consider.

The prairie hen, *Tympanuchus americanus*, was found in great abundance by the first settlers of Michigan, inhabiting the marshes and patches of prairie land and among the more open hills upon which the scattered, wide-spreading oak trees grew. As the land was cleared, they continued to thrive and fatten in the grain stubbles, but when every man came to own a gun, and they became scattered in the fall over the whole upland country, they were slaughtered without mercy. The heavy, bungling rise of the prairie chicken makes it so easy a mark that it can scarcely be missed and it was persecuted for fun until it was practically extinct except in the prairie regions of the southwest of the state where yet a few remained. On April 13, 1894, however, a flock of sixteen were all at once discovered near Norvell, Jackson county. (For full notes concerning this flock see American Naturalist, vol. XXVIII, No. 355.) Since that time they have done very well until last fall when the hunters ruthlessly slaughtered eleven birds, and this after I had distributed signs, warning hunters to keep off, among the owners of all the land where they were found. These signs were generally tacked up, but under the softening influence of a few cigars the land owners yielded to so called friends and the birds suffered. They have become very shy and are so scattered now that they are in reality very difficult to obtain so I hope for their presence for a few years yet, at least. The nests are made of grasses and leaves in the thick herbage of the drier marshes early in May. One nest found last summer contained ten eggs of a brownish drab color. The food of the prairie hen consists of grasshoppers or locusts, crickets—in fact almost any insects, through the summer. They usually resort to the grain stubbles after harvest where the waste kernels are eaten until the bird becomes almost helplessly fat. Of no harm, to speak of, and undoubtedly of great service to the farmer

in ridding the fields of noxious insects, why will he not protect them? Is it stupidity or ignorance? Probably both.

The red-winged blackbird, *Agelaius phœniceus*, has in one instance been found to leave its customary reeds and cat-tails in the bog and build its nest in a tuft of grass in an open marsh, well drained and regularly cut for hay and afterwards pastured. It was situated at least one-fourth mile from water and entirely away from any bush or other protection. Usually coming to us about March 4, we must admit that the red-wing, as it gathers in huge flocks in the trees near our homes, furnishes us with a sleigh-bell chorus of undeniable richness, interspersed with the "tweck," "tweck," of those stopping for breath. This is one of the few species which are gregarious in their song. The nests are usually built in reeds, boggy tufts of sedge, or among cat-tails, standing in the water, and composed of coarse grasses and the leaves and shreds torn from the surrounding flags. The four eggs are light blue, with a slaty tinge, splashed, spotted and penciled with black, brown and purple, especially about the larger end. The young are fed largely with insects, those species found about the water, which are of little if any harm to us, being most taken, while the adults feed almost entirely upon wild seeds and grains when they can be obtained and are frequently of great damage to the farmer. As is the case with every species possessed of grain eating tendencies, it is apparently of little damage until the young are fledged and all are gathered together preparatory to their migration south. The red-winged blackbird is of doubtful reputation, probably just about paying for its board. We will at present give him the generous benefit of the doubt.

Henslow's sparrow, *Ammodramus henslowi*, is a rare species with us excepting in a few restricted localities. Its habits are little known from study in this state. It is an inhabitant of the marsh lands, preferably such as bear an open growth of short, shrubby plants, called locally with us "hard hack" (*Potentilla fruticosa*). Its flight and habits are much as in the case of the grasshopper sparrow, to which it is closely related, being, however, much more shy and less easily seen. I have taken in all, six specimens of Henslow's sparrow, all at or near Fairview farm at Watkins Station, Michigan. Three of them are now in my collection, one is at Lake Forest university, Illinois, one at the Indiana academy of science, in charge of Amos W. Butler of Brookville, that state, and the other taken to Ann Arbor by Mr. A. B. Covert, presumably in the collections of the University of Michigan. Mr. Covert took a specimen of this species at Pittsfield Junction, on the Ann Arbor & Lake Shore railways,

I believe, in the spring of 1894. The nest is not distinguishable from those of other sparrows, situated usually in a tuft of grass and composed of dry grasses. It was my good fortune to have the pleasure of recording the first nest of Henslow's sparrow, reported from Michigan. (See The Nidiologist, vol. 1, No. 12.) It was found late in May, and contained five eggs of a bluish-white, speckled with reddish-brown. Mr. Arnold of Battle Creek, tells me that another nest of this species has been taken near Pine lake, east of Lansing.

Of the species which might be included among the nesters of the open marshes, but which usually at least select the more wet or bushy ground are: Short-eared owl, *Asio accipitrinus*, Maryland yellowthroat, *Geothlypis trichas*, swamp sparrow, *Melospiza georgiana*, long-billed marsh wren, *Cistothorus palustris*, short-billed marsh wren, *Cistothorus stellaris*, king rail, *Rallus elegans*, mallard, *Anas boschas*, and sandhill crane, *Gius Mexicana*.

In the list of meadow nesters of which I have spoken we find the various orders, as follows:

Herodiones (cranes, herons, bitterns, etc.), one.
Limicolæ (waders), two.
Gallinæ (scratchers—quail, grouse, etc.), two.
Columbæ (doves), one.
Raptores (birds of prey), one.
Passeres (perchers proper—sparrows, thrushes, etc.), eleven.
Total, eighteen species.

EARLY DAYS IN DULUTH.

BY WILLIAM WITTER SPALDING, ONE OF THE EARLIEST SETTLERS ON LAKE SUPERIOR.

(From the Duluth Herald of January, 1901.)

The Herald is enabled herewith to present an autobiographical sketch of William Witter Spalding, one of the pioneers of Duluth and one of the very earliest settlers on Lake Superior. His career, as history shows, has been one of uncommon interest. Born eighty years ago in Pennsylvania, at an early date he went into the wilds that are now the seat of the great Mississippi valley empire, traveling by water and land in the primitive fashion of those days, meeting famous men of a day that is past, undergoing experiences that read like a chapter out of a histor-

ical novel, and finally reaching Lake Superior at a time when the fringes of civilization on its borders were scattered and thin. This history he has written for the Duluth Historical and Scientific association, and it has become a part, and a most interesting part, of its archives. So interesting and valuable are these reminiscences that the Herald has been unable to condense them, but gives them in full.

I was born July 11, 1820, so I was informed later by those who knew the facts, at Standing Stone, on the banks of the Susquehanna river, near Towanda, Bradford county, Pa. My first recollection of life is tinged with pain. It is connected with my well-meant attempt to feed bread and butter to an old sow, who nipped my tender fingers in her anxiety to prevent any of the food getting away. I imbibed what education I have at a college on the hill at Towanda, consisting of one room in a log house, luxuriantly furnished with long wooden benches and a desk for the teacher. Here I learned the three Rs, readin', 'ritin' and 'rithmetic, and how the girls' backs and shoulders were kept straight and their heads up by wearing a board strapped across their shoulders. I was named after my grandfather, who received a medal for bravery in the revolution. He was a descendant in the sixth generation of Edward Spalding, who came from England about 1619 to Maryland, from whence he removed some years later to the Massachusetts colony. The members of the family are almost as numerous as the Smiths, and are now to be found in every state in the union. There were seven of the name in the battle of Bunker Hill. My mother's name was Cash, of a family whose American residence is almost as old as that of the Spaldings. After finishing my education—no Greek or Latin was taught in my college—at the age of twelve, I entered the store of Burton Kingsbury in Towanda, where I was serving as a clerk when the great shower of meteors took place which frightened many people out of their wits and made them think the world was coming to an end.

In 1835 my father went to Peru, Ill., to take charge of a store for Colonel H. L. Kinney, who had a large contract on the canal then building from Chicago to the Illinois river. During the next summer my mother and family followed him. The only modes of transportation in those days were natural water courses and common roads. Under the direction of Judge Simon Kinney we procured a large scow on which we built a one-story board cabin. Putting our household goods aboard, one fine morning, with hundreds of our friends and neighbors lining the banks to see us off into the wild west, out of which they never expected us to return, we pushed out into the stream and floated down the Sus-

quehanna. Thus we left Towanda, the home of my youth. I often look back upon how, on frosty mornings, at an early hour, I approached with trembling steps the huge fireplace with its big andirons on which the night before I had placed the large backlog, the forelog and the middle pieces of hardwood; how, with numb fingers, I raked open the pile of ashes heaped up over the glowing embers to ascertain if any live sparks were left; how I took the great tongs and trudged off through the snow to a neighbor's a quarter or half a mile away to borrow a live coal if the fire had burned out during the night, or else, shaking with cold, try with flint and steel and a bit of punk or charred log to strike fire. Matches had not then been invented, or had not yet reached that part of the country. The first I ever saw were sticks with the ends dipped in sulphur, which we thrust into a vial of vitriol and brought forth in a blaze; how I searched for the cow which was to supply the main staple of our evening meal, often looking over my shoulder to see that the goblins did not get me.

Our trip down the river was uneventful, except the fright given the steersman—I was at the steering oar—by the pilot, who warned me to look out for Buttermilk falls, as they were dangerous. This kept me in a flutter until we reached them and found them to be only a place where a small stream tumbled down a hillside into the river. After several days we came to the west branch of the river and struck a canal, or rather slack-water navigation, with a towpath. We purchased a horse and were towed up to Hollidaysburgh. Here we sold our horse, scow and cabin, and took the railroad to cross the Allegheny mountains. The cars were hauled by stationary engines on the top of the mountains, and they took us to the top, whence we went to Johnstown. Thence we went down the Allegheny river to Pittsburg where we went on board a steamboat for a trip down the Ohio river to Cairo, then up the Mississippi past St. Louis to the mouth of the Illinois, then up the Illinois river to Peru. The trip was very interesting to a boy of sixteen who had never traveled before. At Louisville, Ky., I remember seeing a man over seven feet in height, called the Kentucky Giant. St. Louis we found to be a very lively town, and many steamboats lay at its wharves, for it was, in those days, the distributing point of the great southwest. At Alton, a few miles above St. Louis, we visited a famous cave, where some years later the great abolitionist, Owen Lovejoy, was shot at, the ball passing through his plug hat. I have heard him lecture and have seen him show the hat with the bullet hole through it. The country along the banks was wild. Flocks of geese and ducks rose on whirring wing before the bow of the steamer as she plowed her way up the river. We saw deer

and other game on the banks, and at night the wolves howled on the prairie.

We reached Peru after a trip of five weeks. From Peru we traveled by team twenty-five miles south to Indiantown, in Bureau county, where my father had charge of a general merchandise store belonging to H. L. and Lawrence Kinney. I entered the store as clerk and bookkeeper, remaining there until the fall of 1837, when I went to Peru to take charge of a store for a cousin. During the summer of 1837 Daniel Webster, who was a great friend of H. L. Kinney, and whose son Fletcher had a farm three miles back of Peru, paid a visit to Peru, which caused as great excitement there as would a visit by Admiral Dewey to Duluth. He came up the river on the steamer Wave, which belonged to my cousin, Ulysses Spalding. As it was late when they arrived, Mr. Kinney remained on the boat for the night. My father, who had gone up to see the great orator and statesman, also went aboard the boat. In the night the vessel took fire, and Webster and the other passengers barely escaped with their lives. My father was aroused, and groping his way through the smoke, got out on the upper deck forward looking for a way to get off. He saw a colored chambermaid shin down a fender to the dock, and he followed her and escaped in his night clothes.

I remained in Peru two years, during which period the panic of 1837-8 occurred, caused mostly by the great inflation of the currency by the issue of wildcat money by the banks. At every little village or cross roads where there were one or more buildings, a bank would be established and began to issue bills as fast as the press could print them. The country was soon flooded with this easily made wealth. Prices went up, and when the collapse came the wildcats went as flat as confederate money during the last days of the civil war. A basket of the paper would not buy provisions enough to keep a family going a week. Many men got rich by borrowing from the banks of issue. They could pay a loan of $10,000 by buying up that amount of its notes for $100 or $200.

During 1838 there were great labor troubles along the whole length of the canal from Chicago down. The difficulty arose between two factions from the Emerald Isle, the Fairdowns and the Corkonians. There had been a good many local fights in which men were hurt on both sides, but on one prearranged day the Corkonians rose en masse along the whole line of the canal from Chicago to Peru and attacked the Fairdowns by force of arms. They tore down their cabins, threw their household goods into the muddy waters of the big ditch, and badly beat many of them. There was much excitement in the little village. The

citizens held a mass meeting, bringing in settlers from all around, elected officers and called for volunteers to quell the disturbance. The fighting blood of the Spaldings—who were well represented in every war from the revolution down—grew warm within me, and I enlisted for the war. The arms and equipments of the troops that assembled on the morning of the first day of March would have put to blush the ragged phalanx of Sir John Falstaff. Men and boys armed with scythe blades, a rag wrapped around the shank for a handle, pitchforks, flails, clubs, bowie and butcher knives, a few shotguns and some pistols made up the armament. I was equipped with a small brass pistol. Perhaps I might have been able to wing the side of a barn at three feet, but it was perhaps lucky that I did not have a chance to try, because it was an open question whether, if that gun ever went off, the most execution would be done at the muzzle or the breech.

The army got together early one morning when a drizzly rain was falling and prepared for the march. Officers were chosen and a cavalry force of twenty or twenty-five men accompanied the expedition. We marched through mud and water for twelve miles along the bank of the big ditch. We saw many signs of the conflict of the previous day. Cabins were destroyed and women and children were sitting around in the ruins crying or dolefully fishing their goods out of the dirty water in the ditch. Many Fairdowns, with bandaged heads or limbs, came in and joined us. We captured some prisoners, and at the head of Buffalo Rock, at Thurston's tavern, we met about 125 of the Corkonians returning along the canal. The Fairdowns that had joined us and the tough element from town immediately rushed to attack them, against the protests and efforts of our officers. A good many shots were fired, and one or two were reported killed. Several were wounded and the rest were taken prisoners. In the meantime our cavalry had proceeded to Ottawa, the county seat, three or four miles farther up, and with the assistance of its citizens had captured 200 or 300 more of the rioters. The war was over. The same methods were pursued all along the line up to Chicago. At Joliet cannons were dragged out but were not used.

At this time Chicago was reported to be the biggest mudhole in the states. I had not yet been there, but teams were constantly passing through Peru loaded with grain for Chicago, and returning empty or loaded with supplies. The stories they told of the Chicago mud were awful.

At this time I had an attack of ague, and took my grip and a sack containing $400 in silver, the savings of my two years as clerk, and went

back to Indiantown to my father's, where I shook for a year. When I got so bad I could not get my feet to the floor when sitting in a chair for shaking, the fun gave out. I had a contract to carry the mails from Hennepin on the Illinois river, to Rock Island, on the Mississippi river, once a week. One fine morning in the fall of 1839, having concluded to run away from the ague, I got aboard the stage—a one-horse buggy—and started for Rock Island. With the exception of a slight touch I never had the ague again.

I remained about a year in Rock Island, where, during the summer of 1840, I saw the steamer Nauvoo, whose captain was a brother of Joseph Smith, the great Mormon leader and prophet. The Nauvoo was running on the river from the town of that name, the Mormon headquarters, where they were building a great temple. During the summer I took lessons in penmanship, and later attained some celebrity as a teacher of that art. While teaching in Granville I cast my first vote for William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe. He ran against Martin Van Buren, and I well remember the slogan of the campaign: "Tippecanoe and Tyler too; and with them we'll beat little Van. Van, Van is a used-up man; and with them we'll beat little Van." And they did. The man that whipped Big Injun Tecumseh was very popular in those days.

In the spring of 1841 Riley Watson, a student chum, and I started to make a trip to New Orleans, I to teach penmanship and he to deliver lectures along the route. We visited Pekin and Peoria, but at Pekin my trip was arrested by news of my mother's threatened death, and I hurried home. In the spring of 1842 I went to the lead mines of the Galena district. I settled at Fair Play, a small town northwest of Galena where I engaged in mining and teaching. It was a pretty rough place, with many gamblers and a good deal of pistol shooting and bowie-knife play, and with very little law and order. Still, it was the safest country for life and property for those that let the gamblers alone that I ever was in. In the spring of 1843 my uncle, Daniel S. Cash, joined me and we became partners in mining. He was from Cleveland, Ohio, where he had been engaged in running a passenger boat on the canal to the Ohio river. After working at various places during the summer we settled down at Stake Diggings in the fall. At this newly discovered district we stayed all winter, sleeping in a haymow and boarding at a farm house. We were fairly successful and made some money.

In the spring or early summer of 1844 we sold our claims and moved south, locating at the town of Elizabeth, located on Apple river, seventeen miles from Galena. Here we rented a log house and taking in two

more partners, George Bevis and E. C. Rhaum, we mined until the spring of 1845 with poor success. During the winter we heard rumors of the discovery of pure copper on Lake Superior, and got hold of an old book translated from the French, giving a history of the exploration and researches of a French Jesuit on the shores of Lac de Tracy, of Lake Superior some 200 years previous, telling of marvelous masses of pure copper lying exposed in the wilds of that country.

We were at once filled with a desire to go and see for ourselves, and began to prepare for the journey. About two weeks before we started, on returning to our cabin at 11 o'clock one morning after a hard morning's work, we found the window open and discovered that a red leather trunk under our bed had been broken open and $250 in gold gone. The thief had left a stocking full of silver. We should have had more money, but there had been a presidential election the previous fall, and that great statesman, Henry Clay, ran against James K. Polk. My partner, Mr. Cash, and myself were so sure that Clay was going to be elected that we bet $150 in gold against a fine horse. After the election we concluded to still travel on foot, as we considered that more healthy than horseback riding.

We located the thief, and he was whipped by the crowd until the switches ran out, when he confessed. He and his partner were sent to the penitentiary. While they were on their way there we were on our way to Galena, where we laid in a supply of provisions, mining tools, axes, saws, etc., and on the third day of May, 1845, we took a steamer up the Mississippi to Prairie du Chien, bound for the Lake Superior copper district.

HIS EXPERIENCE IN COPPER MINING.

We stopped at Prairie du Chien, Wis., where there was an old United States post, Fort Crawford, where two men, noted in history, had been in command—General Zachary Taylor, who became president in 1849, and died in 1850, and that arch-traitor, Jefferson Davis, who became the head of the southern confederacy. We put up our tent on the bank of the river, just below the fort. Prairie du Chien was a very pretty spot, 108 miles from Galena, on the east side of the Mississippi, three miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin river. I was taken ill with fever, May 6, and had to stick to the tent, take pills and exist on snipe soup. Cash bought a big pine canoe, forty-two feet long and three feet wide, and we were to make our trip in this. We fixed up the craft, made a big, square sail, and on May 10, loaded up, hoisted sail and started on up the Mississippi river, four of us, to say nothing of a dog, named Clear the

Way. Mr. Cash had been elected captain, and I was appointed steersman, which positions we held to the end of the trip. I will not stop to tell of the every-day incidents of the journey, and the dangers and narrow escapes we encountered, as we are in a hurry to get to Lake Superior. May 15 we passed the mouth of the Bad Axe river, where the Indian chief, Black Hawk, was taken prisoner in a battle. May 16 we passed Prairie La Crosse, a settlement of only a few buildings, and at night we stopped at a wood yard kept by a man named Bunnell. We remained here resting, hunting, fishing and catching rattlesnakes until May 20. This place was just below Lake Pepin, and I think it is now the town of Trempealeau, Wis. On the night of May 20 we took passage on the steamer Otter, towing our big canoe. At the head of Lake Pepin, on the west side, we passed an Indian village, called Red Wing, where the present Minnesota town of Red Wing stands. We arrived at the mouth of the St. Croix river at 11 o'clock. There was a dock and warehouse where the flourishing town of Prescott now stands. Here we resumed our canoe and started up St. Croix lake, which is thirty miles long and one to two miles wide. We did not go to St. Paul, where there were only a few log cabins and warehouses then, and its prospects were not very bright, though it was the head of navigation.

At 1 o'clock, May 22, we arrived at Stillwater Mills, at the head of the lake. Here were a few log buildings and a saloon, kept by an Irishman we had known in the mines. His name I have forgotten. At 2 o'clock, May 23, we arrived at St. Croix Falls, where we met our first hard proposition. We had to put our provisions all in sacks and drag our heavy canoe across the portage around the falls, packing our supplies on our backs. At the second rapids we found a sawmill, owned by a Mr. Parrington. Near here copper had been found, and a Mr. Kirkpatrick had a prospect. May 26 we made a portage around the falls, and got in what was called Nine-Mile Rapids, and they were indeed "rapid." We got to the head, and then lost bottom with our setting poles, and went back over them with a rush. We came near being wrecked, but saved our bacon and won out on the next trial. The mosquitoes had become wild, woolly and bloodthirsty. They proved our worst foes on the trip, in spite of prophecies that we should meet worse.

May 27 we passed the mouth of Wolf creek and the mouth of the Sunrise, and arrived at Connor's place about noon. Connor, after whom the point at West Superior was named, was 64 years old, and had been in the country forty-three years, in the employ of the American Fur Company. He was just getting ready to start for La Pointe, the headquarters

of the company in Lake Superior. We found him to be a genial, kind old man. He told us we could never get to Lake Superior with our big canoe, but that he would show us the way if we could keep up. He had three birch bark canoes loaded with furs and manned by half-breeds, French and squaws. There was another dugout, manned by an old Frenchman, with oats for the mission on the Mecagety. May 29 the fleet started up the river. We found no difficulty in keeping up with the bark canoes. May 30 we passed the mouths of Snake and Kettle rivers. We had been having almost continuous rain for many days. May 31 we passed the mouth of Tamarack river, and arrived at the mouth of Yellow river. June 3 we worked up over seven rapids in the rain. On the fourth we passed the mouth of the Mecogon river. On a point of land at its mouth was the grave of the old chief, Buffalo, where a tall flag pole stood. He had died two years previous. June 5, after a hard day's work crossing portages and getting up rapids, we camped at a place called Wa-shaw-go-ban-in-de-she-shin, where there had been a battle between Chippewas and Sioux, and a warrior had been wounded and left to die. June 7 we reached the portage on Lake St. Croix, the head of the river. This lake is about four miles long and a mile wide. There was an Indian village on the left hand side, about half way, opposite the head of an island.

From the lake there was a portage of two and a half or three miles to make over the hill to the head waters of the Brule river. At the foot of the hill, where the portage began, Mr. Connor and his crew left us, Mr. Connor saying that he should never see us again, as it was impossible for us to get over the portage or down the Brule.

But we had our nerve with us, and as Hannibal had crossed the Alps, we felt sure we could win out if no bad accident overtook us. On the 8th with the help of two Indians and their squaws, we packed our provisions and took them across the portage. There is said to be a spring—we did not see it—on the divide which boils up, the water on one side flowing into the St. Croix, and thence to the Mississippi, and on the other into the Brule and Lake Superior. June 9 we tried the big canoe by setting it up on runners, sled-fashion, but it would not work. We then began to cut down a large oak from which to saw wheels but before we got it down we were visited by several loads of Indians and squaws from the village on the lake. They thought we were traders and had whisky—scota-wa-bo—but they were disappointed in this hope of getting fire-water to quench their thirst. We hired them, however, with pork and flour, to help us cross the portage. Driving large spikes on each side of

the canoe we hitched them to it with their pack straps, nineteen of them, and cutting some small poles, three or four feet long, we used them as rollers. The captain gave the word and away we went over the hill and to the head of the Brule without a stop.

Where we struck the river it was about four feet wide. Here on a tree we found the name of James B. Campbell, assistant agent of United States mineral lands, who had crossed before us. On the 10th we loaded up to start about 11 o'clock, but found we had squeezed all the water out of the river and were hard aground. We went down about a mile and built a dam, which raised the water so that we flowed down, broke our way through the dam, and on we went. In a short distance we struck a bend that was too sharp for the canoe to turn. With spades and axes we cut off the point of land and went on again. After two or three more such obstructions we found fair water and sped swiftly on. About sundown we overtook Connor and his party, who were much surprised but glad to see us.

The rest of the way down the Brule, over its many rapids and falls we traveled safely, with many various daily incidents, and on June 3, just before sundown, we arrived at the Kitchi Gummi, great Lake Superior, forty-four days from our starting point. We had fine sport coming down the river catching speckled trout. The river seemed to be full of them. June 18 we arrived at La Pointe, on Madeline island, about four miles from the main shore in Chequamegon bay. Here were the headquarters of the American Fur company, of which Ramsey Crooks, of New York was president. Dr. Borup and C. H. Oakes were chief factors here and a Mr. Hays was agent. Dr. Borup and Mr. Oakes afterward removed to St. Paul, where some of their descendants still live.

I was taken with a fever soon after reaching La Pointe, and was sick some weeks. I was tenderly cared for by Vincent Roy, who was then a young student with the Catholic priest, and up to his death, a few years ago, was a well known and respected merchant of Superior. There had been an old French fort, ninety years previous, and later an American fort, at La Pointe, both of which had been abandoned and had gone to ruins. In a very old Catholic church there was a beautiful picture of Christ at the carpenter's bench. We remained there prospecting, mostly on the main land, near the present site of Bayfield, and assisted the agent in making the yearly payment to the Indians, who assembled there every year to receive this annuity from the government, amounting usually to $4 per head in money, one blanket, four or five yards of calico, two

or three yards of satinet and some gun flints, for which some of them traveled 400 or 500 miles. I saw at one time over 3,700 Indians there.

As soon as they received their pay they began gambling, and they kept it up until the sharpest had most of the plunder. Here I saw the game of lacrosse for the first time. June 30 two vessels arrived, the Algonquin and the Uncle Sam.

George Bevis had left us June 26 on the schooner Siskiwit for the Galena lead mines again. We passed the glorious Fourth of July very quietly. There was no roar of cannon, no roll of drums, no blare of trumpets to usher in the day. July 15 Cash started on the Siskiwit for Fond du Lac to look for reported lead discoveries. Raum and I started in the big canoe for Copper Harbor, on the south shore. On the 17th we reached the Montreal river where we camped. July 19 a lot of Indians came in from the headwaters of the Wisconsin river on their way to La Pointe, and camped all around us. That night they stole all our pork and flour, which was in a bag under our heads, and left us destitute of provender, and with no prospect of getting any more short of Copper Harbor. So we started in a hurry on the morning of the 20th. On the next day we shot a pigeon and had it for supper. On the 22d we killed two pine squirrels, that helped out a little, and the next day we reached Ontonagon, where, at the mouth of the river, we found two log houses, one large one called the government house, occupied by Major Campbell, assistant mineral land agent, and a cabin occupied by James K. Paul, who, with Nick Mineclue, had come from Illinois across country through Wisconsin in 1843 and took possession of the famous rock of pure copper on May 5 of that year.

This large lump of pure copper was lying on the west branch of the river, a few miles above its mouth. We had read about its being seen by the French explorers and missionaries 100 years or more previous, by General Lewis Cass, the great democratic leader of Michigan, some thirty years before. Paul and his associate cut a road across the point to the main line, and with oxen, brought up the lake, hauled the mass of copper to what is now called Victoria Mine landing. Here they got on a big log raft and floated down the river, where they sold it to a man named Eldridge for $1,760. Eldridge put it on a vessel and took it to Detroit, where it was seized by an agent of the government on the ground that it was removed before the treaty with the Indians for the purchase of the lands was signed. It was taken to Washington, where it now reposes in the Smithsonian institution, where I have seen it several times. There

has been a good deal of it chipped or chopped off, but it still weighed 3,844 pounds.

John Burt surveyed the country about the mouth of the Ontonagon river in the spring of 1845, and there were four white men in the county in the winter of 1845-6. The township of Ontonagon, which included the whole county, was organized in 1849 and D. S. Cash was first supervisor and P. B. Eastman clerk.

July 26 Rhaum and I started for Copper Harbor, which we reached August 1. It is a very pretty and safe harbor, two miles long and half a mile wide. Here stood Fort Wilkins, with two companies of soldiers, under the command of Captain Clery. The United States mineral agency was on a point called Porter's island, where leases could be obtained on tracts from one to three miles square. We took two leases on tracts each a mile square, and started up the lake again. August 7 we went to Ontonagon, and from there we went to La Pointe, where we stayed until September 10, when we shipped on board the steamer for Ontonagon, and built a log house on the west bank of the river, about a mile above the mouth, where Mr. Cash made a claim.

September 13 there was a big storm, and Dr. Douglas Houghton and two of his men were drowned, near Eagle river. Dr. Houghton was state geologist of Michigan, and was making a geological survey of the country. His loss was a hard blow, and it was deeply regretted by everybody.

We all lived in the log house until December 31, 1845, when I left for Iron River under agreement to mine for the Boston North American Mining company, organized by the American Fur company, under the management of Messrs. Borup and Oakes. The first work was done on a claim on a branch of Iron River, eight miles from the mouth. Here I remained prospecting and sinking a shaft, with five or six men, until March 18, 1846. Our provisions were packed in on the backs of Indians from the mouth of the river. Here I had the honor of being adopted into the Chippewa tribe by an Indian, called the Little Frenchman, whose wife was the daughter of the old chief Cunde-cun, who was then said to be over 100 years old. I was presented with a red stone pipe, from the quarries in Minnesota, and given the name of Wazusk—Muskrat—because I dug holes in the ground. I still have the stone pipe. March 18 we moved our camp to what was then called the Bell location, afterward the Union mine, about four miles west of Iron River, near the foot of the Porcupine mountains. The copper vein on this location was well defined and quite easy to work. The hanging wall was old altered red sandstone and the foot wall amygdaloid. Part of the vein was very

rich, but the copper was so fine that it was found impossible to make it a paying proposition. So after several trials under different organizations it was abandoned.

DISCOVERY OF WORK DONE HUNDREDS OF YEARS BEFORE.

On July 4, 1846, we went to the mouth of Iron river to attend a celebration of the day. There was a table under a bowery of bushes at which thirty-five Americans sat down to dinner. The principal item on the bill of fare was a baked Lake Superior trout weighing forty pounds. A Mr. Palmer made an address, and I read the Declaration of Independence, after which we had toasts.

I had full charge of the Union mine after beginning work as agent, and was engaged in sinking, drifting, clearing, building, etc., with the usual incidents of mining life. October 27, 1846, the first white child was born in Ontonagon county, a bouncing boy, arriving to gladden the home of Mrs. Shin, our cook.

I remained at the Union mine until in September, 1847, when I resigned my position and went to Ontonagon, where I bought out a Mr. Adams, who had been a partner of D. S. Cash in a general merchandise business on the west side of the river, on Mr. Cash's homestead claim. Mr. Cash had gone to Cleveland, Ohio, after his family. I wish to say right here that D. S. Cash was one of God's noblemen. He was honest, upright, generous and genial. He was loved by everybody who knew him. About November 1st he returned with his family on the side-wheel steamer Julia Palmer, whose master was Captain Moody and whose mate was Captain Jack Angus. The steamer was caught in a big storm when but a short distance out from the Sault, and came very near going to the bottom with all on board. But by throwing the freight overboard and the frantic efforts of all on board she was got into port on Isle Royale, and after the storm went down she crossed to Ontonagon. Among the freight thrown overboard were most of the goods purchased by Mr. Cash for our store. As there was no insurance, this was a hard blow to our new enterprise. I immediately took a contract to do some mining for the Vulcan Mining company on location ninety-eight, afterward the famous Minnesota Mining company. I began work early in January, 1848.

In April of that year I examined a cave that had been occupied by porcupines for many generations, and discovered that it had been worked by the hand of man. I had it cleaned out and found masses of pure copper standing up from the bottom some eighteen or twenty inches

above the rock in which they were embedded. Around them were ashes, burned pieces of bark and boulders of rock weighing five to ten pounds. Around the center of these stones creases or rings had been cut, about one inch in width and an eighth to a quarter of an inch deep. It was evident that these stones had been used as hammers or mallets. Around the creases a withe had been bound for a handle. The ends of many of them were battered, showing hard use. All the indications went to show that the ancient miners, whoever they were, first built fires on the rock and then poured on water to soften it. Then they worked with these stone hammers to beat it away.

This was the first discovery of the work of the ancient miners on Lake Superior. Afterwards, on the same vein on which I made this discovery, a basin like depression was found in which stood a large hemlock tree. When it was cut down it was found by its rings that it was over 400 years old. A shaft was found which had been worked by the ancients. On cleaning this out to a depth of twenty feet a drift was found leading out on the vein for about fifteen feet. In this drift, laying on oak skids—there was no oak growing in this country at the time of which I write—there was a solid mass of pure copper weighing four tons. The ancient miners, after immense labor for many years, had succeeded in detaching it from its bed in the rock and tipping it over on the skids found that they were unable to move it. The skids being covered with water preserved their shape and grain, though they were of the consistency of cheese. The shaft was continued down another twenty feet, making forty feet in all. How many years or centuries it had taken these ancients, with their crude methods, to do this work no man knows. Other works of similar description were found subsequently all over the copper country of Upper Michigan. Isle Royale was found honey-combed with these ancient pits.

Some years after, at a depth of several hundred feet, a mass of copper was encountered in the conglomerate weighing over 500 tons. It took three years to cut it up and get it out of the mine. It was thrown down by what were called sand blasts. The rock was partly removed from behind it and many kegs of black powder—no dynamite being then in use—were put in and covered with sand. The charge was then fired by electricity. The only way to cut it was by a narrow steel chisel, which was held by one miner while one or two more drove it with sledges. The chisels cut a strip or ribbon half an inch wide and one to three feet long. The blocks so cut out would weigh from two to six tons each, some of their faces being five feet across.

Many theories have been advanced as to what people performed these ancient feats of mining, and as to the age in which they were done. No satisfactory proof has ever been found to back up any theory. No remains of any habitations or works left by them have ever been found, except the copper tools, which gave proof of their having been skilled artisans or that they had relations with races that were. My own opinion is that they were a race cotemporary with the so called Mound Builders, and that they did their work in the summer season, taking the small pieces of copper they were able to obtain south, possibly to the Aztecs of Mexico, to be made into utensils and ornaments, as well as implements of warfare.

May 6, 1848, I finished my work, netting $1,000 profit for my four months work, and went back to the store at Ontonagon. May 26 I was shot in the knee by James K. Paul, while he was intoxicated, in revenge for a fancied injury done him by my partner, D. S. Cash. He used a shotgun loaded with duck shot, and made a wound that has never healed and that crippled me for life. After I had been laid up for about a year I recovered sufficiently to go to Cleveland and have an operation performed by Dr. Ackley, who was then one of the most noted surgeons in the west. Cleveland at that time was quite a business place, and did a large wholesale business with the copper mining country of Lake Superior.

In August, 1853, I took the first three degrees in Masonry in the first lodge established on the shores of Lake Superior. The officers were as follows: D. S. Cash, W. M.; E. C. Roberts, S. W.; William Peck, J. W. I was recommended by John Greenfield, grandfather of J. B. Greenfield, now with the Lakeside Land company in Duluth, Samuel Peck, Thomas H. Low and S. K. Reed.

In the fall of 1853 I went east, took the royal arch degree in Union Chapter 161, Towanda, Pa., and was married April 27, 1854, in Fiskilwa, Ill. We left immediately afterward for Ontonagon. On arriving at Sault Ste. Marie we were obliged to wait two weeks for a boat to go up the lake and finally got on board the propeller Napoleon, Captain John McKay. This was her first trip after her transformation from a schooner into a propeller.

In the early 50s my partner, Mr. Cash, and myself, took a contract to do the freighting for the Minnesota Mining company. This we accomplished by means of river boats on the Ontonagon. These boats were about sixty feet long and ten feet wide, and were manned by twelve men to pole and one, the captain, to steer.

They would carry eight to fifteen tons, taking supplies up and copper down with passengers. If there were no vessels laying off the mouth of the river when the boats arrived down, the copper was handled at the dock of our store and warehouse. If there was a steamer at anchor the boat was run out to her and the copper taken on board. It was pretty dangerous work, especially when there was a heavy sea on the lake. In this business I became acquainted with nearly all the captains of steamers and vessels navigating Lake Superior in those days.

The first one I fell in with was Captain Jack Angus, of the schooner Siskiwit. He has a son of the same name who is still living. Next was Captain Ripley, of the Free Trader, who was succeeded by Captain John Parker, still living in a hale and hearty age at Ontonagon. Next was Captain Lathrop Johnson, whose descendants still live at Ontonagon. Others were Captain Eber Ward, of the Baltimore; Captain Ben. Sweet, of the North Star side wheeler, the fastest boat that then ran on the lakes, which came out in 1857; Captain John Spalding, of the Northern Light and Lac Labell, who was afterwards superintendent of the Sault canal locks until his death; Captain John Wilson, of the Meteor, who died recently in Palestine; Captain B. Wilkins, the two Caldwells, Captain Halloran, Captain John McKay, of the ill-fated Manistee; Captain Alexander McDougall, inventor of the whalebacks, whom everybody in Duluth knows; Captain Murch, of the Northern Light, and many others.

THE DEED TO CHIEF BUFFALO.

In September of 1854 a treaty was held at La Pointe by commissioners appointed by the general government, with chiefs of the Chippewa Indians, for the cession of the lands at the head of the lake and the north shore in the state of Minnesota, then a territory. Mr. Cash was there to try and secure a claim which we had against Benjamin J. Armstrong, a trader at La Pointe, who was married to a daughter of Chief Buffalo. Armstrong had become deeply indebted to us for goods which he had furnished the Indians. Mr. Cash was acquainted with Chiefs Buffalo, Negaunab, Cundecun and many others, and consulted and advised them. The commissioners tried for several days to treat with the Indians, but they could not agree. They were about ready to quit in disgust when Mr. Cash disclosed to them the terms on which they could agree with the chiefs and get them to sign. These terms were in effect to assign certain reserves to different bands. One of them was to be had at Duluth, and it was to go to the heirs of Chief Buffalo, Armstrong and his wife, Madeline. We had an agreement with Armstrong that he

should deed to D. S. Cash & Co., and James H. Kelly two-thirds of all the land so obtained for our claim. This land is now what is known as the third division of Duluth.

In 1856 Mr. Cash and myself fitted out or grub staked several persons to go to the head of the lake about Duluth to make homestead or pre-emption claims. Among these men were W. W. Kingsbury, who was elected from Duluth to the territorial legislature; Samuel McQuade, who was sheriff of St. Louis county for some time and who was in a sash and door factory in partnership with Mr. Patterson, also from Ontonagon, on Minnesota Point; William Whitesides, Robert Johnson and Benjamin J. Armstrong.

In those early days steamboats on the lake were such a curiosity that when the whistle of one was heard nearly every man, woman and child in Ontonagon would rush to the docks and beach to see it come in. When the preachers gave out their text from the pulpit on a Sunday they would announce that services would be held on such and such a day and hour "provided no steamboat arrived." Now it is no uncommon sight to see thirty to fifty steamers in Duluth harbor at one time.

Among the emigrants from Ontonagon to the head of the lake that became prominent citizens of Duluth and Superior, besides those previously mentioned were Peter Dean, a well-remembered merchant of Duluth and one of her honored mayors; James Edwards, of West Superior; Dr. S. S. Walbank, a well-known physician; Charles Witt, Herman Burg, P. Doran, chief of police in Duluth under Mayor Sutphin; V. S. Wilkinson, Mrs. Fanny Cash and sons, D. G., James and Charles; E. and A. Kugler, L. Hegart, I. C. Spalding and family, L. M. Spalding and family, L. Webber, for many years a merchant on Superior street, but now in California; a Mr. Wheelock, who was a clothing merchant in Old Superior until his death; and John Levine, of the St. Paul & Duluth freight office.

Lake Superior gets up some pretty big storms at times, and while not considered especially dangerous it has caused the loss of much property and many lives during my time. In 1847 the schooner Merchant was lost with all on board. In 1848 the schooner John Jacob Astor struck a rock and sunk in Copper Harbor. In 1856 the old steamer Superior was partly burned in July and foundered off the Pictured Rocks in the same fall. In 1872 the steamer Lottie Bernard, Captain Norris, foundered off Beaver bay on the north shore. In November, 1858, the schooner Algonquin, Captain Jack Angus, sunk at Superior. In 1861 the steamer Seneca went down, losing no lives. In 1850 the steamer Monticello foundered off

Portage canal loaded with copper. September 30, 1854, the steamer Baltimore went down off the Pictured Rocks, carrying with her over 100 people. In 1857 the steamer Sunbeam foundered, carrying down all on board, except a Frenchman from Superior. Among her passengers were A. Coburn and Abner Sherman, two of Ontonagon's most prominent citizens. July 9, 1876, the steamer St. Clair, with a number of Duluth people on board, was burned off Elm river, below Ontonagon, and twenty-seven people lost their lives. Among those saved was John B. Sutphin, afterward mayor of Duluth. In November, 1883, the steamer Manistee, Captain John McKay, foundered off Porcupine mountains, in a big storm and all on board were lost.

In August, 1858, I moved from Ontonagon with my family upon my mining claim on the mineral range, about a mile and a half west of Maple Grove. I was appointed postmaster of Greenland postoffice by President Buchanan, just previous to the presidential election of 1860. I was notified by the democratic committee of Detroit to contribute $25 to the campaign fund of the party.

This request I answered by refusing, and stating that I proposed to vote and use my influence for the election of Abraham Lincoln. My letter was published, and, of course, my official head rolled into the democratic waste basket. It was not a terrible sacrifice, however, as the receipts of the office amounted to only about $3 per quarter.

In September, 1860, Mr. Cash sold my claim to New York parties, who organized a mining company on it and named it Ogemaw (chief). I had worked it for two years with E. Holland, of Houghton, Michigan, as partner, and got out enough copper to make it pay us. I remained with the company as agent or superintendent of their mine until it closed down in 1868. In the spring of 1869 I came up to Duluth and made arrangements to build a store building at the corner of Fifth avenue west and Superior street, where the Spalding hotel now stands. This was the first building erected in what is the third division of Duluth after it was platted.

I was a resident of Ontonagon county twenty-five years, and in all my life I have never lived in a community so harmonious and composed of such trustworthy people. Among all the mine agents, mining captains, clerks, doctors and business men generally there were no cases of one trying to beat the other. Among those I distinctly remember were J. B. Townsend, Captain William Harris, Dr. Flanner, Chynouth of the National, Henry Buzzo of the Toltec, W. E. Dickinson of the Bohemian, Jason Hanna, S. S. Robinson, F. G. White, L. C. Patterson E. C. Sales, Captain E. Jennings, Captain Steven Partin, W. P. Spalding. Among

the merchants and business men of my kindest regard were W. M. Millar, James Morcer, C. G. Collins, James Carson, James A. Close, James Burton Shaw, L. M. Dickens, E. Sayles and William Condon, of Ontonagon; L. Stannard, B. T. Rogers, James E. Hoyt and James Harring, of Rockland.

In January, 1869, word was received that Mr. Cash was dangerously sick at Canandaigua, N. Y., and I hastened there to see him. I found his oldest son, D. G. Cash, and his daughter Agnes, at his bedside. He was alive when I arrived, but he passed away that night, January 29. The Masons turned out in force and attended his funeral and placed his body in a vault until the opening of navigation the next spring, when it was shipped to Ontonagon and laid at rest in a cemetery on his own farm. A monument of Duluth granite erected by his widow and children now marks his grave. He came of fighting stock. In 1835 his brothers George and John went from Towanda to Texas. George was killed with Crockett at the historic taking of the Alamo. John was taken prisoner at Fanning's defeat and drawing a black bean was shot. His oldest son, Major D. G. Cash, a well-known attorney of Duluth, was one of the first to enlist in Ontonagon county when the rebellion broke out.

In the summer of 1869 myself and my brother, I. C. Spalding, had erected a store building on the corner of Superior street and Fifth avenue west, where the hotel now stands. In the spring of 1870 I tore down a dwelling house at Ontonagon, I loaded it upon a steamer and brought it to Duluth, rebuilding it on the southwest corner of Second street and Fifth avenue west. In August of that year I moved into it with my family.

On the boat on which we came to Duluth were the two sweet singers from Buffalo, George Sherwood and F. McWharter, who regaled us with "Up in a Balloon" and other fine songs, and who with P. Doran and Frank Burke afterward formed Duluth's famous quartet. In the fall of 1870 I was elected an alderman and served during the building of the canal and dykes.

In 1873 the Jay Cooke panic hit Duluth hard and knocked the stuffing out of all her citizens and the city for a long time.

December 21, 1874, the Duluth & Iron Range railroad was incorporated. The incorporators were W. W. Spalding, C. Markell, C. P. Bailey, B. S. Russell, J. C. Hunter, L. Mendenhall, J. D. Enign, P. Mitchell, L. M. Dickens, J. B. Culver, George C. Stone, W. R. Stone and J. D. Howard. I was the first president, and continued in that capacity until 1883, when the organization was absorbed by a part of the members. I had organized

the company and selected the incorporators in the interests of an Ontonagon syndicate that had obtained large tracts of land near the Vermilion range, in 6-12 and 13. It was intended to build a road to get at these lands.

In 1876 the Duluth & Winnipeg Railroad company was incorporated, the incorporators and first board of directors being A. M. Miller, A. J. Sawyer, John M. Hunter, R. C. Mitchell, James Bardon, H. M. Peyton and W. W. Spalding. I was made president and continued to act as such until 1883. In November, 1881, ground was broken for the construction of the road by a Boston company to which we had disposed of the franchise. The agreement for the sale of our interests was made in the spring of 1881 with J. B. Billheimer acting for the Boston parties, among whom were H. J. Boardman, Captain Cooper and Charles W. Whitcomb. Emil Hartman was engineer and draughtsman. We were to receive $30,000 in cash, $100,000 in bonds and 1,500 shares of the capital stock of the company, but the Boston company failed and we got only a small part of what we were promised. The franchise afterward went into the possession of the Canadian Pacific Railroad company and the road was built by the North Star Construction company, of which Mr. Fisher, of St. Paul, was general manager. It is now owned by the Great Northern road, of which it is a part.

The swamp land grants to the Duluth & Iron Range Railroad company by act of the legislature approved March 9, 1875, were turned over to the Duluth & Winnipeg Railroad company by an act approved March 9, 1878.

October 1, 1874, the foundation was begun for a plow factory on the bank just west of where the union depot now stands. It was completed in the spring of 1875 and machinery installed, and plows were manufactured for about three years with some success. Then it burned down with no insurance, and we never rebuilt it. Between 1870 and 1880 I was for three years president of the St. Louis County Agricultural society, two years president of the chamber of commerce, one year secretary of the board of trade, and I was a director of the first blast furnace which was built on Rice's Point in 1873.

Owing to the scandal about the land office in 1881, I was appointed, without solicitation on my part, as receiver, with Judge Carey as register. It appeared that frauds in the pre-emption and homestead filings for pine lands had been the rule of the office. A public sale of land was held during the fall of 1882, and from this and other sources I took in during

the two years that I was in office as receiver over $1,000,000, which went into Uncle Sam's treasury.

In 1884 I was turned out of office through the influence of parties whose enmity I had incurred by opposing certain fraudulent entries.

Ground was broken April 9, 1887, for building the Spalding hotel, and it was completed and opened for business June 10, 1889. The building is seven stories high, built of brownstone, brick and iron, covering a space 150 feet by 115 feet, and it cost $350,000. Its beginning was the forerunner of the great boom in real estate of 1887 and 1888, and it raised and maintained the values for several blocks in its vicinity from 100 to 500 per cent. I was and still am president of the Spalding Hotel company.

THE MICHIGAN INDIANS.

BY MELVIN D. OSBAND.

When civilization first entered Michigan, it met substantially the same conditions that confronted the English pioneers of Virginia and Massachusetts. They found a barbarous people that were as hopelessly unchangeable in their habits, as the river on their eastern border.

Civilization stands for a higher development of humanity. It is, when at its best, both progressive and aggressive. In its relations with the Indians it brings into its service larger resources, and better equipment, and its onward progress is irresistible. Whatever is found on its track to impede its progress must be removed or crushed. Hence one of two things must occur to the Indian. He must adopt the white man's methods, put on civilized garb and till the soil, or perish by inanition. There is no other alternative. Food is a necessity to every people. The support of civilized man comes from the tillage of the soil. He craves land. The Indian cares not for land, but to him a hunting ground is a necessity. Civilization can get, by the plow and hoe, more food from a square acre, than the Indian can get by the bow and arrow, from a square mile. The methods of the one fosters an increase of population, that of the other makes it impossible. These two conditions, side by side, cannot permanently endure. The tilled acres of the agriculturist contracts the area of the Indian's hunting ground. This creates an antagonism and a contest that uniformly results in the survival of the civil methods.

Sympathize, as we must, with the sufferings of the poor Indian, the results are as inevitable as the laws of gravitation.

The real historic period of the Michigan Indians, commences with the year 1641, when the first mission was established among them at Sault Ste. Marie. All claims of events prior to that date rests only upon prehistoric tradition. The history of the century succeeding that date, is meager and consists of the forming of new missions and military posts, the records of explorations along its borders and the narratives of traders and solitary wanderers among its wild tribes.

During the next century, the history becomes less obscure. Two, at least, of Michigan's tribes—the Ottawas and Chippewas, helped to swell the gathering hordes of savages at Fort Duquesne, by several hundred warriors, that aided in the defeat of Braddock. But the more prominent event of Indian history of that country, was the war known as the conspiracy of Pontiac.

Before recording the events of this and subsequent wars, in which the Indians enlisted, we will speak of the Indian population of our state and note their tribal relations.

SPARSE POPULATION.

No large tribe of Indians ever claimed Michigan as its home. Michigan was their hunting ground, but, with the exception of small and fragmentary tribes, it was never their domicile. Michigan lay midway between the Sioux on the west, and the Iroquois on the east. These were the dominant powers of the country east of the Rocky mountains. No tribe making any pretensions to great power, would be tolerated by either between the lakes for a single year. The Indian population of Michigan, when it became known to Europeans, is unknown. But it was not great, for no country populated by hunters can ever support a numerous people. Large population is only possible where food is abundant. There is a limit to the food products from the wilderness that is soon reached, as very few Indians ever till the soil. For this reason the American continent, from Point Barrows to Cape Horn, was always thinly populated. In the palmiest days of the Indian occupation of Michigan, a man might travel many days in succession, through its forests without meeting a human face or a human habitation. In 1680, La Salle led a band of Frenchmen through Michigan, from the mouth of the St. Joseph, to the Detroit river, without seeing a human habitation, and but one small party of Indians.

In 1641, twenty years after the Mayflower cast her anchor in Plymouth harbor, two Frenchmen, Rambault and Jogues, penetrated the wilds of the upper lakes, till they reached Sault Ste. Marie. They were the first Europeans, so far as history informs us, that ever set their feet on Michigan soil. They established a mission among the Indians that occupied that locality, who called the name of their tribe Ojibways, but from a misunderstanding of the pronunciation of the name the French called it Chippewas, and they have been known by the two names since.

THE CHIPPEWAS.

The Chippewas then resided in scattered bands along the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior. Tradition said they came from the north shore of the St. Lawrence, above Quebec, and that they came as fugitives —fleeing before the fury of the Iroquois, at an early day. This was the most populous tribe that ever lived within Michigan territory since Michigan history became known. After the French war the Chippewas spread over the lower peninsula quite generally, some settled on the borders of Lake Erie. What their numbers were at that time, can only be conjectured, but in 1822, they numbered less than 6,000.

THE POTTAWATTOMIES.

Tradition says they, too, fled from Canada before the Iroquois, or other powerful tribe, in prehistoric days. In former times they occupied a large part of lower Michigan. About the close of the seventeenth century they were driven, by the Iroquois, north and west to Green Bay. But by the influence of the French, under whose jurisdiction they claimed protection, they were permitted to return and occupy southern Michigan, and northern Illinois and Indiana. They were generally hostile to our government. They fought with Pontiac, they shared the fate of the allied tribes in their defeat by General Wayne in 1794, and they fought with the British against us in the war of 1812-15. By successive treaties they sold their claim to lands in Michigan, and removed west, and now occupy lands in Kansas, unless removed in recent years.

THE OTTAWAS.

We first meet the Ottawas on the Manitouline Islands in Lake Huron, and on portions of the northern part of the lower peninsula of Michigan. After the destruction of the Hurons of Canada, in 1649, they fled to Green Bay in abject fear of the Iroquois. Deeming themselves unsafe there, they fled across the Mississippi to the Sioux. Unable to live in peace with the Sioux, they returned and settled again in the northern

part of the lower peninsula of our state. After the settlement of Detroit, a colony of Ottawas settled in its vicinity. Pontiac, author of the conspiracy that bears his name, was a chief of this tribe. He had a home in one of the small islands of the river above Detroit. At this time the population of the tribe numbered about 1,500, a portion of which lived in Ohio. In after years, a remnant of this tribe united with the Chippewas, and now share their home in northern Michigan, where they numbered by the United States census in 1890, 6,991, and by our state census of 1894, 6,760.

EACH INDIAN HAS A HOME.

Pursuant to a request of some of these Michigan Indians, the government, in 1854 and 1855, gave lands in severalty, to such of them as chose to accept it, each male head of a family over 21 years of age, and each single man of like age, could choose and occupy from forty to eighty acres and receive a government title to the same, with such restrictions to the right of selling same as would secure them from loss by wily and dishonest purchasers. By these treaties, the government also agreed to furnish interpreters, mechanics, farmers, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, cattle and agricultural implements, also means for the support of missions, and schools, and sometimes for the services of physicians. Under the inspiration that these facilities furnish, many of the Indians have laid aside their rude habits and customs, dissolved their tribal relations, wear citizens' garments, speak the English language, are gaining industrious habits and good citizenship, and are making good progress towards civilization. This is a new enterprise,—an experiment by the government, and it has worked as satisfactory as the conditions would justify.

Our state has also invested such Indians as have abolished their tribal relations and possess the other qualifications of citizenship, with the elective franchise, on an equality with all other citizens. They are now competent to vote, and be voted for, for any office in the government.

The great body of the Ottawas found homes in the Indian territory, where they became so much reduced in numbers, that in 1875, they numbered but 142. Their bravery was never above suspicion. Appleton says they were "great cowards."

THE HURONS, OR WYANDOTS.

The advent of this tribe to our state was of more recent date than that of any of the others mentioned and its history is better known. They were a fragment of the once populous tribe of Hurons, that dwelt

along the southern shore of Georgian Bay in Canada. They spoke a language allied to that of the Iroquois, and they were supposed to be allied in blood to that tribe. In efforts to christianize this people, the French Jesuits exhausted their skill and resources during the early years of the seventeenth century. Jean d Brabeuf, Gabriel Lallamont and others associated with them, threw their whole souls into the work. Never was greater patience and perseverance bestowed with less encouraging results. Their efforts did not cease till the nation ceased to be. With the downfall of the tribe, these priests fell into the hands of their Iroquois enemies, and with the most undaunted composure, they suffered death by the most savage torture. The Hurons seem to have been a quiet people, who desired to live in peace with their neighbors. But they occupied an adjacent country, and the Iroquois, Alexander like, were unwilling that any other tribe should maintain an existence, where their prowess could prevent it. With an intolerant hatred, they determined that the Hurons should be destroyed. Year after year, they sent out their armies, with varying success, against them, till in 1649, in the depths of winter, they succeeded in capturing some of their strongest villages. The Hurons then lost heart, and they were subjected to indiscriminate slaughter. A remnant fled to the islands of the bay, from which a part, aided by the priests, made good their escape to Loretto, near Quebec, where their descendants now reside. The balance, principally belonging to that part of the Huron tribe known as the Tobacco branch, for a time occupied St. Joseph island, where some starved to death, and others perished by disease and privation. Thence they went to the Manitouline Islands. Then, under the name of Wyandots, they went to Michilimackinac, where they were joined by the Ottawas, who had been driven by fear of the Iroquois, from the western shores of Lake Huron, and from the banks of the Ottawa. At Michilimackinac the Hurons and their allies were again attacked by the Iroquois, and after remaining several years, they made another remove, and took possession of the islands at the mouth of Green Bay of Lake Michigan. Even here their old enemy did not leave them in peace, whereupon they fortified themselves on the main land, and afterwards they migrated southward and westward. This brought them in contact with the powerful tribe of the Illinois, and they could not remain there, and they continued their migrations westward till they reached the Mississippi, where they fell in with the Sioux. They soon quarreled with them, and were driven from their country. They then retreated to the southwestern extremity of Lake Superior, and settled on Point Saint Espirit or Shagwamigon Point,

near the islands of the Twelve Apostles. As the Sioux still continued to harass them, they returned to Michilimackinac, and settled on Point St. Ignace. The greater part of them, in 1680, removed thence to Detroit and Sandusky where they lived under the name of Wyandots. (Jesuits of N. Am. p. 425-6.)

The Wyandots possessed a higher culture than most people of their race.

Judge Felch says of them, that they were "a people who had made further advances than any of the other tribes, towards the sedentary and industrial habits of civilized life." And Mr. Parkman says of those at Detroit, that "by their superior valor, capacity and address, they soon acquired an ascendancy over the surrounding Algonquin tribes."

HOSTILITY OF THE MICHIGAN INDIANS.

The four tribes of our state generally lived in harmony with each other. They unitedly fought in a common cause, first against England and with the French, in the war of 1755-60, then in the Pontiac war of 1763 against the English and then for the English against the Americans, during the revolution and the war of 1812-15.

There was a loose confederacy that bound all the tribes of the northwest together in a common cause against the aggressive settlers. And whenever any cession of lands was under contemplation, several tribes were generally represented, and few treaties were made that several, sometimes many, tribes were not parties to them.

Michigan pioneers were never seriously annoyed by Indian depredations. The great body of the Indians were removed to the west before the pioneers came.

INDIAN TREATIES AND CESSION OF LANDS.

Without being exact about the definition of lines, the Michigan lands were ceded by the Indians as follows:

First, By the treaty of Detroit, by Governor Hull, with the Chippewas, Ottawas, Wyandots and Pottawattomies, in 1807, all that part of Michigan lying east and south of a line commencing at the southwest corner of Lenawee county, thence north to near the middle of Shiawassee and Clinton counties, thence to White Rock, near the southeast corner of Huron county.

Second, By the treaty of Saginaw, by Governor Cass, in 1819, with the Chippewas, all east of an angling line (except former cession), drawn from near Kalamazoo, to near the northwest corner of Oscoda county, thence to near Alpena.

Third, By the treaty of Chicago, by Governor Cass and Solomon Sibley, in 1821, with the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattamies, all not heretofore ceded south of Grand river.

Fourth, By the treaty of Washington, by Henry R. Schoolcraft, with the Ottawas and Chippewas, all that remained of the lower peninsula, not before ceded, being the northwest portion thereof.

The Indians made many reservations in the lands thus ceded, but space will not permit a description of them here. These amounted in the aggregate to several hundred thousand acres. Most of these have been ceded to the government by subsequent treaties.

THE PONTIAC WAR.

We will now resume the history of the hostile attitude of the Michigan Indians, since the English occupation of Detroit.

Quebec was captured by the English on September 9, 1759. In 1760 Major Rogers, with a military force, was sent to take possession of Detroit and Michilimackinac. On his way, traveling along the south shore of Lake Erie, on November 7th, he was met by Pontiac with some of his Ottawas who demanded to know of his mission, and why he came without consulting him. With difficulty he was pacified, and persuaded to accompany the major to Detroit. Rogers took possession of Detroit, November 29, 1760.

The Indians were not reconciled to the change. They held a strong attachment to the French, and a strong dislike to the English. This dislike and the reason for it was told to Alexander Henry, a trader at Michilimackinac, in 1761, by Manavavanna, a Chippewa chief as follows:

"Englishman, you know that the French king is our father, and we are his children. Although you have conquered the French, you have not conquered us. Our father, the French king employed our young men to make war upon your nation. Your king has never sent us any presents, nor entered into any treaty with us. Wherefore he and we are still at war, and until he does these things, we must consider that we have no other father or friend among the white men than the king of France."

And such was the attitude of other tribes in reference to the change of masters.

The war that soon broke out, was not a war of Indians against white men, but a war of the Indians against Englishmen, and as the Indians believed, in support of the French king. During the whole of the Pontiac war, no Frenchman was molested. Though they were settled in Detroit and vicinity, and the Indians were camped all about them, they lived in amicable relations with them.

Pontiac, at the time of the outbreak, was about 50 years of age. He was an Ottawa chief and son of an Ottawa chief, by a Chippewa mother. He had just laid down his arms at the close of the French war. His services were so valuable to the French, that Montcalm, just before the close of the war, presented him a complete uniform of a French officer which he wore on occasions when he wished to assume especial dignity.

In 1761, before the English had been in possession of Detroit a year, a conspiracy was nearly completed, concocted by the Senecas, to unite all the Indian nations to strike a blow against all the western posts held by the English. The English detected the plot and it failed. During the next summer, another similar plot was detected and frustrated.

Early in 1763, it was announced that the French had surrendered their entire possessions in America to England, without consulting the Indians. This was followed by a burst of indignation from the Indians, and "within a few weeks" says Parkman, "a plot was matured, such as was never before nor since concocted or executed by a North American Indian."

This plot comprehended the capture at one fell swoop, of all the military posts in western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan, and including Niagara. To do this required the concentrated efforts of all the Indian tribes within the territory where the posts were located. And Pontiac found means to accomplish it all. The plot was to be executed that same year, 1763.

Detroit being considered of greatest importance, its capture was assigned to Pontiac himself, and it is worthy of notice that, with the exception of Fort Pitt, Detroit was the only post where his plot failed. The Fort of Detroit was occupied by Major Gladwin with a garrison of 128 men and a few fur traders. Gladwin learned of the conspiracy on the evening of the 6th of May, and it was to be sprung on him the next morning. He immediately prepared to meet the wily chief at his coming.

St. Joseph, a small post at the mouth of the river of that name, garrisoned by fifteen men, was captured on May 25th and eleven of its men were slain. The commander and three of the men were taken prisoners, and subsequently exchanged at Detroit for Indian prisoners that Gladwin held. The post at Michilimackinac was taken on June 2d by the Chippewas, and fifteen of its garrison butchered. Captain Etherington and the rest of his men were taken prisoners. Five of these prisoners were afterwards murdered. The Ottawas of that vicinity, were offended that they were not invited to assist in the capture of the fort, and they demanded and received the prisoners, whom they subsequently delivered

to Lieutenant Gorell, who, with the forces from Green Bay were on the retreat to Montreal, where they all arrived in due time. Sault Ste. Marie, the only other Michigan post had, the previous year, been partly destroyed by fire, and the garrison had been temporarily withdrawn.

The siege of Detroit was beset with difficulties, though not a very bloody one. Space will not permit the rehearsal of its entire history here.

From the 7th of May, Detroit was closely invested by the combined armies of the several tribes, and every energy was put forth, that savage ingenuity could devise, for its capture, till the following autumn. Such an investment and siege, for a period of six months, is unparalleled in Indian warfare. The siege was raised in November. But from that time forward, for half a century, the Indians were frequently arrayed in hostile attitude against the whites.

Only a few years, however, had rolled along, ere the Indians realized that all their hopes of help from their father, the king of France, were vain, and before our revolution they had changed front, and accepted the king of England as their father. They fought with the English against the patriot army during the revolution, they raised the war whoop at the defeat of General Harmer in 1790, and the defeat of General St. Clair in 1791, and they suffered defeat at the battle of Miami, by General Wayne in 1794. They were again defeated by General Harrison, at Tippecanoe in 1811, and yet again two years later at the battle of the Thames. They had now lost the prestige of victory. Their star had set in Michigan forever. They in later years, gave some local trouble, here and there, but there was no further danger of a general Indian war.

RETROSPECTIVE.

A more specific record of some of the events that occurred during the settlement of this northwest territory seems important.

In the negotiations for peace between the United States and England, in 1783, the Indian tribes had been ignored, and they felt slighted and became restive and threatening. By that treaty England should have surrendered the posts along the borders, but Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and some minor posts were retained. This gave the Indians an occasion to hope, and the English encouraged that hope, that the war would soon be resumed, and they could yet be revenged on the Americans whom they hated. In 1784, a treaty was made with the six nations at Fort Stanwix, by which the confederacy relinquished all claim to a large tract of western lands to the United States. But other tribes claimed

an interest in these lands, and were unwilling to assign. In December, 1786, a grand council of Indians was held at the Huron village, at the mouth of the Detroit river, at which all the four Michigan tribes were represented. In an address to the United States, they asked that another grand council be held, and that the United States should be represented, and that in the meantime, the United States should prevent surveying parties and other people from coming to the Indian side of the Ohio river. They wished the Ohio river to be fixed as the permanent boundary to their country. This proposed grand council was never held. But settlers continued to intrude on Indian lands, which exasperated the Indian population and brought on hostilities.

In 1791, General Harmer was sent to defend the settlers and chastise the Indians. He was ambushed and defeated. In 1793, General St. Clair was sent for the same purpose. He, also was surprised and defeated. After his defeat, persistent efforts were made by President Washington, for peace. In March of that year, the president sent Messrs. Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering, as commissioners to negotiate a peace. But the Indians, with the prestige of victory upon them, were confident of securing their own terms, and they persisted in their demands that the Ohio river be made a boundary line, beyond which no white man should go. But the time had passed for drawing such a line. Too many white settlers had already passed that boundary. Notwithstanding their persistence, a treaty was nearly concluded when negotiations were abruptly closed, on the part of the Indians, through British influence. This effort for peace was followed on August 20th, 1794, by the utter defeat and rout of the Indians by General Wayne.

British influence with the Indians as against the United States, did not cease with this. Lord Dorchester made a speech to the Indians, in which he urged them to insist on the Ohio river as a boundary. And Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, of Canada, in their interest, erected a fort on the Miami river in Ohio. Of these unfriendly acts, President Washington said in a letter to Mr. Jay, "There does not remain a doubt that all the difficulties we encounter with the Indians, result from the conduct of the agents of Great Britain in this country." These unfriendly acts were continued long after the close of the war of 1812-15. They even set up a claim that under the provisions of the treaty of Ghent, the Michigan Indians had a right to look to them for protection. And annually, till 1839, they invited the Michigan Indians to Canada to receive presents. In September, 1829, the Canadian Colonial Advocate,

announced that sixty tons of Indian presents were on the way to Amherstburg and Drummonds Island.

As a timid boy, during the thirties, the writer well remembers the consternation he experienced, in going to and from school, on occasions of meeting bands of Indians going to Canada to receive presents. After 1839, our Indians were promised presents only on condition of their removing to Canada.

REFLECTIONS.

We cannot read the records of these border wars, without emotions of sympathy going out for these simple children of the forest, in their earnest efforts to defend their homes. The tribes of our northwest territory, had in council, united in the demand, that the Ohio river should be made the boundary of their country. They asked that no white man be allowed to settle across that line. They wished to be let alone where they were. They fully realized that if the white man did come, they must inevitably go, and they said, there was no place where they could go. They could not go to the west, for the country there produced no more food than its people needed. Their demand seemed just and their pleas were reasonable. Their story was true and pitiable. The white man had no such reasons to urge. There was in their case no present necessity. They had vast tracts of unoccupied and fertile lands beyond the Ohio, sufficient for their needs for an indefinite future. What need, then, for this cruel act of injustice? It is a feeble justification to say they bought the Indians' claim to the lands. Had the Indians been free to sell, this reply would be conclusive. But we know that in the land disputes with the Indians, white men generally were the aggressors, by intruding upon the Indians' lands, and spoiling their hunting grounds, and when they resented the trespass and tried to drive out the intruders, the government sent its armies to protect the settlers and chastise the Indians. By this policy the Indians became the victims, and they sold their lands under duress.

Now this is the statement of the Indian's side. Most questions have two sides, and this is no exception. The parties to this great controversy, are civilized men and savages. The Indians had occupied this country many thousands of years. They had not during that occupancy, improved the country or its resources. They possessed no history. Their progress during the ages had been inconspicuous. Their inventions were of the most primitive sort, and may be summed up by naming the bow and arrow, rude pottery, and the tanning of skins for clothing. They had built no cities, monuments, or permanent dwellings.

Their country was wild and had not, apparently, been changed for many thousands of years. When Scipio destroyed Carthage, and when the northern hordes destroyed Rome, they each left ruins, and desolation behind. Not so the white man, when he took possession of the Indian's hunting grounds. He created no ruins, for the Indian had constructed nothing that could be converted into a ruin. But he found a desolation, and upon that he built cities and homesteads, and erected upon the forest covered grounds a magnificent civilization that has never been surpassed by any people.

Could the white man have saved the Indian? It was not desirable to save him as a savage, and his persistent intractableness rendered nugatory all efforts for a higher culture. He had nothing in his manners, habits, or general culture, that civilization needed to learn. His salvation could be wrought out only by himself. The white man brought to him civilization, a higher manhood, and asked him to accept it. Never before was such an opportunity presented to his race. It should have constituted an inspiration to help him up to a higher manhood. But he would have none of it. He despised it. He rejected it. He fought it, and sealed his doom.

There is a serious question whether any people have a moral right to permanently occupy lands which they do not use, to the exclusion of those who would utilize them for the good of humanity, whether civilized man should recognize the right of an unprogressive, savage race, to permanently cover a continent. Civilization and savagery cannot coexist side by side.

But we will not attempt to solve this problem. It is one of the problems of human development, that seems insoluble. There is a law that proclaims the survival of the fittest. It sometimes seems cruel, but it is the fiat of unchangeable law. In the great drama of humanity, the impulse to move in evolutionary lines is irresistible. We do not know its rationale, but we can trace its results.

We know that the world of humanity has been elevated in the scale of true excellence because of the removal of the savage. Our state now supports a population of about two and a half millions, where the Indian population probably never much exceeded 10,000. Now we have 250 children of civilization who are warmly clothed and housed, with food enough and to spare, where before there was but one Indian, poorly clad, without a home, and who sometimes went hungry.

The world is now the better by so much as civilization is superior to savage life,—by as much as a higher culture is superior to grossness,—

by as much as the protection of life, liberty and property is better than an irresponsible government that protects nothing,—by so much as education, intelligence, and morality, is superior to ignorance, grossness and superstition,—and by so much as a country filled with a vast aggregate of industries, and industrious people, is superior to a race of warriors, hunters and fishers, who despise all industrious occupations.

Grand Rapids, Michigan, January 17, 1900.

THE PIONEER AND HIS WORK.

BY MELVIN D. OSBAND.

The morning sun that ushered in the seventeenth century shone upon an unbroken wilderness over the entire expanse of our broad domain. No child of civilization had ever yet penetrated its dark forests.

Except a few bands of Spanish free-booters, under De Soto, Coronado, and a few others, whose culture in many respects was but little removed from the savages whom they exploited, no European had ever trodden its soil. It was then peopled from ocean to ocean by barbarians. While the century was yet young a few pioneers from England located on its eastern border. Some of them had fled from the tyranny of their own country to brave the perils of this. The country was new and of unknown extent. They knew not its surface, its climate, or its products. They knew not the manners, customs, or culture of its people, and the pioneers were 3,000 miles from their base of supplies. They had come to win their bread from the soil, and to convert the wilderness into farms. Their necessities compelled them to battle with climatic conditions, with wild beasts, and with wild men. They soon learned that the wild men constituted the most serious factor in their environment.

When civilization comes into contact with races of low culture a clash is inevitable. The one almost universal cause of disagreement between the white man and the Indian in our country has originated by the invasions of white settlers upon Indian hunting grounds. The majority of our Indian wars have arisen from this one cause, whether it was the conflict between Captain John Smith and Powhattan in Virginia, or that wherein the Puritans exterminated the Pequods in Connecticut in the seventeenth century, or that of the Indians of our northwest territory and the intruding settlers in the eighteenth century, or the wars prosecuted on our western frontier by General Crookes and others

in recent years. Because of this oneness of the underlying cause of these contests, I have opened this paper with the advent of the white man in his first grapple with the savage on our eastern frontier.

The Indian lived upon the products of the chase. Their population was therefore small. Large populations are only possible where food is abundant. There is a limit to the quantity of food derived from the chase, and it cannot be increased by any process other than agriculture.

As to the sparseness of population in countries inhabited by a race of hunters, history furnishes an abundant evidence, especially in our own country. Mr. Schoolcraft estimates that among the Indians of the northwest every hunter, with those dependent upon him, requires 50,000 acres (a little more than two entire townships) for his support. The population of the Hudson bay territory is estimated to average but one to ten square miles. The Iroquois confederacy constituted the most populous and formidable nation of Indians of which we have any record. They were the scourge of the nations surrounding them. Their war parties could be met on the shores of Hudson bay. They fought on the banks of the Mississippi, they dominated the Ohio valley and they subjugated the tribes of Carolina. And yet there is scarcely a county in New York, their old home, that does not now support a population of five times the number that the Iroquois could boast in their best days—say about 1,680. The highest estimates of their combined armies was 2,000 to 2,600 men, indicating an entire population of, not to exceed 10,000 to 12,000, or about one Indian to four square miles, on the supposition that they occupied an area equal to that of the state of New York.

From these facts we are prepared for the statements of Parkman and other historians, that when America first became known to Europeans the whole of Vermont, New Hampshire and western Massachusetts had no human tenant but the roving hunter and the prowling warrior. Connecticut, west of its chief river, was but thinly populated. From Nova Scotia to the St. Lawrence there was no population worthy of the name. From the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario the southern bank of the great river was occupied only by hunters. On its north bank its solitude was seldom interrupted below Quebec. Above, at Three Rivers, a few Algonquins might be met, and at Montreal, during a brief time in the trading season of early summer, many savages from the surrounding country assembled. The solitudes on both sides of the Ottawa for three hundred miles were broken only by the splash of the paddle and the tread of the hunter. A few Indians made their homes on Allumet Island, and at Lake Nipissing lived another band. Circling around

the south end of Georgian bay, the traveler would meet the Hurons. A great part of Michigan and Illinois were tenanted only by wild beasts. The whole of Kentucky was a vast hunting and skirmishing ground for savages. On the shores of the great Ohio no tribe dwelt. Why these great areas without inhabitants, and why was not Michigan as densely populated then as now? They simply mean that the country immediately surrounding the tribal homes of the Indians was insufficient to supply them with food, and that these uninhabited areas were their outlying fields from which to draw further supplies.

Bread and butter is an essential factor in every population. A limited supply of food was a fatal condition in the Indian regime. It was an evil hour for him when civilization first invaded his domain. The white man came in his own personal interests. He designed no evil to the Indian. In fact he came fully determined to treat him as a brother, and to help him climb up to civilization. His experiences soon convinced him that he had undertaken a task for which he was in no way equipped. Neither party understood the other. Each had interests that the other antagonized. And just here is found the underlying principles that have for 300 years been working the destruction of the Indian race. Progress in civilization involves the tilling of the ground. This means the destruction of the Indian's hunting ground, and with it goes the old environment, characteristic of the Indian race, and to which he was adjusted, and his supply of food is cut off. New conditions admonish him to change habits and till the soil. But his congenital habits, transmitted by a thousand generations of ancestors, in most cases have become so firmly fixed that they seem incapable of adjustment, and they perish.

Where now lies the responsibility for the passing away of the Indian race? The Europeans came among them to make for themselves homes. We will not discuss their right to do so. But the sequel proves that once here the Indian was doomed to go.

But the question is pertinent, should not the barbarian have been civilized? Most certainly, if possible. But could not the Europeans who came among them have effected their civilization? They certainly could not. They did not know how. They were not properly equipped. They had no conception of the factors involved in the problem. Our people now have nearly three hundred years' experience with these red men, while those Europeans had none. We have larger experiences with races of low culture and a broader knowledge of human nature in general and better appliances, and yet with all these appliances we have

utterly failed to lead a single tribe up to civilization. They have uniformly antagonized every effort made toward an adjustment to their changed condition. Not till their numbers had become so reduced, and the area of their habitation so restricted that our government could force a recognition of its superiority upon them, have they given any favorable response to our efforts to lead them up to a higher culture. Today a few remnants of tribes in the southwest, and some in our own state, are making commendable efforts to climb upwards to civil life. And with the aid our people are extending to them they seem likely, at some future time, to worthily represent an improved race of red men.

Thinking men today recognize evolution as the system of philosophy that solves the problem of universal development. It means growth, and growth is effected by an adjustment to existing conditions. By this philosophy forms of life that are adapted to their environment live and flourish, while those that fail of such adjustment are dropped out and are known no more. The huge reptiles, birds and mammals of tertiary times became extinct because the changes that are constantly occurring in the earth's surface had so changed their environment as to make it unfavorable for their continued existence, and they were unable to adapt themselves to their new conditions. In all succeeding times, including our own, forms of life are continually passing away for the same reason. Our world is better because of these changes, notwithstanding the failure of so many of its organisms. These changes have, all down the ages, been unceasingly adapting the earth to higher forms of life. Evolution is written on every line of the world's history, and man as one of the factors of that history can claim no exceptions in his favor in its workings. The survival of the fittest is just as applicable to man as to the pre-historic saurian. If he fails to adjust himself to the conditions that inviron him, future ages will number him with the mastodon and the epiornis.

We have seen that civilized man, by his agricultural industries, destroys the Indian's hunting grounds. Civilization cannot live without it. The Indian cannot live with it. The two are irreconcilable. This raises the question as to whether man has a right to develop civilization. Is human progress an inalienable right? Has humanity a right to grow? Must the soul of civilized man become dwarfed that the already dwarfed Indian soul may survive in its grossness? To change the form of the question, "Is not soul-growth an imperative human duty?" Should not man develop civil life, utilize the soil, cultivate the arts and sciences, morality and religion? These rights and duties involve the use of the

necessary means, and whatever throws itself across the track of progress must be removed or crushed.

The white man may have no more rights than the red man. But the civilized man recognizes more rights, and has greater responsibilities than the savage man, because the structure of civil society is more complex, has a better adjustment to the conditions of life, and involves higher duties and obligations than the savage. When the Indian chooses to put off his savage garb, take up the plow and the hoe, and by them earn his bread, he too will acquire the additional rights and obligations of civil life, and both races will live and prosper. There is land enough for all. If he fails to do that he must go under, for his hunting ground is spoiled and he can no longer live by the chase. He must drop out of existence as effectually as did the huge dinosaurs of pre-historic times. There is no other alternative. He will go by the operation of laws that transcend those of human legislation, and are as unchangeable as the laws of gravitation. The Indian, therefore, if he goes, is himself responsible for his own disappearance. He is equally unfortunate, whether he would and could not, or whether he could and would not conform to his changed condition.

The white man is responsible for the unnecessary cruelty and injustice he has inflicted on the Indian, but these, while they have probably hastened the result, have not made it more certain.*

Before the pioneers of Michigan arrived in any considerable numbers the Indians had principally gone, and our rural districts were not seriously annoyed by their presence. The early settlement of the territory had been seriously delayed by gross misrepresentations of our lands. By dishonest or ignorant persons it was made to appear, that the whole interior of the territory was one vast morass, interspersed by worthless sand hills. President Madison was assured by his commissioner of the land office that "scarcely one acre in a thousand was fit for cultivation." For this reason our state was not seriously invaded by the axe and the plow until about 1830. Detroit had then been settled about 130 years, and then had a population of but little more than 2,000.

MICHIGAN PIONEER SOCIETY.

When the Michigan Pioneer Society was organized it gathered to itself a corps of historians. Every member was a historian, who possessed just such historic information as the society needed. Each and every person who subscribed to our constitution knew some facts of Mich-

*Some very respectable authorities assert that the Indian race is not dying out, but is gradually adjusting itself to its changed conditions and giving promise of ultimate survival. But the evidences at hand do not seem to justify that claim.

igan history that nobody else knew, and if he or she should pass away without telling it no one else ever would know it. To pick up, compile and preserve such items was the society organized. Our members were not all scholars. They could not all tell their experiences in the well rounded sentences of literary experts. But they could tell what they knew, in a manner to be understood, of their experiences in Michigan pioneering, and tell it from personal knowledge.

From the men and women here associated the society has secured a mass of historic matter of rare merit of which we are proud. And this matter has been put into durable form, in which it will pass down to posterity. To these records will the future historian resort to learn how Michigan was made and who made it.

The web of actual history has woven within itself every act of every person, and every event in every person's environment that in any manner affects humanity individually or socially. It is, perhaps, needless to say that no such history was ever written. Yet every history is made up of matter included in this definition. The historian, unable to record the whole, selects from the mass before him such matter as his wisdom dictates.

Michigan has not developed all of her institutions and valuable belongings. Many of them came to us by inheritance. Our common law and our jurisprudence came from the mother country. Our religious liberties were developed in our own country by the pioneers on our eastern borders. Maryland first announced complete religious toleration, and Rhode Island added to it a complete separation of church and state. Our liberal schools and our love of learning are inherited from our fathers. But it has been our privilege, as well as our pride; to cherish all of these and give them the test of our experience, and to add to them new embellishments. Our pioneers were progressive people. They were never satisfied with the conditions their fathers left to them, but were ever on the alert to improve and make them better. By their energy and wise legislation they encouraged such enterprises and industries as developed our resources.

A country's history is imbedded in her laws, institutions and in the culture of her people. One of our most eminent scientists and historians recently said that "To discover a great truth usually requires a succession of thinkers." What is true of science is equally true in jurisprudence. Our laws of today have been evolved from the crude conceptions of ancient lawmakers before the dawn of written history. They are not yet perfect. An erring people cannot formulate unerring laws. Per-

fection may never crown human efforts in any direction. We can safely predict that in the ages to come, as man shall evolve towards his ultimate destiny, his efforts will still be directed towards a better adjustment of laws to human conditions. Our laws are improvements upon those of our fathers, so those of the future will be improvements upon ours.

Today our boast is that we have a legal protection to life, liberty and property; we aim at equality of opportunity for all, and all are equal before the law. Through industry and economy our people are supplying our current necessities and accumulating wealth. Wealth is stored labor, and is the product of energy aided by wise economy. The conditions for the acquisition of wealth are open to all. It is not true, as some flippantly charge, that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer, but the conditions of all are improving. True, some men get rich while others remain poor, but all and each prosper in proportion to the amount of wisdom and energy they put forth.

The reputation of our Senator Chandler was that he commenced in poverty and rose to wealth. This is the history of a large proportion of our wealthy men. But our laws did not favor Mr. Chandler any more than the man who blacked his boots. There are some things that laws cannot do. They cannot give business ability to any man, neither can they give energy and enterprise to a sluggard. Mr. Chandler possessed the ability to see and seize opportunities for making money as they were presented to him, and to use them for his advantage, and he got rich. His bootblack lacked this ability, and remained poor.

Our laws and institutions encourage enterprise. Enterprise and hard work produce wealth and develop our resources, and nothing else will. The men who develop our country's resources are making the world better and aiding the upward trend of humanity.

We can, some of us, remember when civilization practically did not exist west of our eastern border, and when the country from Detroit to Puget sound was one vast, unbroken wilderness, inhabited by wild beasts and wild men. Detroit was then but a small French town on the outskirts of civilization. Those were the days before friction matches, percussion caps, carpeted floors, and rubber overshoes. It was before the advent of the cooking stove, when our mothers used to sweat and burn their faces and arms over the open fire in cooking our dinners.

In those days the rough log house held undisputed sway. We can vividly recall the one room of that structure we called our home that served for kitchen, dining room, parlor and bedroom, and sometimes for a

shop for a carpenter or shoemaker. We then carted our grain to mill and the family to church behind ox teams. We had none of the labor saving machines of after times to lighten our toil. We planted, hoed and harvested our crops by hand, among the stumps, and threshed our grain with flails and winnowed it by the primitive grain fan.

We remember our journeyings in our child life through the forests following the blazed trees, and how we trembled in consternation when we saw signs that a wolf or bear might be near. And not seldom did we spring to one side to avoid a massasauga lying near our pathway.

Our memory also reaches back to the time when we were seated in the primitive schoolhouse on rough benches without backs, where we learned to read, and to the board desks fastened against the wall where we learned to write on coarse, unruled paper, with goose quill pens.

And when we, to save the tallow dips, used to study our lessons and read the books from our scanty libraries by the light from the open fireplace.

We also recall the advent of the threshing machines, cultivators, mowing and reaping machines. And we remember the consternation created in the minds of some people at their introduction. Men claimed that they would inevitably drive laboring men to the wall. Some destroyed or disabled the machines that threatened them with starvation. These machines, they said, did the work that men needed to do to support their families. Railroads, they said, drove teamsters and stage coaches from the road and destroyed the farmers' market for oats, corn, hay and horses.

But as the years rolled on these labor-saving machines have been multiplied by thousands in every line of industry, and they do the work of millions of men. But during this time new enterprises and new fields of labor have opened, and now, in this closing year of the century, a larger percentage of laboring people are earning wages, and at advanced prices, than in any other period of our history. In this connection another fact is developed that in the evolution of humanity is important. These changes in the methods of doing our work have produced an enlargement of human intelligence. The growth of the soul is secured by the accumulation of knowledge and experience. The acquisition of ideas makes larger and better men, and enlarges our conceptions of the world and of the universe. The invention and use of labor-saving machinery develops new ideas and gives new experiences. The men who work a cultivator, a reaper and binder, a power printing press, or run a railroad train are better men, with larger souls than they who know how to do the same

work only by primitive methods. The new methods require less muscle but more brains, less physical but more mental labor.

Today our log school houses have given place to better, and in some cases palatial structures, adapted to better methods of teaching, and our youth, without distinction of race, color, sex or social position are, without expense, given substantial rudimentary education in our public schools, while our university, normal schools, agricultural and denominational colleges furnish technical training to all who apply. The deaf and the blind are cared for and educated in institutions adjusted to their needs, and our other unfortunates are cared for in appropriate asylums at public expense. Our unfortunate poor, who are incapable of caring for themselves, are fed, warmed and clothed by public tax. Our people are protected against contagious diseases and other conditions injurious to health by rigid sanitation. Vicious youths of both sexes are restrained and cared for in institutions designed for their reformation and restoration to society, while adult criminals are, so far as possible, isolated from society in punitive institutions and subjected to influences calculated to aid their reformation.

Our various industrial and educational institutions have made the Michigan that our pioneers love just what it is, and they are not ashamed of their child.

CONCLUSION.

With the recollections of our early experiences fresh in our minds, we become bewildered at the changes we witness around us and are amazed at our own achievements, for these changes have been wrought by the muscles and brains of the pioneers. When we realize that there are persons sitting in this room today who have witnessed all these changes, that one life has seen the Michigan of the thirties, with her forests and lakes and the regions beyond, with scarcely a touch of civilized man about them, and that the same life can now gaze over the same regions, with the egis of our country's liberties spread over every acre of it, and that it is now spanned by numerous railroads and telegraphs, and dotted all over by cities and villages, farms, factories and mines, and swarming with a numerous, intelligent and happy population, we may surely be pardoned if we exhibit generous emotions of pride that we, the pioneers of Michigan, have made so large a contribution to the world's progress.

Grand Rapids, Michigan, March —, 1900.

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